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GEN^L OGLETHORPE.

THE

HISTORY OF GEORGIA.

BY

CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL. D.

VOLUME I.

ABORIGINAL AND COLONIAL EPOCHS.

BOSTON:
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To

THE MEMORY OF

My Father,

CHARLES COLCOCK JONES, D. D.

PREFACE.

My purpose is to write a history of Georgia from the earliest times down to a period within the memory of the living. In the execution of this design two volumes are now offered to the public. They embrace the aboriginal epoch, a narrative of discovery and primal exploration, schemes of colonization, the settlement under Oglethorpe, and the life of the Province under the guidance of the Trustees, under the control of a President and Assistants, under the supervision of Royal Governors, and during the Revolutionary War. They conclude with the erection of Georgia into an independent State. All available sources of information have been utilized. That the relation should respond to the genuine circumstance and true philosophy of the action has been the author's care. Wherever the faithful record and a lively recital of facts could best be presented in the language of contemporaneous documents of admitted authenticity, they have been reproduced. The two concluding volumes, which will deal with Georgia as a commonwealth, are in course of preparation.

A historian, says Lord Macaulay, must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque. Yet he must control it so absolutely as to content himself with the materials which he finds, and to refrain from supplying deficiencies by additions of his own. He must exercise a self-command which will enable him to abstain from casting his facts in the mould of his hypothesis.

Whether the author has succeeded in his honest effort to observe these injunctions, let the candid reader decide.

Augusta, Georgia, *October*, 1883.

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THE HISTORY OF GEORGIA.

CHAPTER I.

ABORIGINAL POPULATION. — THE MANNERS, MANUFACTURES, AMUSEMENTS, EMPLOYMENTS, AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOUTHERN INDIANS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WHEN the colony of Georgia was founded, the ceded lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers and extending from their head-waters indefinitely toward the west were occupied by Indians whose principal settlements were established in the vicinity of streams, in rich valleys, and upon the sea-islands. The middle and lower portions of this and the adjacent territory were claimed by the Muskhogees, or Creeks, consisting of many tribes and associated together in a strong confederacy. North of them dwelt the Cherokees, — a brave and comely race, — numbering some six thousand warriors, inhabiting the hilly and mountainous parts of the country, and exercising dominion even beyond the Tennessee River where they were confronted by the Shawnees. The entire region permeated by the sources and upper tributaries of the Coosa, the Chattahoochee, the Savannah, the Santee, and the Yadkin was held by them. Between the Cherokees and the Muskhogees the division line followed Broad River and, generally, the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude.

East of these nations resided the Yemassees, the Stonoes, the Edistoes, the Westoes, the Savannahs, and the Catawbas; while, on the west, stretching away even to the Mississippi River, were domiciled the Alibamons, the Choctaws, the Natchez, and the Chicasaws.

The population of the Upper and Lower Creeks dwelling within the territorial limits of the Province of Georgia at the date of its settlement was estimated at fifteen thousand men, women, and children. When, however, we remember that the

lands possessed by the Muskhogee confederacy — comprehending the seats of the Seminoles in Florida — were bounded on the west by Mobile River and by the ridge which separates the waters of the Tombigbee from those of the Alabama, on the north by the Cherokees, on the north and east by the Savannah River, and otherwise by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, the aggregate number of inhabitants acknowledging allegiance to that confederation must have been much greater.

The Muskhogees constituted the prevailing nation, and are said to have furnished rather more than seven eighths of the peoples composing the confederacy. The Hitchittees, residing on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, although originally a distinct people, spoke the Muskhogee dialect and formed a component tribe of the Creek confederation.

The Seminoles, or Isty Semoles (wild men), were pure Muskhogees, and received that name because they subsisted chiefly by hunting and were little given to agricultural pursuits. They inhabited the peninsula of Florida. Both the Muskhogees and the Hitchittees claimed to be autochthonous: the former asserting that their nation in the beginning issued out of a cave near the Alabama River, and the latter boasting that their ancestors had fallen from the sky.

By the Choctaws was Captain Romans informed that in the olden time they walked forth in great numbers from a hole in the ground, situated between their territory and that of the Chicasaws.

The Uchees and Natchez both yielded obedience to the Muskhogee confederacy. Of the former the original seats are supposed to have been east of the Coosa. They proclaimed themselves the most ancient inhabitants of the country, and it has been suggested that they were the peoples called Appalaches by the historians of De Soto's expedition. Their land abounded in towns and in subsistence. Early in the eighteenth century they dwelt upon the western bank of the Savannah River, and as late as 1736 claimed the country above and below the town of Augusta. The name of a creek in Columbia County perpetuates to the present day their memory and the fact of their former occupancy of this region.

Forsaking their old habitat on the left bank of the Mississippi River, and journeying eastward, the Natchez associated themselves with the Creeks not very many years prior to the advent of Oglethorpe.

Among the principal towns of the Creeks may be mentioned Cussetah, Cowetah, Tukawbatchie, and Oscoochee. The Muskhogee, the Hitchittee, the Uchee, the Natchez, and the Alibamon or Coosada, were the languages generally spoken by the various tribes composing the Creek confederacy. Captain Romans enumerates remnants of the Cawittas, Talepoosas, Coosas, Apalachias, Conshacs or Coosades, Oakmulgis, Oconis, Okchoys, Alibamons, Natchez, Weetumkus, Pakanas, Taënsas, Chacsihoomas, Abćkas, and of other tribes whose names he did not recollect, all calling themselves *Muskokees* and constituting what was known as the *Creek Confederation.*

On the 12th of March, 1733, Oglethorpe reported the Upper and Lower Creeks and the Uchees as the three most powerful Indian nations in Georgia dwelling between the coast and the mountains. The Lower Creeks possessed nine towns or cantons, and their warriors were estimated by him at one thousand. The military strength of the Upper Creeks he reckons at eleven hundred men capable of bearing arms; while the Uchees were, at that time, supposed to be incapable of bringing into the field more than two hundred bowmen. This computation of the population of these peoples, vaguely formed, was manifestly inadequate.

In perpetuating his impressions of the physical characteristics of these Southern Indians, Mr. Bartram writes: "The males of the Cherokees, Muscogulgees, Siminoles, Chicasaws, Chactaws, and confederate tribes of the Creeks are tall, erect, and moderately robust; their limbs are well shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure; their features regular and countenance open, dignified, and placid, yet the forehead and brow so formed as to strike you instantly with heroism and bravery; the eye, though rather small, active and full of fire; the iris always black, and the nose commonly inclining to the aquiline. Their countenance and actions exhibit an air of magnanimity, superiority, and independence. Their complexion of a reddish-brown or copper color; their hair long, lank, coarse, and black as a raven, and reflecting the like lustre at different exposures to the light. The women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame; their features formed with perfect symmetry, their countenance cheerful and friendly; and they move with a becoming grace and dignity.

"The Muscogulgee women, though remarkably short of stature, are well formed; their visage round, features regular and beau-

tiful, the brow high and arched, the eye large, black, and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence, and bashfulness. These charms are their defensive and offensive weapons, and they know very well how to play them off; and under cover of these alluring graces are concealed the most subtle artifices; they are, however, loving and affectionate. They are, I believe, the smallest race of women yet known, seldom above five feet high, and I believe the greater number never arrive to that stature; their hands and feet not larger than those of Europeans of nine or ten years of age: yet the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above six feet, and few under that, or five feet eight or ten inches. Their complexion much darker than any of the tribes to the north of them that I have seen. This description will, I believe, comprehend the Muscogulges, their confederates the Chactaws, and, I believe, the Chicasaws (though I have never seen their women), excepting some bands of the Siminoles, Uches, and Savaunucas, who are rather taller and slenderer, and their complexion brighter. The Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen; their complexions brighter and somewhat of the olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as Europeans.

"The Cherokees in their dispositions and manners are grave and steady; dignified and circumspect in their deportment; rather slow and reserved in conversation, yet frank, cheerful, and humane; tenacious of the liberties and natural rights of man; secret, deliberate, and determined in their councils; honest, just, and liberal, and ready always to sacrifice every pleasure and gratification, even their blood and life itself, to defend their territory and maintain their rights. . . . The national character of the Muscogulgees, when considered in a political view, exhibits a portraiture of a great or illustrious hero. A proud, haughty, and arrogant race of men, they are brave and valiant in war, ambitious of conquest, restless, and perpetually exercising their arms, yet magnanimous and merciful to a vanquished enemy when he submits and seeks their friendship and protection; always uniting the vanquished tribes in confederacy with them, when they immediately enjoy, unexceptionably, every right of free citizens, and are, from that moment, united in one common band of brotherhood. They were never known to exterminate a tribe, except the Yemasees, who would never submit on any

terms, but fought it out to the last; only about forty or fifty of them escaping at the last decisive battle, who threw themselves under the protection of the Spaniards at St. Augustine. . . . The Muscogulgees are more volatile, sprightly, and talkative than their northern neighbors, the Cherokees." [1]

James Adair, who resided for forty years among the Cherokees, furnishes a most valuable account of these peoples who occupied a charming country and numbered among their settlements sixty-four towns and villages.

To Oglethorpe, Sir Alexander Cuming, Baron Von Reck, and others, are we indebted for early notices of this aboriginal population; but it had then been already shocked by European invasion and demoralized by unscrupulous traders.

Pretermitting, therefore, such narratives as introduce us to an acquaintance with these Indian tribes as they appeared a hundred and fifty years ago, let us turn to an earlier period in their history, contemplating the Southern nations, their habits, manufactures, amusements, employments, and characteristics as they existed in the sixteenth century.

It will not be forgotten that at the epoch to which our attention will now be directed Georgia, then without a name, formed a part of ancient Florida, a wide domain whose nether and eastern shores were washed by the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and of the Atlantic Ocean, whose northern boundary confronted Virginia of the olden time, and whose western confines, stretching even beyond the Meschachipi River, were guarded by unknown seas. We speak of Florida and its native population as known to De Leon, De Soto, Cabeça de Vaca, Ribault, and Laudonniere.

When the Europeans first visited the territory embraced within and adjacent to the limits of the modern State of Georgia, they found it peopled by Indian tribes, well organized, occupying permanent seats, and largely engaged in the cultivation of maize, beans, pumpkins, melons, and fruits of several sorts. In the vicinity of Tampa Bay, Baltazar de Gallegos, who had been dispatched by De Soto upon a reconnoitring expedition, observed extensive tracts tilled by the natives, the products of which he reported "sufficient to subsist a large army without its knowing a want;" and we are told that the followers of the Adelantado on one occasion marched for two leagues through continuous fields of corn.

[1] *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia,* etc., p. 481. London, 1792.

The walnut, the hickory, the pecan, and other nut-bearing trees were watched and nurtured. Their fruit was industriously gathered, cracked, and boiled, and the oil thence obtained — "clear as butter and of a good taste," says the gentleman of Elvas — was preserved in earthen jars. But for the food and forage procured from fields cultivated by the natives and found in primitive granaries, the Spaniards and their horses would often have been sorely pinched by hunger.

These ancient plantations were located in rich valleys where a generous soil yielded with least labor the most remunerative harvest, upon islands, and in the vicinity of streams where the products of the earth were readily supplemented by the fishes of the waters and the game of the forests. In clearing them the grooved axe was freely employed for girdling the trees. The circulation being thus interrupted, these trees perished, and were either consumed by fire or suffered to fall down and rot piecemeal.

While tribes claimed specific boundary lines, while to nations and confederacies were accorded recognized territorial limits, and while in such public domain, with its rivers, lakes, and woods, each Indian exercised equal rights and privileges for the purposes of travel, hunting, and fishing, a special or temporary ownership was admitted in lands cultivated by individual labor. The town plantation, if at first cleared by the united effort of the community, was subsequently parceled out among its members who were thereafter entitled to reap the fruits of their personal industry. Each year, at the appointed season, under the superintendence of overseers, the inhabitants of the town, as one family, prepared the ground and sowed the seed. Upon the ingathering of the harvest each Indian deposited in his private crib the yield of his particular lot, contributing, however, a certain portion to the public granary or king's storehouse. These public granaries — built of wood, clay, and stones, and covered with poles, earth, and palmetto leaves — served also as depositories for dried fishes, alligators, dogs, deer, and other jerked meats. From them were the chiefs supplied, and their stores were expended in entertainment of travelers, guests, and distinguished strangers. Should the private crib of a member of the community be destroyed by fire, or should want overtake any one, by the king's command he was assisted from the public granary. Thence, also, did warriors draw rations when setting out upon an expedition.

Besides his lot in the general plantation, each inhabitant of the village cultivated a garden spot near his habitation, where melons, beans, and other vegetables were produced.

The principal agricultural implements in vogue were wooden mattocks, scapulas of deer and buffalo, large fish bones, wooden sticks for piercing holes in the ground, and stone spades and hoes. Of the latter three varieties may be mentioned: one, a large leaf-shaped implement, another a sort of grooved adze, and the third the notched hoe.

The green corn was boiled in earthen vessels or roasted in the fire. When dry, the seeds were parched and then pulverized. For this purpose, crushing stones, wooden and stone mortars, rollers, and pestles were employed. While most of these stone mortars were formed from flat bowlders taken from the beds of neighboring streams, — their surfaces being hollowed out to the depth of a few inches, — others may be seen manufactured of ferruginous quartz, symmetrical in shape, accurately fashioned, beautifully polished, and capable of holding a quart or more. In some localities we behold permanent mortars scooped out of large bowlders or rocks, which appear to have been regarded and used as public property.

Were we not precluded by the general scope of this chapter, it would be interesting to describe the ceremonies and festivals observed by these primitive peoples when planting and harvesting the maize, and the various methods adopted by them in its preparation as an article of food. Perhaps nothing tended so surely to develop and consolidate the Southern tribes, and to render permanent their habitations, as the general and regular cultivation of this important American plant. Regarded as a direct gift from the Author of life, and held in special esteem, it was not permitted to treat lightly either the grain or the cob.

In the neighborhood of their corn fields were villages, playgrounds, tumuli, fish-preserves, and defensive works. Encouraged by their improved possessions to forego the uncertainties and privations of a nomadic life, long prior to the dawn of the historic period these peoples had become provident of the future, obedient to the will of rulers, jealous of the conservation of their homes, attached to fixed abodes, and, to a certain degree, tolerant of labor.

Ribault thus describes a native village on the Florida coast: "Their houses be made of wood fitly and close; set upright and covered with reeds; the most part of them after the fashion of a

pavilion. But there was one house among the rest very long and broad, with settles about made of reeds, trimly couched together, which serve them both for beds and seats; they be of height two foot from the ground, set upon great round pillars painted with red, yellow, and blue, well and trimly polished." Of these ancient towns it may be stated that they were generally small, circular in outline, and defended by stockades, inserted in the ground and inclosing spaces varying from two to fifty acres. To strengthen and maintain them securely in their upright position, the lower ends of these stockades were reinforced by earth thrown against them from within and without. Such an addition contributed materially to the safety of the inclosure; and it is not improbable that some of the old earth-walls and parapets, still extant in Southern valleys, indicate the lines of palisades anciently planted for the protection of these towns.

Occasionally timbers were placed athwart the piles, and the spaces between the uprights were rammed with straw and clay. The town of Mauvila, where De Soto encountered such loss and determined resistance at the hands of the lion-hearted Alibamons, was thus fortified. Its defensive line, in the language of Herrera, "looked like a wall smoothed with a trowel." These walls, loopholed for archers, were strengthened by towers, and at the gateways or entrances guard-houses were located in which sentinels kept watch.

The dwelling of the mico usually occupied a central position in the village. It was either sunk below the level of the ground to avoid the heat, or was elevated upon an artificial mound. Around, in the order of rank, were congregated the houses of the chiefs and principal men. The cabins of the common people were circular or parallelogrammic in plan, the walls being made of upright poles, and the roofs covered with cane, palmetto leaves, moss, or earth. The summer houses were open, while those intended for occupancy during the winter were often plastered with clay. In many instances, particularly during hot weather, the cooking was done outside of the cabins, and in small structures specially built for that purpose. Around the residences of the chiefs — which were more ample than those of the common people — extended deep balconies, furnished with mats and cane seats. Each village had its large council-house where public deliberations were held.

Sometimes, as at Talomeco, there was a mausoleum, or temple, wherein reposed the skeletons of dead micos and priests.

This was supplemented by a building which served as an armory. If located at some distance from natural spring, lake, or river, an artificial pond was dug to furnish the town with the requisite supply of fresh water.

Ephemeral in their character, these primitive structures were liable to early decay, and had to be constantly renewed. At certain seasons these villages were almost deserted of their inhabitants who repaired in large bodies to favorite streams and to the coast to fish and hunt.

To the office of chief ruler among these Southern tribes appertained powers well-nigh despotic. In approaching a king the subject used gestures modified in degree but similar in form to those employed in the adoration of the sun; the intimation being that to his person and rank were accorded a superiority, a dignity, and an authority near akin but subordinate to those which inhered in that celestial luminary, admitted to be the most potent and admirable representative of the goodness and supremacy of the Great Spirit.

At the earliest period of our acquaintance with these peoples they were divided into families, nations, and confederacies. Among all the patriarchal relation was observable. Over the confederacy ruled a king, counseled and supported by micos of component tribes. The office was generally elective, and the advancement to this highest grade was usually accorded to him most worthy of it. As chief magistrate he presided over the grand council. The office of mico, or ruler of the tribe, was also elective; in some instances hereditary. Subject to the advice and consent of his council, the power of life and death, the ability to command the entire labor and obedience of his subjects, and the direction of affairs, both civil and military, rested with the king.

The great chief of the Natchez bore the appellation of the *Sun*, and was succeeded in his kingly station by the son of the woman who was most nearly related to him. He acknowledged no superior other than the sun from whom he claimed descent. Over his subjects he wielded despotic power, disposing at will of life, labor, and property. The caciques governing tribes east of the Mississippi, visited by De Soto during his long and devious march, exacted and received the implicit obedience of their subjects. Occasionally, as in the case of the province of Cutifachiqui, a cacica bore sway.

Presiding at all public deliberations, having at his disposal the

corn and meats collected in the public granaries, prescribing the times for planting and harvesting, entitled to the first fruits of the season, possessing the exclusive privilege of granting audience to deputies and strangers, proclaiming feasts and festivals, directing his warriors in battle, providing for the care and maintenance of widows whose husbands had perished in fight or by disease, hearing and determining disputes among his subjects, counseling war or peace, meting out capital punishment to offenders or captives, and capable of compelling the united labor of a community for the accomplishment of a prescribed object, the chief mico was at once king, adviser, judge, master, leader. Nothing short of a controlling will such as his could have compassed the erection of those larger earth-works which even now are recognized as monuments of industry.

Next in rank appeared the great war chief, the leader of the army. In council his seat was nearest the mico, and at the head of his noted warriors. His voice was most weighty in military affairs. In the absence of the mico, it was his privilege to preside over the deliberations of the general council. Subordinate to this war captain were leaders of parties and heads of families claiming precedence according to their acknowledged influence, wisdom, strategy, and valor.

Here, too, was the high priest, charged with the conduct of spiritual affairs. He it was who ministered between the people and the Great Spirit, and offered propitiatory sacrifices to the sun as the immediate giver of heat and life and light. No council determined upon a hostile expedition until he had augured the fortune of the enterprise. Believed capable of foretelling the coming drought, of bringing rain upon the thirsty zea, of quieting the tempest and directing the lightning in its course, of expelling evil spirits and invoking the presence of such as imparted health and plenty, this personage was most marked in his influence.

And, then, another prominent individual in this primitive society was the conjurer, who often united the callings of priest, physician, and fortune-teller. Presumed to be in constant communication with spirits, both good and evil; addicted to numerous and extravagant incantations; possessing charms mysterious and, to the common mind, inexplicable; indulging in prolonged and violent contortions while practicing his deceptions; claiming and exhibiting no inconsiderable knowledge of simples, philters, and medicinal herbs; administering fumigations, inhala-

tions, baths, blood-lettings, scarifications, local applications, and emetics, the violence of which, says Coreal, one must be either a Floridian or the Devil to resist, the Jaoüna imposed largely upon the credulity of the community and received rich rewards from his patients, who, in pain and superstition, regarded the raving of the quack as the utterance of a divine language, beheld the behavior of the cunning impostor with awe, and submitted with unquestioning obedience to the treatment he prescribed. It must be admitted, however, that these medicine men excelled in the treatment of many distempers, and that some of the cures effected by them were remarkable. The early accounts are full of curious instances of their successful conjurations.

"If we have seen one American, we may be said to have seen all, their color and make are so near alike." Such was the observation of Ulloa, the entire accuracy of which we will not pause to discuss.

Tall, erect, copper-colored, with long, straight black hair, with prominent noses and cheek-bones, with regular features, arched brows, and eyes rather small but active and full of fire; usually grave in deportment, reserved in conversation, tenacious of natural rights, hospitable to strangers, kind to members of their own tribe, honest, haughty and cruel to an enemy, crafty, valiant, and often engaged in war; expert in hunting and fishing, fond of music and dancing, observant of festivals, nimble of foot; skilled in the use of the bow and arrow, the club, the axe, the harpoon, and the blow-gun; patient of fatigue and hunger, yet given to ease and frequent meals; addicted to smoking; acknowledging the existence of a Supreme Being; adoring the sun as the symbol of life and heat; entertaining some notions of a life beyond the grave; plagued with visions, dreams, trances, and the influences of malign and lesser divinities; worshiping the Devil, and offering human sacrifices in propitiation of the Spirit of Evil; indulging to some extent in image worship, and perpetuating the memory of the distinguished dead by mounds and figures of wood and stone; excelling in the manufacture of fictile ware, boats of single trees, shawls, coverings, mantles beautifully woven and adorned with feathers, articles of dress made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and deer, carefully prepared, dyed, and colored, fishing lines and nets of the inner bark of trees, mats and baskets of split cane, reeds, and rushes, and laboriously constructed weirs for the capture of fishes; extensively engaged in the fabrication, use, and interchange of various arti-

cles and implements of wood, bone, shell, copper, and stone; frequently monogamous — the contubernal relationship being dissoluble at the will of the male — the chiefs and principal men claiming as many wives as fancy and station dictated; ornament-loving, jealous of their possessions, given to agriculture, obedient to kings, — thus runs a general description of these primitive inhabitants.

For the use of queens, on public occasions, a palanquin was prepared. Furnished with mats, cushioned seat, and feathered canopy, it was borne on the shoulders of men, preceded by musicians playing upon reed flutes, accompanied by a retinue of attendants carrying baskets of fruit, and guarded by plumed warriors bearing javelins in their hands. The female breech-clout, made of the long moss of the country, depending from the shoulders, passed transversely below the navel and across the opposite hip. It was far more graceful and flowing than the flap and band, or moss-wad, used by the men. Except when compelled, during the winter, to clothe themselves in skins, blankets, and shawls of their own manufacture, the Southern Indians passed their time in a state almost entirely nude. Even when attired for war the men claimed but little artificial protection for their bodies, and contented themselves with fanciful head and ear ornaments and personal decorations of various sorts. Upon the left shoulder of him who had rendered himself famous in battle was depicted a tomahawk, the skin being pricked with a sharp instrument to the depth of the tenth of an inch and powdered charcoal rubbed in. Underneath, and indelibly imprinted in like manner, was the hieroglyphic sign of the conquered nation.

Almost universal was the custom of tattooing. Their bodies being so much exposed, the amplest opportunity was afforded for the exhibition of skill and ingenuity in this respect, and also in skin-painting. Ear, nose, and lip ornaments, necklaces, anklets, armlets, and waistbands of pearl and shell, inflated fish-bladders, copper gorgets, and, very rarely, gold beads were worn. Covering the feet were buckskin shoes, reinforced at the bottom, fastened with running-strings around the ankles, and gathered like a purse on the top.

Without recounting the traditions, myths, and speculations regarding the genesis and migrations of these peoples, or discussing the various proofs and hypotheses which might be offered in support of the antiquity of man in this region, it may now be as-

serted that he existed contemporaneously with the mastodon, and that his occupancy dates back to a period indefinitely remote. It has not yet been satisfactorily determined to what time, late or remote, the life of that pachyderm was prolonged. Drift implements have been reported in a few localities, but the search for them has thus far been partial and in the main unsatisfactory.

Exempt from trials incident to a rigorous climate and a barren territory; their wants supplied by the abundant food treasures of the waters and the forests, and the spontaneous offerings of a warm and generous soil; in a great measure relieved from those grievous struggles for covering and subsistence which in colder latitudes manifestly tend to harden the condition of the savage and embitter his existence, these peoples, pleasure-loving in their disposition, were, at the time of our first acquaintance with them, leading gentle, agricultural lives, and claiming old and prominent monuments. Without thought of change, they had developed a degree of taste, skill, and a variety in manufacture superior to those exhibited by more northern tribes, excepting, perhaps, some resident in the Mississippi Valley and its tributaries. Among the Natchez, in many respects, this Southern semi-civilization found its fullest expression, its most marked development. There the machinery of temple, idol, priest, keepers of sacred things, religious festivals, sun worship, and all that, was most elaborate, and there the preservation of the eternal fire enlisted the utmost solicitude.

When the Europeans first landed upon these Southern coasts the Florida Indians were, and apparently for an indefinite period anterior to that time had been, addicted to the custom of mound-building. Desiring to wrest from oblivion the names and graves of those who were famous in the kingly office, distinguished in arms, or noted in the priesthood; sympathizing in that wish so natural to the human heart to accord affectionate and honorable sepulture to friend and kindred; eager to dignify the dwellings of their rulers; and ever on the alert to descry from afar the danger which menaced town and temple, these peoples were led to erect tumuli which will here remain for centuries yet to come the most prominent and interesting exhibitions of early constructive skill. As affording the most substantial proofs of primitive occupancy, and often being treasure-houses wherein are garnered the surest expressions of the customs, rites, and manufactures of nations whose former existence can otherwise scarcely be estab-

lished, we turn with peculiar interest to these mounds for glimpses of a forgotten past.

That sepulchral tumuli of no mean dimensions have been erected within the historic period is capable of easy demonstration. It is equally certain that the custom of mound-building was generally discontinued shortly after European settlements were formed in this country. Subsequently, instead of being carefully disposed in the womb of the laboriously constructed mound, the dead were exposed upon ephemeral scaffolds, hidden away in the hollow trunks of trees, submerged in ponds, lakes and streams, buried in the depths of forests, concealed in ledges of rocks, or laid away beneath the floors of lodges with few and feeble indicia to denote their last resting-places.

That this ancient population was essentially shocked and demoralized by Spanish and French incursions; that ideas of government, worship, and native power, long entertained, were sadly overturned; and that the influence of the European upon the institutions and customs of these peoples was most disastrous, can scarcely admit of a reasonable doubt. That the abandonment of many of their established notions and customary labors is to be attributed to this violent and sudden upheaval of preconceived ideas, to the ravages of foreign diseases, to disintegration and loss encountered at the hands of Europeans and experienced in wars fomented by this new order of things, and that these Indians, recognizing their inferiority and weakness when contrasted with the intelligence and power of the white race, discontinued in large measure their primitive industries and neglected their weightier efforts, may be regarded as not improbable. That in this changed condition of affairs we find at least a partial explanation of the discontinuance of the custom of mound-building may be fairly claimed.

While it may not be confidently asserted that the Indians of the sixteenth century and their progenitors were the authors of all the earth-works found in this region, and particularly of the larger terraced mounds and truncated pyramids, and while we may be unable fully to explain how later tribes became less patient of labor and neglectful of customs which gave rise to such enduring monuments, the likelihood is that these earth-works were constructed in the olden time by peoples akin to and possessed of no higher art and civilization than characterized the nations resident here at the dawn of the historic period.

Among these Southern tumuli we occasionally meet with ani-

mal, bird-shaped, and emblematic earth and stone works allied to structures of that class so frequent in Wisconsin, and sometimes observed in other localities in the West.

Without attempting an exact classification or minute description of these prominent indications of early occupancy and primitive labor, we may note the existence of truncated pyramids, constructed of earth, rising from ten to seventy-five feet above the level of the valleys and fertile plains upon which they are located. Generally frustums of four-sided pyramids, they materially differ in size; some of the largest containing, at the top, a level area of an acre.

The approaches to their summits were effected not infrequently by means of inclined planes and graded paths, either direct or winding. Occasionally these structures are supplemented by terraces and platforms or curtains. The slope of their sides is such as would be assumed by earth and clay conveyed in baskets and earthen vessels and deposited from above. Sometimes standing alone, these structures are often associated with conical mounds, frustums of smaller pyramids, and grave-mounds.

If builded near a river, these tumuli were now and then inclosed by circular or semicircular earth-walls, or by canals communicating with the stream, and, at the upper ends and along their courses, developing into artificial ponds which served as fish-preserves. Introduced from the river into these artificial lakes, — the narrow mouths of which were closed by gates made of cane and slivers of wood, — the fishes were there bred, and were thence caught with nets, various forms of which were in use among these Indians. The limits of the ancient towns are indicated by the trend of these canals and parapets. The spaces thus inclosed were often considerable, and within them may yet be seen the remains of elevated roads, wells, traces of covered ways leading to the water, and chunky-yards.

Some of the more prominent of these truncated pyramids and cones may, we think, be recognized as *elevations prepared for the erection of temples for sun worship;* while others of less altitude were seemingly intended as *foundations for the residences of kings, micos, and priests.* By more than one of the early historians are we informed of the existence of large artificial tumuli, with precipitous sides and flat tops, located in valleys and near the banks of streams, which were erected for the purpose of sustaining the houses of chiefs and their families. Wooden stairways, made by cutting inclined planes fifteen or twenty feet wide,

flanked on the sides with posts and with poles laid horizontally across the earthen steps, afforded facile access to their tops. At the foot of such a mound a square was marked out around which were established the dwellings of the principal members of the tribe. Outside appeared the cabins of the common people. A disposition to dignify the residence of the mico, a willingness at all times to elevate the ruler above his subjects, and a desire to promote his safety and that of his family are assigned as motives for the expenditure of so much labor.

Indicating the chosen seats and towns of these peoples, proclaiming the subjection of the general labor to the undisputed will of king and high priest, betokening the supremacy of the governor over the governed, certifying the fixed character of the population, and illustrating the attention bestowed upon the erection not only of temples for sun worship, but also of substantial structures denoting the extent, permanency, and accord of the settlement, such tumuli and their dependent works are full of interest and afford material for careful study.

A second class of tumuli worthy of mention includes conical mounds, truncated and situated upon commanding bluffs and hill-tops, which served as *signal stations* in this densely wooded region. In the absence of bugle note, the roll of drum, the boom of cannon, and the flight of the electric spark, fires kindled upon their summits, with their glare by night and smoke by day, gave tokens which, repeated from kindred mounds along the reaches of rivers or on answering eminences, within a period much shorter than that allotted to the swiftest runner warned tribe and nation of approaching danger. These mounds of observation may be recognized by their peculiar locations and relative positions, and by the fact that when opened they are found to contain nothing other than the traces of fire underlying the roots of overshadowing trees.

Springing from the depths of extensive swamps and in regions liable to inundation may be seen tumuli of considerable dimensions which served either as *retreats* during seasons of sudden overflow, or as foundations for the dwellings of those who here hunted and fished.

It was manifestly the custom of the Florida tribes in the sixteenth century — a practice too which had long been observed — to dignify the last resting-places of their dead with coverings of earth, stone, or shells. This method of perpetuating the memory of the departed, and of imparting prominence and permanency to

thier graves appears, during periods the most remote and in localities widely separated, to have suggested itself as most natural, convenient, and enduring.

Those mighty mound-tombs of Scythian kings towering along the banks of the Borysthenes, that prince of tumuli which for more than twenty-five hundred years has perpetuated the memory of Alyattes, the grave of the murdered Agamemnon, Hephæstion's tomb, the burial-place of Patroclus, and the countless barrows and sepulchral tumuli scattered over the plains, peopling the valleys and crowning the hills of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and the islands of the oceans, all attest the universality of this custom.

Compared with each other, these tumuli give evidence of varying ages. Hundreds of years agone, some of them were abandoned to the guardianship of the forest trees, while a few have been erected since commerce was established with the white race. Appearing singly and in groups, they vary in size from the almost obliterated mound scarce swelling above the ground littered with sherds of pottery and fragments of bone, to the well-preserved tumulus five and twenty feet high and possessing a base diameter of a hundred feet. The prevailing type is conical, although structures ovoidal in outline are not uncommon. The tendency of the aboriginal population being toward the rivers and deep swamps, the rich valleys and the sea-coast where water, oysters, mussels, fishes, and game were easily procurable, where streams afforded facilities for communication, and where a generous soil made amends for the rude cultivation bestowed, the sites and antiquity of villages and resorts are certified by these monuments.

Later generations — whether direct descendants of the former, or strangers to them, we cannot positively either affirm or deny, — oblivious of ancient memories and less patient of labor, utilized many of these older tumuli for the purposes of secondary interments. Thus will appear instances of sepulture on the tops and sides of mounds, only a few feet below the surface, evidently the work of more recent tribes, while the skeletons and property of the dead in whose honor these tumuli were heaped up lie at the bottom and on a level with or below the surrounding earth. Wasted by the elements, robbed of distinctive recollections by the oblivion of time and the carelessness of those who came after, and torn by the furrows of a new civilization, —

"The very generations of the dead
Are swept away, and tomb inherits tomb
Until the memory of an age is fled."

In Plate XL. of the "Brevis Narratio," Le Moyne furnishes an illustration of the mound which the Florida Indians heaped above their dead kings and priests: "*Defuncto aliquo Rege ejus Provinciæ, magna solemnitate sepelitur, & ejus tumulo crater, è quo bibere solebat, imponitur, defixis circa ipsum tumulum multis sagittis.*"

Adopting this suggestion, confirmed as it is by later narratives and observations, we will not greatly err in designating sepulchral tumuli containing a single skeleton as *chieftain* or *priest mounds*. Such distinguished dead, so far as our experience goes, were never burnt. Prior to inhumation, the corpses were placed upon the ground, where they were sometimes held in a sitting posture by being lashed to a post. Possessions of value were laid at the feet or placed by the side, and then the earth was piled above by mourning friends and obedient subjects. For its further protection, prior to the construction of the tumulus, the body was sometimes defended from contact with the rising earth by a clay covering, several inches thick, sun-dried or baked, and closely resembling a large earthen pot, inverted. From such mounds have been obtained some of the choicest specimens of the workmanship of these peoples in stone, bone, and shell.

Among other nations the custom obtained of depositing in wooden chests, carefully made and placed upon shelves, the skeletons of kings, chiefs, noted warriors, and priests. Near by, and in smaller chests and cane-baskets, were accumulated valuable furs, robes of dressed skins, mantles woven of the inner rind of trees, and of a species of grass, well beaten and resembling flax, feather coverings of various colors, and stores of pearls. The mausoleum at Talomeco, which served as a receptacle for such coffins and chests, is said to have been a hundred paces long and forty broad. Its lofty roof was constructed of cane reeds, and the entrance to the temple was guarded by gigantic wooden statues, carved with considerable skill, some of them twelve feet high. Armed with various weapons, they maintained threatening attitudes and ferocious looks. Within were statues of various shapes and sizes. Similar receptacles were observed among the Natchez and some of the Virginia tribes.

In certain localities cremation was practiced by these Southern Indians. The contents of not a few grave-mounds consist of

ones, charred fragments of pipes, pottery, and various
use and ornament, and partially consumed pieces of
such *busta* were multitudes of skeletons remanded to
ss.

rial also obtained, particularly in the case of children;
neral vase containing the bones being made of terra
ecurely covered by a lid of the same material, the ves-
posited in the common earth, or committed to the keep-
general grave-mound.

g no easy task, with the rude implements, friable earthen
nd frail baskets at command, to construct a large sepul-
nulus, these peoples were in the habit of reserving the
s of their dead until they accumulated sufficiently to war-
general inhumation. Primitive undertakers with their
ils stripped the decaying flesh from the bones, disjointed
etons, placed the cleaned bones in coffins or chests fabri-
canes and splints, and stored them away in the village
use, where, marked for the recognition of relatives, and
arded, they remained until they so multiplied as either
ie structure, or to enlist the sympathy of the community
rection of a grave-mound.

a day appointed, the kindred of the deceased repairing
one-house, and taking up the coffins of their respective
llowed one another in the order of seniority. Accompa-
the inhabitants of the town or nation, they proceeded to
signated spot in the vicinity of the settlement, where, in
dal form, the chests were deposited on the ground. In
nstances wood was added and fire applied to the pile.
the cremation relatives and friends sat around chanting
nd smoking, or indulged in funeral dances, and delivered
s eulogistic of the virtues and valor of the deceased. The
hen used were finally contributed to the pyre, and above
lected ashes the multitude set about erecting the *family*
l grave-mound. Generally, however, the coffins contain-
skeletons and personal property of the dead were placed
r upon the ground and the earth piled above.

re cremation occurred, it seems no addition was made to
nulus when once completed. Although family or tribal
s in which the dead were entombed without being burnt
contain but a single stratum of bones, we find examples
gradual formation of large grave-mounds by consecutive
; the different strata indicating that the skeletons had lain

for unequal periods in the ground, and being separated from ea other by intervening layers of earth.

Sometimes small islands were dedicated almost exclusively the purpose of sepulture.

In the vicinity of the coast, oyster, clam, periwinkle, a conch shells were freely employed in covering grave-mound thereby imparting a permanency which they would not otherwi have possessed. Lacustrine and fluviatile unios and bivalv were expended in a similar way. Such protection afforded mean defense against the disintegrating influences of time a the elements. Scattered upon sea-islands, along headlands, a near the borders of lakes and rivers are numerous mounds co posed either wholly or in part of shells. There they have sto for centuries, and there, if undisturbed, they will endure for indefinite period.

In certain localities may still be seen *stone-piles* designating t spots where warriors perished in battle.

Another mode of sepulture is represented by *stone grav* parallelogrammic, cruciform, or square in outline, some two fe deep, and from eighteen inches to seven feet in length. T sides consist of rough slabs of stone set on edge. The botto are paved with small bowlders, and the tops covered with sto slabs. Thus were formed rude sarcophagi or vaults. In so the corpse was deposited at full length, the arms being dispos by the side. In others, the bodies were laid with the arms e tended at right angles, which explains their cruciform shap Frequently the skeleton was disjointed; the skull being pla in the centre of the vault, and the long bones arranged compact around it. Thus was it accommodated within a narrow compa The smallness of many of these sarcophagi suggested to carel observers the impression that they were the graves of a race pigmies. Curious and interesting are the relics with which the vaults abound, and their contents will amply reward further search.

Within the rayless recesses of caves have been found shrivel bodies, various articles of dress, and implements fashioned by t red race; but these retreats have been but partially explored. thorough and scientific investigation of their floors and aven will doubtless impart additional information most valuable a interesting.

It would be entertaining to recount the funeral customs these peoples as revealed by grave-mounds, as recorded by ea

observers, and as modified in after years by contact with Europeans. But such a description lies not within the limits of this sketch. Nor is it permitted, in enumerating the obvious proofs of early possession and combined labor, to do more than allude to the existence of circumvallations of earth and stone by which hill-tops and eminences were fortified; to the presence of embankments of earth, and ditches isolating considerable areas and protecting villages, temple-mounds, and play-grounds; to the remains of chunky-yards, with their tumuli, elevated spaces, and earth-banks (seats for spectators), of pottery kilns of stone, and pits whence clay was dug for the manufacture of fictile ware, and to traces of open-air workshops. We mention also among these indicia of primitive occupancy extensive refuse piles and shell heaps, composed of marine, fluviatile, and lacustrine shells, upon the animals of which the natives fed and from which they extracted many pearls.

Intermingled with the débris of these long-continued encampments will be seen the bones of fishes, birds, terrapins, alligators, snakes, buffaloes, deer, and other animals, sherds of pottery, arrow and spear points, net sinkers, and manufactured implements of various kinds.

In these refuse piles human bones have been found, split longitudinally, as though the marrow had been extracted from them, and conveying the impression that cannibalism was, at some time and among some peoples, practiced within the limits of ancient Florida.

While it may be regarded as a matter of speculation whether the builders of the largest monuments of early constructive skill within the confines of Georgia were the actual progenitors of the Indians who were occupying the region when it was first visited by Europeans; and while we may not fully comprehend how it came to pass that later tribes were apparently more nomadic in their habits, less addicted to combined and consecutive work, and neglectful of customs which seemingly obtained among the peoples whose united industry compassed these enduring structures, in the light of the Spanish narratives, after a careful survey of the objects themselves, in view of all the facts which have thus far been disclosed both by personal investigation and the observation of others, and while freely admitting that the modern Indians, from various causes, had ceased to engage in the erection of works, the completion of which, with the indifferent implements at command, involved so much tedious labor, we nevertheless see no

good reason for supposing that these prominent tumuli and incl sures may not have been formed in the olden time by peoples c the same race, and no further advanced in the scale of semi-civ lization than the red men native here at the dawn of the histori period. In other words, we do not concur in the suggestion tha the Mound-Builders were distinct from, and superior in art, go ernment, and religious ideas to, the Georgia tribes of the fifteent and sixteenth centuries.

Aside from the profuse and fanciful ornamentation of thei bodies with pigments of red, white, yellow, and black, the South ern Indians displayed no little taste in depicting marks, sign images, and symbols on prepared skins, wood, bone, and ston The smooth bark of a growing tree or the face of a rock was in cised in commemoration of some feat of arms, in explanation c the direction and strength of a military expedition, or in solemn zation of a treaty of peace.

Upon precipitous slopes, and at points almost inaccessibl have been noted carved and colored representations of the sun accompanied by rude characters the significance of which is i the main unintelligible to the present observer.

Roughly cut intaglios in imitation of the human form, of th hands and feet of men, of the tracks of buffalo, deer, and othe animals, of bows and arrows, canoes, circles, and various figure are still extant. Ignorant of alphabet, phonetic sign, or digi these peoples, by means of this primitive system of picture-writin and intaglios, sought to perpetuate the recollection of prominer events, and by such visible shapes to communicate desired inte ligence. This effort was supplemented by the use of wampun which, in certain cases, possessed a significance scarcely inferic to that of the knotted *quipu*.

The boldest attempts at sculpture are expressed by image sometimes two feet high and more, carved out of a talcose ston and representing the human figure, both male and female, usuall in a sitting or kneeling posture. From the existence of suc objects, and of images of terra cotta and wood, it may be inferre that something like idol or hero worship obtained among the primitive peoples.

Proofs are not wanting to confirm the belief that the worshi of the Priapus was observed among not a few of the Southe nations. As the sun was adored as the author of light and jo of heat and increase, so was this symbol of the life-giving princ ple saluted with homage, and accredited with the attributes divinity.

Ignorant of iron and bronze, these primitive peoples indulged in the use of copper. Treating it as a malleable stone, they hammered it into various forms of use and ornament, among which may be enumerated ceremonial axes, gouges, chisels, knives, spear-heads, arrow-points, wristbands, armlets, anklets, gorgets, spangles, beads, pendants, rods, and spindles for perforating pearls. That the principal supply of this metal was procured from the ancient mines of Lake Superior seems highly probable. So extensive were the aboriginal trade relations that there would have been no difficulty in transporting both the ore and the manufactured objects. An examination of copper implements, taken from the graves of these Southern Indians, justifies the suggestion. That they were ignorant of the art of melting copper, and that they did not invoke the agency of fire to facilitate the manufacture of articles from this material, may be safely asserted. All the specimens we have seen present a laminated structure, and we are not aware that any moulds for casting have yet been found. Small nuggets of gold and silver, perforated for suspension as ornaments, have been taken from ancient graves. Relics of this kind are very rare. Such were possibly the tinklets of gold to which Cabeça de Vaca refers. Copper objects of primitive fabrication are not abundant within the territory formerly occupied by the Southern tribes. Articles made of hematite are frequently obtained.

Among these Southern Indians the manufacture of implements of stone, bone, and shell was general and very excellent. Specimens of unusual beauty and symmetry attest this fact. Living in a genial climate, the warm earth yielding spontaneously many fruits, forest and river abounding with animal life, and the contest with nature for subsistence being by no means arduous, these peoples enjoyed every opportunity for sport, amusement, personal decoration, and for the exhibition of taste and skill in the fabrication of articles of use and ornament.

Famous were the arrow-makers of this region. Traces of their open-air workshops may be seen not only in elevated localities, but even on the coast, and upon knolls in the depths of swamps where *nuclei*, transported from great distances, were splintered and chipped into desired shapes. These arrow and spear points are remarkable for beauty of material and excellency of workmanship. Party-colored jaspers, smoky, milky, and sweet-water quartz, pure crystals, chalcedony, and varieties of flint and chert were the favorite stones from which these implements were

fashioned. Among them every known form finds expression, and they are of all sizes, from the delicate point scarce half an inch in length to the formidable spear or lance-head fourteen inches long and weighing considerably more than two pounds. The light, tough river cane (*Arundinaria macrosperma*) formed the customary shaft for these points. Shafts split from hard wood, and rounded and smoothed by means of grooved coarse-grained stones, were also in use. Spear-heads fastened to wooden handles were hurled in battle, were employed at close quarters to parry blows and deliver thrusts, and proved serviceable in the capture of sturgeon and large game. It would appear that the manufacture of these implements was somewhat monopolized by particular individuals in each tribe, who devoted their time and labor to their fabrication, and acquired a dexterity quite remarkable when we consider the limited tools at command. As these objects were finished, they were often secreted in the ground, whence they were taken from time to time and disposed of as occasion offered.

Not infrequently these artificers, with considerable store of articles on hand, would perform long journeys to exchange their implements for commodities foreign to the regions in which they dwelt. To such traders safe conduct was accorded, and they were welcomed wherever they went. Most attractive stone articles are found in localities far distant from the points where the materials of which they are made could have been procured, and it is to the practical operation of these trade relations that their dissemination may be fairly ascribed.

Cabeça de Vaca informs us that the Florida Indians were all archers, admirable in proportions, of great activity and strength, with bows as thick as a man's arm, eleven or twelve spans in length, and capable of projecting arrows a long distance and with wonderful precision. Even the good armor of the followers of De Soto did not afford safe protection against these missiles. On many occasions the bodies of the Spaniards were traversed from side to side and their horses killed by these weapons. In the battle of Mauvila there fell of the mail-clad Christians eighty-two, while the survivors bore the marks of seventeen hundred and seventy dangerous wounds inflicted by Indian arrows. With such ancient artillery did these peoples not only wage wars, but provide themselves, and that bountifully, with buffalo, deer, wild turkeys, game of various sorts, and large fishes.

Bow-strings were made of stag's gut or thongs of deer-skin.

A supply of arrows was carried in a fawn-skin quiver which depended from the right hip. The tip was fastened to the shaft by means of moistened sinews, a glue made of the velvet horns of the deer, or a preparation of resin. Youths were regularly exercised in the use of these weapons, and became very expert in handling the blow-gun from which light arrows, feathered with thistle wool, were projected against birds, squirrels, rabbits, and other small game. Ordinary arrows were fledged with turkey-feathers.

Of grooved axes, celts, perforated hatchets, and ceremonial axes, the varieties are abundant and the manufacture is most admirable. Weighing from a quarter of a pound to twelve pounds and upwards, and generally made of greenstone or diorite, they were first picked into shape with a sharp-pointed implement and subsequently, at great labor, ground and polished. Lafitau, in commenting upon the tedious toil involved in this process, remarks: "The life of a savage is often insufficient for accomplishing the work, and hence such an implement, however rude and imperfect it may be, is considered a precious heirloom for the children." Chipped and ground axes of jasper sometimes occur, and occasionally some were fashioned of hematite. Ceremonial axes of ferruginous quartz, polished to the last degree, have been found. Perforations were compassed by solid and hollow drills operated with sharp sand and water. Whetstones served to restore the edges when dulled by use.

Instances have been noted in which both the blade and handle were cut out of a solid piece of diorite. These implements were some thirteen inches in length, with blades about six inches long and rather more than two inches wide at the cutting edge. At the lower end of the handle was a perforation for the suspension of the weapon. The manufacture of these axes, hatchets, and celts was discontinued so soon as iron implements were freely furnished by the Europeans.

We may not essay a description of the various forms of stone adzes, picks, scrapers, gouges, awls or borers, knives, cutting implements, saws, leaf-shaped implements, smoothing and crushing stones, hammer stones, hoes, spades, mortars, pestles, nut-stones, and other articles of bone, shell, and stone, which still declare the occupations, industries, and mechanical labors of these nations.

Interesting as it would be to revive their piscatorial contrivances and engagements during that remote period when pond,

lake, swamp, and river were replete with animal life, and when, in the language of Ribault, the waters of the Florida coast were "boiling and roaring through the multitude of all kinds of fish," we can only refer to artificial preserves where fishes were bred and taken with nets; to the use of bone and shell hooks, and lines twisted from the fibres of bark and silk-grass; to the manufacture of stone plummets and net-sinkers, perforated, notched, and grooved; to the construction of dams, traps, and extensive weirs for taking fishes; to the practice of intoxicating them by lashing ponds with the branches of certain trees, and scattering pounded horse-chestnuts and roots in the water; to attracting them, by night, with bright pitch-pine fires kindled in the bows of canoes; to their capture with the bow and arrow, and the destruction of the larger kind with spears and reed harpoons.

Upon their weirs, traps, nets, and mechanical contrivances of this sort the Southern Indians largely depended for support. During certain months of each year they resorted in great multitudes to the coast and to the banks of rivers, and spent much time in taking fishes. Large quantities, when smoked and dried, were carried to their private cribs and public storehouses.

Ribault says the Indians of May River put as presents into his boats "sundry fishes which with mervelous speed they run to take in their packs made in the water with great reeds, so well and cunningly set together after the fashion of a Labarinthe or Maze, with so many turns and crooks as it is impossible to do it without much consideration and industry." Weirs and set-nets were sometimes held in position by large, perforated soapstone sinkers, and by stone anchors or weights, notched and grooved. Upon hand-nets, push-nets, and dip-nets much reliance was placed. In the refuse piles indicating these ancient fishing resorts no relic is more common than the perforated and notched soapstone sinker.

Were we called upon to suggest a class of articles which amply expressed the patient industry and mechanical skill of these primitive workers in stone, we would be inclined to select those beautiful objects known as *discoidal stones*, many of which were used in playing that great gambling game called by the Cherokees *Chungke*, in which the contestants were engaged from morning until night, caring nothing for the sun's rays, staking their ornaments, weapons, apparel, and even wives and personal liberty upon the hazard, and refraining not from its excitement until all was lost or utter prostration forbade further exertion.

The spaces prepared for playing this game have not wholly disappeared. Rectangular in outline, slightly elevated, rendered quite level, and freed from all impediments such as roots and stones, their surfaces were sometimes hardened by a flooring of rammed clay. All known types of these discoidal stones are here richly represented, and ferruginous quartz, marble, agate, and a hard, black, close-grained stone were the materials generally employed in their manufacture. Polished to the last degree, they are fashioned with a mathematical accuracy which could not be excelled were the skill of a modern workman with compass and metallic tools invoked. In the hands of later tribes, some, possessing saucer-shaped cavities, were applied to secondary uses and treated as mortars for pulverizing substances serviceable for paint.

No longer is this famous game played within the limits of Florida of the olden time. Like the exercise of the *discus* in the heroic age, it has now become only a tradition, a shadowy memory. The carefully prepared areas over which the red athletes rushed in enthusiastic pursuit of victory, at the expense of time, property, and personal liberty, are now deserted and rugged with the trunks and roots of huge forest trees. The anointed poles and the swift hands which launched them have alike crumbled into nothingness.

Winners and losers, oblivious of their profits and losses, the exultations and the disappointments of this exciting amusement, are themselves forgotten, and little remains to remind us of the former existence and prevalence of this popular game, characterized by severe exercise, singular dexterity, and desperate ventures, save these discoidal stones so remarkable for their beauty and symmetry and so declaratory of the skill and labor expended in their manufacture.

Pretermitting all else save a bare mention of medicine and ornamental tubes, pierced tablets, pendants of hematite, greenstone, quartz, and jasper, amulets of striated slate, stone plates, mirrors of mica membranacea, slung stones, and other articles the uses of which are not always well ascertained, we venture the remark that in no portion of the United States other than that whose antiquities we are now considering, unless it be in the valleys of Ohio, can be found so many and such excellent specimens of ancient pipes.

Entertaining the belief that the Great Spirit was addicted to smoking, and regarding the tobacco plant as a direct gift from

him for the enjoyment of his favorite children, the pipe was esteemed by many as a sacred object, and smoking became, at times, a devotional exercise. The incense of tobacco being pleasing to the Father of Life, the ascending smoke was selected as the most suitable medium of communicating with the great unknown. The curative properties of tobacco were invoked in some diseases, and its narcotic influences recognized as a solace in hours of ease and during periods of hunger and fatigue. The small clay or stone pipe was the constant companion of the Southern Indian while engaged in hunting, fishing, or in war, and amid the laziness of his rude home life. The more imposing calumet, with its long stem adorned with feathers, was present on occasions of moment. Its introduction was essential to a declaration of war, and with it was the treaty of amity solemnized. Alternate whiffs from its fuming bowl were tantamount to the signing and sealing by the contracting parties. From no solemn conference or important assembly was it absent. The ceremonies and dances observed in its honor were numerous and impressive. As embodied in and symbolized by the calumet, public faith was inviolate, and he who bore it as a token of peace was entitled to safe conduct through the nations.

Serpentine, gneiss, steatite, oölite, soap-stone, and a tough stone composed of mica and dark brown feldspar were the materials usually selected for the manufacture of pipes of this class. Many are bird and animal shaped, — some of them weighing as much as eight pounds. Their bottoms are flat so as to maintain an upright position when placed on the ground. The bowls, generally at right angles with the shanks, are capacious, with substantial walls, and cavities either circular or square. The apertures for the stems are large. Although generally plain, the surfaces are, in not a few instances, ornamented with incised lines.[1]

We have observed very few pipes in this region made of Catlinite.

Common pipes were manufactured of clay and stone. Occasionally they occur fabricated of some hard material such as

[1] Others, with ample, cup-shaped bowls, possess apertures no less than eight in number for the insertion of stems, thus affording opportunity for an equal number of smokers at the same moment to partake of the consolations of the fuming weed from a common receptacle.

Others still, with a central bowl, exhibit two elongated shanks in the same plane, perforated for the insertion of long stems, so that two individuals, facing each other, can at the same time smoke the same pipe.

quartz. In many instances a hole was drilled through the heel, or lower edge of the shank, so as to admit of suspension when the object was not in use.[1] The ordinary swamp cane supplied convenient stems. Associated with the truncated pyramids and larger tumuli have been found pipes, denominated idol-pipes, evidently of great antiquity, generally representing the human form in a sitting posture, the bowl supported in the uplifted hands, the face upturned, the hair confined at the top of the head and thence falling backwards, and the perforation for the stem entering below the shoulders and passing through the back and belly into the bottom of the bowl. Such specimens are usually about six inches in height. They may be easily distinguished from the human-shaped pipes of the Cherokees which frequently, in the language of Adair, cannot "much be commended for their modesty."

To the pottery of this region the Knight of Elvas pays high compliment when he describes it as "little differing from that of Estremoz or Montemor."

If we may believe Cabeça de Vaca, some of the Florida Indians were either ignorant or neglectful of the potter's trade. "Not having discovered the use of pipkins to boil what they would eat," so runs the narrative, "they fill the half of a large calabash with water, and throw on the fire many stones of such as are most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot, they are taken up with tongs of sticks and dropped into the calabash until the water in it boils from the fervor of the stones. Then, whatever is to be cooked is put in, and, until it is done, they continue taking out cooled stones and throwing in hot ones. Thus they boil their food." This statement is certainly not of general application, for we have abundant proofs that the manufacture of fictile articles by these peoples was not only common, but also that it had been carried on, from periods the most remote, in almost all localities inhabited by them. It may be safely asserted that as savages they excelled in the ceramic art, bestowing special care upon the selection of clays, their admixture with powdered shells, gravel, and pulverized mica, and upon the shape and ornamentation of their vessels. The use of the potter's wheel seems to have been unknown. Surviving the changes

[1] Much labor was bestowed upon the fabrication and ornamentation of these pipes, both common and ceremonial. Various are the birds and animals which they represent. Pigments of white, red, black, and blue were employed in the decoration of their exterior walls. But a little while ago we beheld a large bird-shaped pipe, two beautiful opal stones having been inserted as eyes.

of centuries, and affording glimpses of ancient taste and customs, these fictile articles are among the most interesting remains which have been transmitted. Varied in form, symmetrical in shape, excellent in composition, and diversified in ornamentation, this pottery was both sun-dried and baked. Flat-bottomed jars serving as receptacles for pounded maize, honey, bear's-grease, and oils made from the nuts of the pecan, the hickory-nut, and the walnut; pots varying in their capacities from a pint to ten gallons and upwards, with and without legs and ears; burial urns, water flasks, hooded vases, cups, pans, platters, — all these and more are found; the grave-mounds yielding the best specimens, while fields, refuse piles, and the sites of old villages are covered with countless shards.

Many of these vessels appear to have been modeled within networks, rush-baskets, and coverings of the desired size and shape made of twigs or split cane, or within large calabashes the interior walls of which were carved so as to leave raised figures and lines upon the exterior surfaces of the jars thus formed. Trowel-shaped implements of soapstone and baked clay were used in pressing the plastic material against these contrivances for imparting the desired shape, and in rendering the interior of the open-mouthed vessels and pots smooth and compact. When thus fashioned, the ornamentation upon the vessels, the moulds being burnt or cut away, appears impressed. Blocks of wood and cores of sand and clay were also in vogue.

At other times, while the vessels were drying, flint flakes, the finger nail, the end of a hollow reed, thongs, dies of soapstone and wood, and corn cobs were employed to incise or imprint the desired ornamentation.

Raised mouldings near the rims, ears, legs, and fanciful protuberances were added while the clay was still soft and ready adhesion of such parts could be compassed. By the insertion of pieces of mica and shell, and with the aid of white, red, yellow, blue, and black pigments, the ornamentation was further diversified.

During the hardening process the pots and wide-mouthed jars were sometimes subjected to a heat so intense as to cause a fusion of the particles of the interior surface near akin to glazing. Traces of pottery-kilns, formed of stones and with paved floors, closely resembling rude ovens, are still extant.

From soapstone large tubs, troughs, and smaller vessels were fashioned.

To the women was the construction of this earthenware mainly committed.

The manufacture of fictile articles was abandoned upon the introduction by the Europeans of iron pots and copper kettles.

No fact is more emphatically asserted in the early narratives, or more clearly demonstrated by the relics themselves, than that pearls and shell ornaments were highly prized and extensively worn by these Florida Indians. Near the bay of Espiritu Santo pearls of large size were found, "such as the Indians valued, piercing them for beads" and stringing them about their necks, wrists, waists, and ankles. In welcoming De Soto, the Indian queen at Cutifachiqui drew from over her head a long string of pearls and threw it around his neck with words of courtesy and friendship. From sepulchres there, and at other points along the line of march, the Spaniards obtained quantities of these glistening beads. At the confluence of the Etowah and the Oostenaulla the cacique of Ichiaha presented the adelantado with a string of pearls two fathoms in length, and, having sent his people out over night to gather margatiferous unios from the rivers, the next morning showed the Spaniards how the pearls were extracted from them. Thus are we assured by these and other observers that, in the sixteenth century, upon the persons of the natives and in the graves of their dead, were many pearls, some of them as large as filberts. Grievous was the disappointment of the Spaniards at finding most of them discolored by fire, and rendered valueless for the purpose of commerce from having been perforated with heated copper spindles. The oysters of the Gulf of Mexico and the pearl-bearing unios of the Southern streams and lakes supplied in great abundance these coveted ornaments. That they were eagerly sought after is attested by the artificial shell-heaps still extant upon the coast, on the banks of rivers, and upon the shores of lakes and ponds. The shells were opened by fire, the animals eaten, and the pearls which they contained carefully preserved. So constant and extensive were the trade relations established between the coast region and the interior that these treasures were widely disseminated.

From marine, fluviatile, and lacustrine shells were manufactured beads, gorgets, pendants, arm-guards, masks, pins, drinking cups, spoons, and money. Welcomed everywhere was the trader who brought store of such articles. Dwelling under soft skies, these Southern Indians passed the greater part of the year in a state of nudity, delighting in tattooing and skin-painting, in the

exhibition of necklaces, waist-bands, bracelets, armlets, and anklets of pearls and shells, and in the display of shell pendants and gorgets.

Various are the forms of the shell-beads and gorgets. Some of the latter are very large and curiously engraven. The interior of the shell being lined with an iridescent nacre, and nature having polished that surface beyond all art, the inner and not the outer surface was selected for exhibition. The *oliva* and the *marginella* were used as ornaments, the apices of the former being cut off, and the backs of the latter ground so as to admit of their being strung. Pins fashioned from the columns of the *strombus gigas* were frequently worn.

Thus from an eminence too distant for careful survey, and with a flight too rapid for specific mention, have we glanced at the semi-civilization of the red races who antedated us in the occupancy of this region. Although too general for accurate discrimination, and too discursive for scientific precision, these observations will, it is hoped, convey at least a tolerable impression of the ancient peoples who, in the flood of years, like the restless waves of the ocean, covered our land and, receding, left here and there these sea-shells which we have been gathering, — physical tokens that the great tide of an early and almost forgotten human life was once here.

That the older Indian tribes erected monuments more substantial and imposing than those constructed by the Indians of the eighteenth century cannot be denied. That the Cherokees and Creeks did not in some things equal the aborigines of the sixteenth century as described by the historians of the Spanish and French expeditions must be admitted. Why this decadence in power and industry? Will it be doubted that the burthens imposed, the desolations wrought, and the diseases introduced by Europeans contributed to the manifest demoralization of the primitive population? Time was, if we may fairly judge from the proportions and uses of some of these august tumuli and their attendant relics, when those who built and cared for them occupied a position somewhat in advance of the later Indian tribes. Forming permanent settlements, they devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits, erected temples, fortified localities, worshiped the sun, possessed images, wrought extensively in stone and bone and wood, fashioned money and ornaments of shell, used copper implements, traded extensively, and were not improvident of the future. Such was the fertility of the localities most thickly

peopled by them, so pleasant the climate, and so abundant the supply of game, that these ancient settlers were in great measure exempt from the stern struggle which, among nomadic tribes and under more inhospitable skies, constitutes the great battle with nature for life. With but few temptations to wander, they bestowed much attention upon the cultivation of their fields, and expended great labor in establishing their temples, protecting their abodes, and confirming their chosen seats. And yet they were not exempt from the vicissitudes which have befallen greater and more civilized nations, reverses born of the cupidity and cruelty of strangers.

Certain it is that the inroads of the Spaniards violently shocked this primitive population, imparting new ideas, introducing contagion hitherto unknown, interrupting customs long established, overturning acknowledged government, impoverishing whole districts, engendering a sense of insecurity until that time unfelt, instigating intertribal wars, causing marked changes, and entailing losses and demoralizations far more potent than we are inclined, at first thought, to imagine.

The operation of that inexorable law which subordinates the feebler to the will of the stronger, inaugurated here more than three hundred years agone, has in the end brought about the utter expatriation of the red race from the soil of Georgia. Although half a century has elapsed since the last of the Cherokees departed hence for their enforced homes beyond the Mississippi, Indian memories linger upon our hills and are interwoven with some of the most dramatic episodes in the history of this State. Our

> "Everlasting rivers speak
> Their dialect of yore.
> . . . . . .
> The mountains are their monuments
> Though ye destroy their dust." [1]

[1] For fuller description of the archæology of this region, see *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia Tribes.* Charles C. Jones, Jr. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873.

CHAPTER II.

Early Voyages.—Expedition of Hernando De Soto.

Whether Sebastian Cabot, as has been surmised by some, coasted as far as the shores at present claimed by the modern State of Georgia; whether the veteran soldier Juan Ponce de Leon, while traversing the Land of Flowers in quest of the fountain of perpetual youth, wandered over any portion of the territory ceded more than two centuries afterwards by the Crown of England to Oglethorpe and his associates; whether the careless sea-captain Diego Miruelo in trafficking with the natives held commerce with the ancestors of the Lower Creeks, must, we fear, remain undetermined. That the licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon with his two slave ships, during his ill-starred voyage to Chicora, beheld the low-lying islands which guard the Georgia coast is not improbable; but, so far as we now know, he never landed upon them, or sought by means of the intervening rivers to reach the interior and accomplish his purposed rape of the unsuspecting inhabitants. The tragic overthrow and the wasted fortunes of his second expedition gave to the native dwellers on the banks of the Combahee trinkets and objects of European manufacture which were highly prized and widely distributed.

It is doubtful whether Verrazzano, with his single caravel, came further south than the palmetto-shaded headlands of Carolina. During his blind ramblings of eight hundred miles through the untrodden wilds of Florida in search of some distant territory abounding in gold, Narvaez may have penetrated the jungles of Southern Georgia, but he left no footprints upon the yielding soil. In the Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, however, we have a recorded memory of the expedition replete with interest and archæological value.

In ascending the Savannah River Oglethorpe is said to have carried with him the Journal of Sir Walter Raleigh. From the latitude and marks of the place, as well as from the traditions of the Indians, he was led to believe that Sir Walter had landed at Yamacraw Bluff and conversed with the natives. In fact, a

HERNANDO DE SOTO.

grave-mound, distant some half a mile from the spot, was pointed out by the Indians, who informed the founder of the colony of Georgia that the king who then talked with Raleigh was there interred. It is a pleasant memory and has been repeated for a century and a half, but its truth we seriously question.

It may not be denied, however, that Ribault, acting under the orders of Admiral Coligny, before selecting a location for his fort and planting his Huguenot colony near the mouth of Port Royal, traversed the Georgia coast, observed its harbors, and named its rivers. It was "a fayre coast, stretchyng of a great length, couered with an infinite number of high and fayre trees." The waters "were boyling and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish." The inhabitants were "all naked and of a goodly stature, mightie, and as well shapen and proportioned of body as any people in ye world; very gentle, courteous, and of a good nature." Lovingly entertained were these strangers by the natives, and they were, in the delighful springtime, charmed with all they beheld. As they entered and viewed the country they pronounced it the "fairest, fruitfullest, and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in hony, venison, wilde foule, forests, woods of all sorts, Palm trees, Cypresse, and Cedars, Bayes ye highest and greatest, with also the fayrest vines in all the world, with grapes according, which, without natural art and without man's helpe or trimming, will grow to toppes of Okes and other trees that be of a wonderfull greatnesse, and height. And the sight of the faire medowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue: full of Hernes, Curlues, Bitters, Mallards, Egrepths, Wood-cocks, and all other kinds of small birds: with Harts, Hindes, Buckes, wilde Swine, and all other kindes of wilde beastes, as we perceiued well, both by their footing there, and also afterwardes in other places by their crie and roaring in the night.

"Also there be Conies and Hares: Silke Wormes in merueilous number, a great deale fairer and better than be our silk wormes. To be short, it is a thing vnspeakable to consider the thinges that bee seene there, and shal be founde more and more in this incomperable lande, which, neuer yet broken with plough yrons, bringeth forth al things according to his first nature wherewith the eternall God indued it."

So reads our extract from "The True and Last Discouerie of Florida made by Captain John Ribault in the yeere 1562."

Enraptured with the delights of temperature, sky, woods, and waters, and anxious to transfer to this new domain names conse-

crated by pleasant associations at home, Captain Ribault called our St. Mary's River the *Seine*, the St. Illa the *Somme*, the Alatamaha the *Loire*, the Newport the *Charante*, the Great Ogeechee the *Garonne*, and the Savannah the *Gironde*.

Two years afterwards, when René de Laudonniere visited Ribault's fort, he found it deserted. The stone pillar, inscribed with the arms of France, which he had erected to mark the furthest confines of Charles IX.'s dominion in the Land of Flowers, was garlanded with wreaths. Offerings of maize and fruits lay at its base, and the natives, regarding the structure with awe and veneration, had elevated it into the dignity of a god.

Hesitating to rehabilitate a settlement which had chanced upon such utter misfortune, Laudonniere departed from Port Royal and, passing by the Georgia inlets, selected a site on St. John's bluff where he builded a fort and called it Carolin. In token of the jurisdiction of France, he there elevated a stone column bearing the Royal Arms.

Thus far no permanent lodgment had been effected on the Georgia coast. No collision had here occurred between the Europeans and the natives. The interior was still a *terra incognita*, and the soil was free from blood. The slaughters engendered by fratricidal strife, by national and religious animosities, and by savage brutalities in neighboring territories were not enacted here. The earliest memories of the region are peaceful and happy.

It will be perceived that by none of the voyagers whom we have mentioned, nor by any others, so far as we are advised, had even temporary settlements been formed between the rivers Savannah and St. Mary. And yet, from certain signs of ancient occupancy, consisting of tabby foundations at a few prominent points,[1] we cannot resist the impression that at some remote period small forts were builded or look-outs erected on the Georgia coast long antedating the advent of Oglethorpe. We refrain from everything save a bare mention of them, because the origin, possession, and abandonment of these

"Remnants of things that have pass'd away"

are enshrouded in the darkness of an unrecorded past.

The first Europeans who are known to have traversed the ter-

[1] See De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia*, pp. 29, 30. Wormsloe. 1849.

ritory of primeval Georgia were Hernando de Soto and his companions.

Flushed with the distinction he had won as a captain in Nicaragua, enriched by spoils gathered while a lieutenant general in the conquest of Peru, envious of the greater fame of Pizarro, anxious to achieve victories grander and more startling, and thirsting for booty more abundant, Hernando de Soto sought and obtained from the Spanish Crown a concession to subdue and settle all the region from the river Palmas eastwardly to the "Island of Florida," including the *tierra nueva* adjoining it on the ocean. Northwardly this domain was without specific limit and might be indefinitely enlarged by discovery and occupancy. Over it he was to preside as governor and captain general, with the dignity of adelantado for life, and high sheriff in perpetuity to his heirs.

"For the purpose," — so wrote the king, — "you will take from these our kingdoms, and our said Indias, five hundred men, with the necessary arms, horses, munitions, and military stores; and that you will go hence from these our kingdoms, to make the said conquest and settlement within a year first following, to be reckoned from the day of the date of these articles of authorization; and that when you shall leave the island of Cuba to go upon that enterprise you will take the necessary subsistence for all that people during eighteen months, — rather over than under that time, — entirely at your cost and charges." . . .

As great gain was anticipated, the Crown was careful to reserve to itself, for the first six years, one tenth of all gold which should be realized from mines; and of that precious metal, obtained by barter or as spoil during incursions, one fifth was to be paid into the royal treasury.

Remembering the treasure-trove in Peru, his majesty was further pleased to enjoin that to his tribunal and exchequer should belong one half of the gold, silver, stones, pearls, and other articles of value which might be taken from the graves, sepulchres, ocues, temples, religious precincts, public places, or private hoards of the natives.

To facilitate him in the subjugation and retention of this possession, and that he might the more easily command a convenient base of operations and supplies in the conduct of this great undertaking, De Soto was commissioned by the king, his master, governor of Cuba.

Having, with much deliberation, selected and enlisted six hun-

dred men,[1] competent in every respect and thoroughly equipped, in April, 1538, the adelantado set sail upon his mission. Passing over the bar of San-Lucar on Sunday, — the morning of Saint Lazarus, — he sought the open sea amid the braying of trumpets, the thunders of artillery, and the shouts of thousands. The expedition presented the aspect of a holiday excursion. Every heart on board was imbued with the spirit of adventure, confident of success, and persuaded that the Land of Flowers would yield greater riches than the homes of the Incas. So general was the belief, entertained in Spain, of the wealth of the region, that the proudest of the land craved permission to be represented in the adventure either in person or by proxy. In the composition of this band we find explanation of the spirit of endurance and wonderful courage which characterized it during its eventful career.

On Pentecost De Soto arrived with his command in the harbor of Santiago, in Cuba of the Antilles, and thence proceeded to Havana. Here he remained, perfecting his arrangements, until Sunday, the 18th of May, 1539; when, with a fleet of nine vessels, — five of them ships, two caravels, and two pinnaces, — he sailed for Florida. Delayed by contrary winds, it was not until the 25th, being the festival of Espiritu Santo, that land was descried and anchor cast a league from the shelving shore. On Friday, the 30th, the army debarked at a point two leagues from the town of the Indian chief Ucita. Two hundred and thirteen horses were set on shore, the royal standard was elevated, and formal possession taken of Terra Florida in the name of Charles V. The camp was pitched upon the sands of Tampa Bay.

This was the most brilliant, enthusiastic, and warlike assemblage which, up to that period, had ever been seen this side the Atlantic. Herrera says De Soto had, of his private fortune, contributed one hundred thousand ducats for the equipment of this expedition. This little army was composed of men accustomed to wars, of personal daring, skilled in the use of weapons, and inured to hardships. Scarcely a gray head appeared among them. Their arms were strong, and their breasts filled with visions of glory and wealth. It was confidently believed that this new and unexplored kingdom of Florida would exceed in riches the realms of Atahualpa, during the conquest of which De

[1] The Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, says: "There assembled for Florida, at San-Lucar, more than nine hundred Spaniards, all in the prime of life."

Soto had received, as his individual share of the spoils, the enormous sum of one hundred and eighty thousand crowns of gold.

Many of the young cavaliers who now rallied around this standard carried in their veins the best blood of Spain. Their equipment was superb and their enthusiasm unbounded. It was a strange sight, on the lonely shores of the New World, this convocation of soldiery in rich armor and costly dresses, of attending slaves, caparisoned horses, and burden-bearing mules; this assemblage of fleet greyhounds, savage bloodhounds, and grunting swine; this accumulation of artillery, weapons, handcuffs, chains, neck-collars, crucibles for refining gold, tools, instruments, and material of every needed sort.

A valuable experience, acquired during the invasions of Nicaragua and Peru, was utilized on the present occasion; and the ample preparations made encouraged in the hearts of all hope of success more astounding than that which had characterized both those expeditions.

Twelve priests, eight clergymen of inferior rank, and four monks accompanied the army. In the thirst for conquest and gold the conversion of the aborigines was not forgotten. Men of letters, who were to perpetuate the events of the march, were also present.

With the wanderings of De Soto and his followers within the territorial limits of Florida, with the narrative of their battles with the natives, with the difficulties encountered in the crossing of rivers and the passage of perplexing morasses, with the sore disappointment experienced in the quest for gold and precious stones in this low-lying semi-tropical region, and with the accounts of the privations endured, we have now no special concern, as our inquiry is limited to a recital of what transpired within the confines of the present State of Georgia.

It may be stated, however, that after wintering at Anhayca, which was probably in the neighborhood of the modern town of Tallahassee,[1] De Soto, allured by a report of the existence of gold to the northward, determined to proceed in that direction in search for that much-coveted precious metal. Receiving an intimation that his march would extend for many leagues through a sparsely populated region, the governor ordered his command to carry the largest allowance of maize. The cavalrymen packed

[1] Portions of Spanish armor have been exhumed in a field adjacent to this city, and other European relics have been found in this vicinity under circumstances confirming the suggestion here made.

a liberal supply of this grain on their horses, and the foot-soldiers conveyed as much as they could conveniently bear upon their backs. This store had been pillaged from the native villages, and the Indians, whom the Spaniards had forced to act as burden-bearers during their previous wanderings and about the winter cantonment, had, in nakedness and chains, perished from hard usage. Sad is the record of the inhuman treatment meted out to the aborigines by these Christian adventurers. Such was the utter contempt entertained for them by the Spaniards that they hesitated not to subject them to every form of cruelty, humiliation, and privation. The men were condemned to the office of beasts of burden. The women were misused and driven from their habitations. Supplies of all sorts were ruthlessly appropriated. Even sepulchres were ransacked in the greedy search for pearls and hidden treasures. The path of the invader was marked on every hand by death, ruin, and desolation. The demoralizing influences exerted upon this aboriginal population by the inroads of the Spaniards cannot be overestimated.

On Wednesday, the 3d of March, 1540, the army moved northward, its objective point being Yupaha, governed by a woman whose chief city was reported to be of astonishing size. Of some Indians captured in Napetuca, the treasurer, Juan Gaytan, had brought to camp a lad who spoke knowingly of this queen, of neighboring chiefs tributary to her, and of the clothing and gold with which they supplied her. So exactly did he describe the process of taking this metal from the earth, melting and refining it, that the Spaniards came to the conclusion either that he had seen the whole affair with his own eyes, or that he had been taught of the Devil. Expectation was on tip-toe, and the belief was universal that the land of gold was at hand.

On the fourth day of its march the army encountered a deep river, for the passage of which it became necessary to construct a periagua. So swift was the current that a chain was stretched from bank to bank for the guidance of this craft. By this means the soldiers and the baggage were crossed, and the horses directed in swimming the stream. We believe this to have been the Ocklockony River. De Soto had now arrived, or very nearly so, at the southwest boundary of Georgia. Within the next forty-eight hours the Indian village of Capachiqui was reached. At the approach of the Spaniards the natives fled; but when five of the Christians visited some Indian cabins, surrounded by a thicket, in rear of the encampment, they were set upon by In-

dians, lurking near, by whom one was killed and three others were badly wounded. Pursued by a detachment from the camp, the natives fled into a sheet of water filled with forest trees whither the cavalry could not follow them. Thus does the Gentleman of Elvas record the death of the first Spaniard who fell upon what is now the soil of Georgia.

Departing from Capachiqui on the 11th, and traversing a desert, the expedition had, on the 21st, penetrated as far as Toalli. This region, which the historian designates as a *desert*, was doubtless a dreary pine barren, devoid of population and but little frequented by animal life. The site of Toalli or Otoa cannot now be definitely ascertained; but as it was near Achese, or Ochis (which, according to Mr. Gallatin, is the Muskhogee name of the Ocmulgee River), we may not greatly err in locating it somewhere in Irwin or Coffee County.

Of the peculiarities of this place the Gentleman of Elvas, whose narrative, in the main, we adopt, has perpetuated the following impressions: The houses of this town were different from those behind, which were covered with dry grass. Thenceforward they were roofed with cane after the fashion of tile. They are kept very clean. Some have their sides so made of clay as to look like tapia. Throughout the cold country every Indian has a winter house, plastered inside and out, with a very small door which is closed at dark, and, a fire being made within, it remains heated like an oven, so that clothing is not needed during the night-time. He has likewise a house for summer, and near it a kitchen where fire is made and bread baked. Maize is kept in barbacoa, which is a house with wooden sides, like a room, raised aloft on four posts. It has a floor of cane. The houses of the principal men, besides being larger than those of the common people, had deep balconies in front furnished with benches made of the swamp cane. Adjacent were large barbacoas in which were collected maize, the skins of deer, and the blankets of the country, offered as tribute by the populace. These blankets resembled shawls, and were fashioned from the inner bark of trees, and from a certain grass which, when beaten, yielded a flax-like fibre.[1] They were used by the women as coverings. One was worn about the body from the waist downward. Another was thrown over the shoulders, leaving the right arm free after the manner of the gypsies. The men were content with one, which was carried in like manner over the shoulders. The loins were

[1] This was evidently the tough *silk grass* of the region.

covered with a bragueiro of deer-skin, after the fashion of the woolen breech-cloth once customary in Spain. These blankets were colored either vermilion or black. Garments of well-dressed deer-skin were also in vogue, and shoes made of the same material.

Three days were spent at Toalli; and on Saturday, the 24th of March, the expedition moved onward. Thursday evening, while crossing a small stream over which a bridge had been thrown for the passage of the command, Benito Fernandes, a Portuguese, was drowned. A short distance beyond this stream was located the village of Achese, whose inhabitants, upon the approach of the Europeans, plunged into the river and made their escape. Among some captives taken was found one who understood the language spoken by the Indian who had acted in the capacity of guide to Yupaha. By him the governor sent a message to the chief dwelling on the further side of the river, desiring an interview with him. Responding to the invitation, the cacique appeared with words of courtesy and an avowal of friendship. Frankly thanking him for his good will, De Soto informed him that he was the child of the sun,[1] coming from his abode, and that he was seeking the greatest prince and the richest province. The chief replied that further on there reigned a powerful king whose territory was called Ocute. A guide, who understood the language of this province, having been furnished, the captives were set at liberty. Before leaving Toalli a high wooden cross was erected in the middle of the town yard, and some effort made to instruct the natives in the doctrines of Christianity.

Resuming his march on the 1st of April, De Soto moved along a river whose shores were thickly populated. On the fourth day he passed through the town of Altamaca, and on the tenth arrived at Ocute. If we are correct in our impression, the march of the expedition had been in a northeasterly direction, and the Spaniards were now probably in Laurens County. In the word Altamaca (or *Altapaha*, as it is written by Biedma and also by Garcilasso de la Vega) we recognize one of the prominent rivers in Southern Georgia, and the many traces of early constructive skill, ancient relic beds, and old Indian fields along the line of that and of the Oconee River give ample token that in former

[1] This announcement, if credited, was calculated to make a profound impression upon the natives, as the Florida tribes, in the sixteenth century, were nearly all *sun-worshipers*.

times the aboriginal population dwelling here was by no means inconsiderable.

While approaching Ocute, De Soto's command was met by two thousand Indians bearing, as a present from the chief, many conies, partridges, bread made of maize, dogs, and two turkeys. Such was the scarcity of meat that the Spaniards welcomed this offering of dogs as heartily as if it had been a gift of fat sheep. In the language of the narrative from which we have quoted so freely: "Of flesh meat and salt in many places and many times there had been great need; and they were so scarse that if a man fell sicke there was nothing to cherish him withall; and with a sicknesse that in another place easilie might have been remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinne and bones was left: and they died of pure weaknes, some of them saying: 'If I had a slice of meate or a few cornes of salt, I should not die.'"

The sufferings of these Spaniards were grievous and almost without interruption. On more than one occasion they were on the point of starving when relieved by the generous offerings of the natives. Surely these primitive inhabitants were hospitable peoples. In view of the harsh treatment dealt out to them by the whites we are little less than amazed at such exhibitions of charity and good will.

While the Indians, through the apt use of their bows and arrows, supplied themselves abundantly with game, the Spaniards, less expert with their clumsy weapons, and on the march not daring to straggle, so craved meat that upon their entrance into a native village they at once set about killing every dog in sight. Should the private soldier, who had been so fortunate as to secure one of these animals, omit to send his captain a quarter, he would surely be visited with displeasure and extra duty.

Having obtained from the cacique of Ocute four hundred tamemes, or burden-bearers, the governor, on the 12th of April, took his departure. Passing through Cofaqui, he journeyed to Patofa, by the mico of which he was hospitably entreated.

While here, the Indian youth who had accompanied De Soto as his guide and interpreter "began to froth at the mouth, and threw himself on the ground as if he were possessed of the Devil." An exorcism having been said over him, however, the fit went off: at least, so runs the story.

Upon the cacique of Patofa a contribution was levied of seven hundred tamemes and a four days' supply of maize. Thus aided,

the expedition started, apparently in a northeasterly direction, following a path which gradually grew less and less distinct, until, at the end of the sixth day, all trace was lost in the midst of a wide-spreading pine barren. For three days more vainly seeking to acquire some valuable information, and having marched continuously, the governor called a halt and went into camp among the pine-trees. During these nine days he had with difficulty forded two rivers (sources of the Great Ogeechee?) and swam another (Briar Creek?).

Accompanied by some cavalry and infantry, De Soto made a detour of five or six leagues, looking for a path. He returned at night, having failed to find any inhabitants, quite dejected and sore perplexed. His command was in a sorry plight. The circumjacent country was a barren. No sign of human habitation appeared. The maize which his soldiers had brought from Patofa was utterly consumed. Both beasts and men were lean and hungry. In this enfeebled condition resistance, in the event of an attack, seemed impossible. Starvation and annihilation stared the expedition in the face. Unable longer to subsist the burthen-bearers from Patofa, they were dismissed to make their way back to their homes as best they could.

The next day, intent upon extricating himself from this perilous situation, the governor sent out four expeditions — each consisting of a captain and eight cavalrymen — with instructions to scour the country and find some source of relief, some avenue of escape. The day was consumed in a fruitless search, and they all came into camp at night-fall leading their broken-down horses, or driving them before them. On the following day, having selected the best horses, and soldiers who could swim, he organized four bands, each containing eight mounted men. Baltasar de Gallegos, who commanded one, was directed to move up the river. Juan de Anasco, with another, was to move downwards. Alfonso Romo and Juan Rodrigues Lobillo, with the other two, were ordered to strike into the country.

The thirteen sows which had been brought from Cuba had so multiplied during the progress of the expedition that there were now three hundred swine in camp. During this season of privation these animals were killed, and a ration of a half pound of fresh pork was issued, per diem, to each man. This, supplemented by such native herbs as could be collected and boiled, constituted the only subsistence of the soldiery. Upon the rough

grass, leaves, and the tops of palmettos did the horses feed. The entire command was in an enfeebled, dispirited, and almost perishing condition.

On Sunday afternoon (April 25th) Juan de Anasco, who was in charge of one of these reconnoitring parties, returned, bringing a woman and a youth whom he had captured. He reported that at a remove of some twelve or thirteen leagues he had found a small town. At this intelligence, says the Gentleman of Elvas, the governor and his people were as much delighted as if they had been raised from death to life.

Without awaiting the incoming of the other detachments, De Soto set out for this village, which the Indians called Aymay, and to which the Spaniards gave the name of Socorro.[1] At the foot of a tree in the camp was buried a letter stating in what direction the command would march. That the attention of the absentees on their return might be called to it, on the bark of the tree were cut, with a hatchet, these words: "Dig here: at the foot of this pine you will find a letter."

Following the road which Anasco had made while passing through the woods, the governor set out on the morning of the 26th of April, taking with him his troopers who were best mounted, and moved as rapidly as he could in the direction of Aymay. That village he reached before night-fall. The army followed as best it could in its enfeebled condition, straggling all the way. At this town a barbacoa of parched meal and maize was found, the contents of which were immediately issued to the starving command.

Four Indians were captured who refused to give any information touching the existence of any adjacent native villages. One of them having been burnt, another stated that at a remove of two days' journey was the province of Cutifachiqui.

Two days afterward the three captains arrived with their detachments. On returning to camp they found the buried letter, and followed on in the trail left by the army. Two soldiers remained behind, and they belonged to the detachment of Juan Rodrigues. Their horses had entirely given out and they lagged with them. After a severe reprimand from the governor, this officer was dispatched to hurry up these loiterers. Without tarrying for their coming, De Soto advanced in the direction of Cutifachiqui. On his journey thitherward three Indians were taken who informed the Spaniards that the queen of that province had been

[1] Village of Good Relief.

advised of the approach of the army, and, in her chief town, was awaiting the arrival of the strangers. One of them was immediately dispatched with a message of friendship from the governor to the cacica, and the announcement that he would speedily visit her. Upon the governor's arrival at the river, four canoes approached from the opposite bank. In one of these was a kinswoman of the cacica, who had been by her deputed to extend an invitation to the Spaniards to cross over and partake of the hospitalities of the town. She excused the absence of the cacica on the ground that she was engaged in giving directions for the reception of such distinguished guests. She returned with the thanks of the governor. Soon after, the cacica came out of the village, seated in a chair of state,[1] which was borne by some of the principal men to the water's edge. Thence alighting, she entered a canoe, the stern of which was sheltered by an awning. Cushions lay extended in the bottom, and upon these she reclined. In her passage across the river she was accompanied by her chief men and other subjects in canoes. Having landed, she approached the spot where De Soto awaited her, and addressed him with courteous words of welcome. Drawing from over her head a long string of pearls, she suspended it about the governor's neck in token of amity. She also presented him with many shawls and dressed skins, constituting the clothing of her country. Finely formed, with great beauty of countenance, and possessing much native grace and dignity, the Spaniards were impressed by her appearance and queenly conduct. During her interview with the governor she sat upon a stool carried by one of her attendants. Her subjects preserved an unbroken silence and most respectful demeanor. She was the first female ruler whom De Soto had met during all his wanderings. The governor was sensibly moved by her generous salutation and pleasing behavior. In acknowledgment of her beautiful gift, and as a pledge of peace and friendship, De Soto, removing from his finger a ring of gold set with a ruby, gently placed it upon one of her fingers. The hospitalities of her town were generously extended. She promised to share her store of maize with the strangers, and said that she would send canoes for their conveyance to the other side of the river. This ceremony of welcome ended, the cacica returned to her home. On the following day, in canoes and upon rafts fur-

[1] In Plate XXXVII. of the *Brevis Narratio* we have a spirited illustration of the litter, or palanquin, in which the queens of these primitive people were conveyed. See also Jones' *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 72. New York. 1873.

nished by the natives, the army crossed to the other shore and found food and rest in wigwams shaded by luxuriant mulberry-trees. Four horses were drowned in the passage of the river. So soon as De Soto was lodged in the village many wild turkeys were sent to him, and during his sojourn in this place he and his men were entertained with every mark of hospitality. To be thus rested and feasted was most joyous to this band, foot-sore and weary, disappointed, dejected, and well-nigh overborne by the difficulties and privations of the journey.

The inhabitants, well proportioned and of a good countenance, were more civilized than all other peoples seen in the wide-extended territory of Florida. They wore clothing and shoes. The country, in that early springtime, was beautiful and gave every indication of fertility. The temperature was delightful, and the woods were most attractive. The Spaniards were particularly gratified with the profusion of walnut and mulberry trees. To all save the governor it seemed good to form a permanent settlement here. The point appeared favorable for raising supplies; and, as the natives stated it was only two days' journey from the coast, it was thought that ships from New Spain, Peru, Sancta Marta, and Tierra-Firme, going to Spain, might be induced to stop here and refresh their crews. Thus ignorant were these strangers of their true geographical position.

In the vicinity of Cutifachiqui were large, vacant towns overgrown with grass. It was ascertained that two years before there had been a pest in the land, and in order to escape its ravages multitudes of the inhabitants had removed to other localities.

In the barbacoas were found "large quantities of clothing; shawls of thread made from the bark of trees, and others of feathers, white, gray, vermilion, and yellow, rich and proper for winter. There were also many well-dressed deer-skins, of colors drawn over with designs, of which had been made shoes, stockings, and hose."

Upon searching the sepulchres in the town "three hundred and fifty weight of pearls, and figures of babies and birds made from iridescent shells," were taken from them. The suggestion of the Spanish narrators is that this quest was undertaken by permission of the cacica, who observed how highly the Christians valued these gems of the water. When we remember, however, how ardently attached these primitive peoples were to the graves of their dead, how carefully they deposited in them the treasures of the deceased, how tenderly they watched over and sacredly

guarded the last resting-places of their departed, we recognize in this procedure not the voluntary intervention of the native, but the cupidity, the violence, and the outrage of the foreigner.

In the town were found a dirk and beads of European manufacture. From the best information which could be gathered touching their origin and the manner in which the Indians became possessed of them, it was believed that they had been obtained from some members of the unfortunate expedition of the governor-licentiate Ayllon. Biedma says, in alluding to these relics, "We found buried two wood axes of Castilian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls such as are taken from this country [Spain] to traffic with the Indians, all of which we supposed they got in exchange made with those who followed the licentiate Ayllon. From the information given by the Indians, the sea should be about thirty leagues distant. We knew that the people who came with Ayllon hardly entered the country at all; that they remained continually on the coast until his sickness and death. In strife for command, they then commenced to kill each other, while others of them died of hunger; for one, whose lot it was to have been among them, told us that of six hundred men who landed, only fifty-seven escaped, — a loss caused to a great extent by the wreck of a big ship they had brought, laden with stores."

Learning that the mother of the cacica resided about twelve leagues down the river, and that she was a widow, De Soto expressed a strong desire to see her. This wish was doubtless born of the fact that she was reported to be the owner of many valuable pearls. Upon intimating his pleasure, the cacica of Cutifachiqui dispatched twelve of her prominent subjects to entreat her mother to come and see the wonderful strangers and the remarkable animals they had brought with them. To these messengers the widow administered a severe rebuke, declined to accompany them, and returned to her daughter words condemnatory of her conduct. Still intent upon his object, De Soto dispatched Juan de Anasco, with thirty companions, to secure the presence of the queen mother. They were accompanied by a youthful warrior whom the cacica selected as a guide. He was a near relative of the widow and had been reared by her. It was supposed that he of all others could best bespeak for the expedition a favorable reception. In the blush of early manhood he possessed handsome features and a graceful, vigorous form. "His head was decorated with lofty plumes of different colored feathers; he

wore a mantle of dressed deer-skin; in his hand he bore a beautiful bow so highly varnished as to appear as if finely enameled; and at his shoulder hung a quiver full of arrows. With a light and elastic step and an animated and gallant air, his whole appearance was that of an ambassador worthy of the young and beautiful princess whom he served."

What next befell the Spanish captain and his Indian guide we relate in the language of Theodore Irving, quoting from Garcilasso de la Vega: —

"Juan de Anasco and his comrades having proceeded nearly three leagues, stopped to make their midday meal and take their repose beneath the shade of some wide-spreading trees, as the heat was oppressive. The Indian guide had proved a cheerful and joyous companion, entertaining them all the way with accounts of the surrounding country and the adjacent provinces. On a sudden, after they had halted, he became moody and thoughtful, and, leaning his cheek upon his hand, fell into a reverie, uttering repeated and deep-drawn sighs. The Spaniards noticed his dejection, but, fearing to increase it, forbore to demand the cause.

"After a time he quietly took off his quiver, and placing it before him drew out the arrows slowly one by one. They were admirable for the skill and elegance with which they were formed. Their shafts were reeds. Some were tipped with buck's horn, wrought with four corners like a diamond; some were pointed with the bones of fishes, curiously fashioned; others with barbs of the palm and other hard woods; and some were three-pronged. They were feathered in a triangular manner to render their flight of greater accuracy. The Spaniards could not sufficiently admire their beauty; they took them up and passed them from hand to hand, examining and praising their workmanship and extolling the skill of their owner. The youthful Indian continued thoughtfully emptying his quiver, until, almost at the last, he drew forth an arrow with a point of flint, long and sharp, and shaped like a dagger; then, casting round a glance, and seeing the Spaniards engaged in admiring his darts, he suddenly plunged the weapon in his throat and fell dead upon the spot.

"Shocked at the circumstance, and grieved at not having been able to prevent it, the Spaniards called to their Indian attendants and demanded the reason of this melancholy act in one who had just before been so joyous.

"The Indians broke into loud lamentations over the corpse;

for the youth was tenderly beloved by them, and they knew the grief his untimely fate would cause to both their princesses. They could only account for his self-destruction by supposing him perplexed and afflicted about his embassy. He knew that his errand would be disagreeable to the mother, and apprehended that the plan of the Spaniards was to carry her off. He alone knew the place of her concealment, and it appeared to his generous mind an unworthy return for her love and confidence thus to betray her to strangers. On the other hand, he was aware that should he disobey the mandates of his young mistress he would lose her favor and fall into disgrace. Either of these alternatives would be worse than death; he had chosen death, therefore, as the lesser evil, and as leaving to his mistress a proof of his loyalty and devotion.

"Such was the conjecture of the Indians, to which the Spaniards were inclined to give faith. Grieving over the death of the high-minded youth, they mournfully resumed their journey.

"They now, however, found themselves at a loss about the road. None of the Indians knew in what part of the country the widow was concealed, the young guide who had killed himself being alone master of the secret. For the rest of that day and until the following noon they made a fruitless search, taking prisoners some natives who all professed utter ignorance on the subject. Juan de Anasco, being a fleshy man and somewhat choleric, was almost in a fever with the vexation of his spirit, the weight of his armor, and the heat of the day; he was obliged, however, to give up the quest after the widow, and to return to the camp much mortified at having for once failed in an enterprise."

Three days afterward, upon the offer of an Indian to guide him, by water, to the point where the widow had secreted herself, Anasco, with twenty companions, departed in two canoes for the purpose of capturing her. At the end of six days he returned vexed and chagrined at the failure of his expedition. Thus did the queen's mother avoid the Spaniards and preserve her pearls.

Still intent upon his quest for gold, in response to his inquiries De Soto was told that there was here yellow and also white metal, similar to that shown by the Spaniards. Natives were dispatched to bring samples of both. To the sore disappointment of the Christians, however, the yellow metal proved to be a copper ore, and the white metal a light crumbling material like mica.

Turning his attention again to the pearls of the region, the governor visited Talomeco, the former chief town of the province, distant about a league from the village of the princess of Cutifachiqui, where was a large mausoleum containing many dead and a large store of pearls. On this occasion he was accompanied by Anasco, the contador, or royal accountant of the expedition, by the officers of the royal revenue, and by a number of his principal officers and soldiers.

The Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, thus describes the temple of Talomeco, which constituted the sepulchre of the kings of the country: "It is more than one hundred steps long by forty broad. The walls are high in proportion, and the roof very elevated to supply the want of tiles and to give more slope to the water. The covering is of canes, very thin, split in two, of which the Indians make mats, which resemble the rush carpets of the Moors, which are very beautiful to view. Five or six of these mats placed one upon the other serve to prevent the rain from penetrating and the sun from entering the temple; which the private people of the country and their neighbors imitate in their houses.

"Upon the roof of this temple are many shells of different sizes, of divers fishes, ranged in very good order. These shells are placed with the insides out to give more brilliancy. The great spiral sea-shell is located between two small shells. These shells are connected, the one with the other, by strings of pearls of various sizes. These festoons of pearls, extending from the top of the roof to the bottom, in association with the vivid brilliancy of the mother-of-pearl and the other shells, produce a very beautiful effect when the sun shines upon them.

"The doors were proportioned to the grandeur of the temple; and at the entrance were seen twelve gigantic statues made of wood. So ferocious and menacing was the aspect of these figures that the Spaniards paused for a long time to consider them. They say that these giants were placed there to defend the entrance of the door. They stand in a row on each side, and gradually diminish in size. The first are eight feet high and the others proportionally a little less, in the order of the tubes of an organ.

"They have arms conformable to their height: the first on each side bearing clubs, ornamented with copper, which they hold in an elevated position as though ready to bring them down with fury upon those who may dare to enter. The second have maces,

and the third a kind of oar; the fourth, copper axes, the edges of which are of flint; and the fifth hold a bended bow with the arrow ready to be discharged. Curious are these arrows, the lower ends of which contain pieces of stag's horn well finished, or flint stones as sharp as a dagger. The last giants hold very long pikes ornamented with copper at both ends. They also maintain a threatening attitude.

"The ornamentation of the inner walls of the temple conforms with that of the exterior, for there is a kind of cornice made of great spiral sea-shells placed in excellent order, and between these are seen festoons of pearls depending from the roof. At intervals between the shells and pearls, suspended from the arches and tied to the roof, are plumes well arranged and of divers colors. Besides this order which reigns above the cornice, many plumes and strings of pearls hang from all the other parts of the roof, retained by imperceptible threads.

"Beneath the ceiling and cornice, and around the four sides of the temple, are two rows of statues, one above the other, the one of men and the other of women, of the stature of the people of the country. Each has its niche, and thus is the wall adorned, which would otherwise appear naked. The male statues have arms in their hands, encircled with four or five rows of pearls strung upon colored threads and terminating in tassels. The hands of the female statues are empty. At the base of the walls are wooden benches, cleverly fashioned, whereon are placed the coffins of the lords of the province and their families. Two feet above these coffins, and in niches in the wall, we behold the statues of the individuals who there lie entombed. So natural is the representation that these images perpetuate the recollection of the departed. The males are armed, the women not.

"The space intervening between the images of the dead and the two ranks of statues above described is decorated with bucklers of various sizes, made of reeds, and so strongly woven that they appeared capable of resisting perforation by the arrow of a cross-bow or the shot of a musket. The beauty of these shields is greatly enhanced by decorations of pearls and variegated tassels.

"In the middle of the temple were three rows of chests upon separate benches. The largest chests served as a base for those of medium size; and these in turn supported the smallest. Thus these pyramids consisted ordinarily of five or six chests. Open spaces existed between them and the benches. These chests were filled with pearls, the largest containing the finest, and the

smallest only seed pearls. They represented the accumulations of ages.

"Besides this quantity of pearls were found packages of skins colored, and raiments of skin with the hair variously dyed.

"About this temple, which was clean and kept in excellent order, was a large magazine divided into eight halls. Upon entering these the Spaniards found them filled with arms. In the first were long pikes, mounted with beautiful copper, and ornamented with pearls. The place where these pikes touched the shoulder was embellished with colored skins, and at the extremities were tassels with pearls, contributing greatly to the beauty of these weapons. There were, in the second hall, maces, like those in the hands of the giants guarding the entrance to the temple, decorated with pearls and colored tassels. In the third were found hammers embellished as the others; in the fourth, pikes decked with tassels near the blade and at the handle; in the fifth, a kind of oar adorned with pearls and fringes; in the sixth, very beautiful bows and arrows. Some were armed with flint sharpened at the end in the form of a bodkin, a sword, a piko-blade, or the point of a dagger with two edges. The bows were adorned with divers brilliant colors and embellished with pearls. In the seventh hall were bucklers of wood and of buffalo-skins decked with pearls and colored tassels. In the eighth were seen shields of cane, skillfully woven, and ornamented with tassels and seed pearls."[1]

This temple represented the grandeur and the wealth of the province.

While the existence of pearls upon the persons and in the graves of the natives of this region may not be questioned, it is highly probable that the accounts of the quantities of these glistening beads here found are exaggerated. The treasures of the New World were greatly magnified by these adventurers, who dealt largely in the marvelous, and sought, by glowing descriptions, to excite the wonder and enlist the sympathies of their friends at home.

Shell heaps — still extant along the line of Southern rivers, upon the shores of ponds and lakes, and on the sea-coast — are not infrequent. Upon the animals which they contained did the aborigines depend in no small degree for food, and the pearls thence obtained were industriously gathered and perforated to

[1] See *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida*, etc., by Barnard Shipp, pp. 362-365. Philadelphia. 1881.

be worn as ornaments. Through aboriginal trade relations constant supplies were also procured from margatiferous shells of the Gulf of Mexico.[1]

It was the purpose of the intendants of the revenue, who accompanied the expedition, to collect and preserve all the pearls found in these temples and graves; but upon a suggestion by the governor that these could not be conveniently carried, and that at present they were simply engaged in an expedition for discovery, it was resolved that specimens only should be taken for exhibition in Havana, and that the rest should remain until such time as they might return and possess the land. Handfuls of large pearls were distributed among the officers, with an exhortation from De Soto that they make rosaries of them. The Crown officers were allowed to retain quite a quantity which they had already weighed out.

So pleased were the soldiers with this goodly land, with its fruits and stores of pearls, that they urged upon the governor the propriety of forming here a permanent settlement. But, in the language of the Gentleman of Elvas, "the governor, since his intent was to seeke another treasure like that of Atabalipa, lord of Peru, was not contented with a good countrie, nor with pearles, though many of them were worth their weight in gold. And if the countrie had been divided among the Christians, those which the Indians had fished for afterward would have been of more value; for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The governour answered them that urged him to inhabit, that in all the countrie there were not victuals to sustaine his men one moneth, and that it was needfull to resort to the port of Ocus, where Maldonado was to stay for them; and that if no richer countrie were found, they might returne againe to that whensoever they would; and in the meantime the Indians would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with maiz.

"He inquired of the Indians whether they had notice of any great lord farther into the land. They told him that twelve daies journie from thence there was a province called Chiaha, subject to the lord of Coça. Presently the governour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few words, though he was glad to sift and know the opinion of all men, yet

[1] In further proof of the general use of pearls as ornaments among the Southern tribes, see Jones' *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, etc., chapter xxi. New York. 1873.

after hee had delivered his owne hee would not be contraried, and alwaies did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend unto his will. And though it seemed an errour to leave that countrie (for others might have been sought round about, where the people might have been sustained untill the harvest had been readie there, and the maiz gathered), yet there was none that would say anything against him after they knew his resolution."

We have thus traced the progress of the expedition from the southern confines of Georgia to the mulberry-shaded town of Cutifachiqui. The general trend of the march was northeast, with manifestly many deflections which we have found it impossible to pursue with any degree of accuracy.[1] From Anhayca to the point where the army is now resting, the route has been, in our judgment, nearly parallel with the Atlantic coast. We believe the location of Cutifachiqui to have been identical with that of Silver Bluff, on the left bank of the Savannah River, about twenty-five miles by water below the city of Augusta. The river here impinges against a bold bluff, rising some thirty-five feet above the level of the adjacent swamp and extending along the line of the stream, with an unbroken front, for the distance of nearly a mile. Bounding this high ground on the west is Hollow Creek. Stretching to the north is fertile upland. At this place were extensive Indian fields when the region was first visited and settled by Europeans. Three miles below, in a direct line, is another bluff upon the same side of the Savannah River, — not quite so bold as that where we now stand, — with an adjacent expanse of rich upland, which we suppose to be the site of Talomeco. Here also were old Indian fields and manifest tokens of primitive occupancy.

When, one hundred and seven years ago, William Bartram visited Silver Bluff, then owned by George Galphin the famous Indian trader, there were still extant "various monuments and vestiges of the residence of the ancients: as Indian conical mounts, terraces, areas, etc., as well as remains or traces of fortresses of regular formation, as if constructed after the modes of European military architects, which are supposed to be ancient camps of the Spaniards who formerly fixed themselves at this place in hopes of finding silver."

[1] That the progress of the expedition was necessarily slow will be freely admitted when it is remembered that it was traversing the depths of an unbroken, pathless forest, permeated at irregular intervals by rivers, streams, and swamps, that its baggage and supplies were transported upon the backs of the soldiers and of Indian burthen-bearers, and that a drove of hogs kept pace with the march.

These proofs of early constructive skill have, however, all disappeared. They have been obliterated by the plowshare and the changing seasons, and the most marked of them, occupying positions near the edge of the bluff, have been swept away by the encroaching tides of the tawny-hued Savannah. Within the memory of an old inhabitant, more than one hundred feet in breadth of this bluff have been eaten away and dissipated by the insatiate currents of this river. That the Spaniards were once here, was generally believed at the period of Bartram's visit, and the tradition has been handed down to the present day. But our intelligent traveler was manifestly at fault in ascribing some of these earth-works to the agency of Europeans. So far as we can discover, De Soto fortified no camps within the present limits of Georgia, and left no enduring proofs of his occupancy.

The presence of pyrites and of sulphurous nodules in the face of the bluff and frequent particles and flakes of mica still attest the sources from which the Indians, in the days of De Soto, attempted to satisfy the Spanish craving for gold and silver. While it may be true that nuggets of native silver have been here found, as is stoutly asserted by some, the suggestion that this bluff derived its name from this circumstance we deem quite improbable. We would rather ascribe the name to the tradition, derived from the Indians, and dominant here at the period of primal settlement, that many years before a band of white men had here come and, in the bed of the river and elsewhere in the neighborhood, made search for this metal.

Those who have studied the route of De Soto are not agreed as to the precise location of Cutifachiqui. Thus, Dr. Monette places it on the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Broad and Savannah rivers. Dr. McCulloh thinks it was on the Ocmulgee River, in Monroe County. William Bartram, Colonel Albert James Pickett, Mr. Albert Gallatin, Mr. William B. Rye, Mr. Buckingham Smith, and Mr. J. Carson Brevoort all incline to the belief that at Silver Bluff we behold the site of the ancient village of Cutifachiqui. In this impression we sympathize. Mr. Theodore Irving, too, appears to yield to this persuasion, while freely confessing how perplexing it is to "make out the route in conformity to modern landmarks."

During the latter portion of the Spanish sojourn at Cutifachiqui the queen had become so much incensed at the outrages perpetrated by the Christians upon her subjects that when advised by De Soto of his contemplated departure she utterly refused to

furnish him with guides and tamemes. The governor thereupon placed her under guard; and, upon commencing his journey northward, on the third day of May, he compelled her, on foot, escorted by her female attendants, to accompany him. Commenting upon this conduct of De Soto, the Gentleman of Elvas remarks: This was not "so good usage as she deserved for the good wil she shewed and good entertainement that she had made him. And he verified that old proverb which saith: 'For weldoing I receive evil.'" The present objective point of the expedition was Guaxule, situated near the northerly or northwesterly confines of the territory ruled over by the cacica of Cutifachiqui. As her domains were quite extensive, De Soto trusted, through her presence and influence, to control the natives along the line of his march. In this expectation he was not disappointed. "In all the townes where the Governour passed, the ladie commanded the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one towne to another. We passed through her countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was much obeyed. For the Indians did all that she commanded them with great efficacie and diligence." Before departing from Cutifachiqui the army was organized into two divisions: the one commanded by the adelantado in person, and the other under the guidance of Baltazar de Gallegos. Upon the second day the Spaniards encountered a storm of wind, lightning, and hail so severe that, had they not sought the close protection of the forest trees, many of them would have perished. The hail-stones were as large as pigeon's eggs.[1]

After a march of seven days the province of Chelaque was reached. In this name, with but slight alteration, we recognize the land of the Cherokees. According to Adair and others the national name was derived from Chee-ra, "*fire.*" Hence Cherakees, Chelakees, Cherokees.

The route had thus far, if we understand it aright, been upward and along the right bank of the Savannah River. De Soto was now, we think, within the confines of the present county of Franklin. The country was described as "the poorest off for maize" of any which had thus far been seen in Florida. The inhabitants were domestic, slight of form, and, at that season, quite naked. Upon the roots of plants dug in the forests, and upon the animals destroyed with their arrows, did they chiefly subsist. One of the chiefs presented the governor with two

[1] Herrera.

deer-skins as a mark of friendship. Turkeys abounded. In one village seven hundred of these birds were given to the Spaniards, and there was no scarcity of them in other localities.

Five days were occupied in passing from this province to Xualla. The chief town of this last-named province bore the same name, and was located on the flanks of a mountain with a small but rapid river flowing near. We venture the suggestion that this village was situated in Nacoochee valley, Habersham County, and that the mountain referred to was Yonah. In this valley physical proofs of primitive occupancy are still extant, and metallic fragments of European manufacture have there been found confirmatory of the fact that many years prior to the settlement of this region by the whites it had been visited by kindred peoples. We do not now allude to the remains of an ancient village, — the cabins of which were made of logs hewn and notched by means of chopping-axes, — unearthed by Colonels Merriwether and Lumsden in Duke's Creek valley in 1834, or to the traces of early mining in Valley River valley and adjacent localities, where deep shafts passing through gneiss rock, their sides scarred by the impression of sharp tools, and windlasses of post-oak with cranks and gudgeon holes were observed; the trees growing above this old settlement and springing from the mouths and sides of these abandoned pits being not less than two hundred years old. These are to be referred to the labors of Tristan de Luna, who, in 1560, at the command of Louis de Velasco, came with three hundred Spanish soldiers into this region and spent the summer in eager and laborious search for gold. This expedition moved up from Pensacola; and was dispatched on the faith of the representations, made by returned soldiers from De Soto's command, of the presence of the precious metal among these mountains. We are informed by the German traveler, Johannes Lederer, that as late as 1669 and 1670 the Spaniards were employed in working gold and silver mines in the Appalachian mountains.

Although little grain was found at Xualla, the adelantado rested there two days that he might refresh his weary soldiers and recuperate his horses, which were lean and sadly jaded.

Apparently inclining his route westwardly, De Soto set out for Guaxule, which marked the furthest confines, in that direction, of the dominion of the queen of Cutifachiqui. During this stage of the journey the queen succeeded in making her escape into the forests. So thoroughly did she conceal herself that efforts for

her recapture proved fruitless. We are told by the Fidalgo of Elvas that she took with her a cane box, like a small trunk, called *petaca*, full of unbored pearls of great value. Up to the moment of her flight this precious box had been borne by one of her female attendants. The governor permitted this, hoping that when he reached Guaxule, at which point he was minded to liberate her, he would be able to beg these pearls of her. In her return homewards she was accompanied by three slaves who deserted from the camp. A horseman, named Alimamos, who had been left behind sick of a fever, came upon these slaves and persuaded two of them to abandon their evil design. The third, however, a slave of André de Vasconcelos, remained with the cacica. When Alimamos last saw them, they were living together as man and wife, and were together to return to Cutifachiqui. Such is the final glimpse we have of this Indian queen, whose welcome of and association with De Soto form one of the marked episodes in the nebulous story of this wonderful expedition.

The country traversed during the five days consumed in marching from Xualla to Guaxule was mountainous, with intervening valleys "rich in pasturage and irrigated by clear and rapid streams." Much fatigue was encountered, and one day a foot-soldier, calling to a horseman who was his friend, drew forth from his wallet a linen bag in which were six pounds of pearls, probably filched from one of the Indian sepulchres. These he offered as a gift to his comrade, being heartily tired of carrying them on his back, though he had a pair of broad shoulders capable of bearing the burden of a mule. The horseman refused to accept so thoughtless an offer. "Keep them yourself," said he; "you have most need of them. The governor intends shortly to send messengers to Havana; you can forward these presents and have them sold, and three or four horses and mules purchased for you with the proceeds, so that you need no longer go on foot."

Juan Terron was piqued at having his offer refused. "Well," said he, "if you will not have them, I swear I will not carry them, and they shall remain here." So saying, he untied the bag, and, whirling around, as if he were sowing seed, scattered the pearls in all directions among the thickets and herbage. Then putting up the bag in his wallet, as if it were more valuable than the pearls, he marched on, leaving his comrades and the other bystanders astonished at his folly.

The soldiers made a hasty search for the scattered pearls and recovered thirty of them. When they beheld their great size

and beauty, none of them being bored and discolored, they lamented that so many of them had been lost; for the whole would have sold in Spain for more than six thousand ducats. This egregious folly gave rise to a common proverb in the army, that "There are no pearls for Juan Terron." The poor fellow himself became an object of constant jest and ridicule, until, at last, made sensible of his absurd conduct, he implored them never to banter him further on the subject.

After a march of five days the army reached Guaxule. Upon the route, both men and horses had suffered from an insufficient supply of maize and of meat. When within half a league of the chief town of the province, De Soto was met by the cacique, or king, escorted by a band of five hundred warriors attired in decorated mantles of various skins and adorned with feathers of brilliant hues. The interview was entirely amicable; and by him and his train was the governor conducted to the village, consisting of three hundred houses. It occupied a pleasant situation and was well watered by streams taking their rise in the adjacent mountains. The adelantado was hospitably entertained at the dwelling of the mico, which stood upon the top of an artificial elevation "surrounded by a terrace wide enough for six men to go abreast." The site of Guaxule we believe to be identical, or very nearly so, with *Coosawattee Old Town*,[1] in the southeastern corner of Murray County.

Perceiving that the Christians were killing and eating the village dogs, the native king collected and presented three hundred of them to the Spaniards. This animal was not used as an article of food by the aborigines. On the contrary, it was held in special regard. The constant companion of its master in his journeys through the forests, and in hunting and fishing; a trusted guard about his camp-fires and at the door of the home lodge, not infrequently were accorded to it rites of sepulture akin to those with which the owner was complimented. We wonder therefore at this gift, and are inclined to interpret it rather as a euphemistic statement that these dogs were appropriated by the strangers.

Four days were here passed by the command. An Indian was dispatched with a message to the chief of Chiaha requesting that

[1] Some fifty years ago two large silver crosses were taken from an Indian grave-mound at this point, which we are inclined to regard as relics of De Soto's expedition. These objects have been figured, and will appear in the next Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution.

he would concentrate maize at that place, as it was the purpose of the governor to tarry some time in that village.

After two days' travel the town of Canasagua was reached. There is no good reason why we should not recognize in this name the original of that borne at the present day by the river Connasauga. This stage in the journey of De Soto we locate at or near the junction of the Connasauga and Coosawattee rivers, in originally Cass, now Gordon County. Before reaching this town he was met by twenty men from the village, each bearing a basket of mulberries. This fruit was here abundant and well flavored. Plum and walnut trees were growing luxuriantly throughout the country, attaining a size and beauty, without planting or pruning, which could not be surpassed in the irrigated and well-cultivated gardens of Spain.

Following the course of the Oostenaula, and marching well nigh parallel with its left bank, the army moved in the direction of Chiaha (Ychiaha, Ichiaha, China). On the fifth day, when within two leagues of that town, fifteen Indians, bearing presents of maize, met the adelantado. They conveyed the salutations of the cacique, and a message that he was in his village awaiting the arrival of the strangers. They further assured the governor that twenty barbacoas, full of maize, were there subject to his orders. Chiaha was entered by the Spaniards on the 5th of June. Cordially was De Soto welcomed by the cacique, who resigned to him the use and occupancy of his residence. Into his mouth the Gentleman of Elvas puts the following address: —

"*Powerful and Excellent Master*, — "Fortunate am I that you will make use of my services. Nothing could happen that would give me so great contentment, or which I should value more. From Guaxule you sent to have maize for you in readiness to last two months: you have in this town twenty barbacoas full of the choicest and best to be found in all this country. If the reception I give is not worthy so great a prince, consider my youth, which will relieve me of blame, and receive my good will, which, with true loyalty and pure, shall ever be shown in all things that concern your welfare."

To these words the governor responded feelingly, assuring the young chief that he was greatly pleased with his gifts and kindness, and that he would always regard him as a brother.

De Soto had now reached the confluence of the Etowah and the Oostenaula rivers. The ancient village of Chiaha has been supplanted by the modern city of Rome. The town is described

as situated between two arms of a river and seated near one of them. Both branches were then fordable, and the meadow lands adjacent to their banks were rich. Maize fields appeared on every hand. There was an abundance of lard in calabashes, which the inhabitants said was prepared from bear's fat. Oil of walnuts, "clear and of good taste," was found in the possession of the natives. They also had a honeycomb which the Christians had never seen before. It was a pleasant and hospitable region, and the army here rested for thirty days. The horses had become so jaded by rough and continuous marches, and so enfeebled from lack of substantial food, that it was absolutely necessary to indulge them in a season of quiet. When they arrived at Chiaha they were so worn out that they could not carry their riders; they were accordingly turned out to graze. So amiable were the natives, that, although greatly exposed, the Spaniards suffered no molestation from them either in their persons or animals. Had they, in their unguarded condition, seen fit to set upon the Christians, they could scarcely have defended themselves. Contrary to the conduct of the natives on similar occasions in other localities, the inhabitants of Chiaha did not abandon their houses upon the approach of the army or during the sojourn of the Spaniards; consequently the soldiers were quartered beneath the trees, the only house occupied by a European being that of the chief in which the governor lodged.

In response to his repeated inquiries in regard to gold, De Soto was here informed that to the north, and in a province called Chisca, were mines of copper and of a metal of like color, but finer and brighter. Encouraged by this information, confirmatory of what he had been told at Cutifachiqui, he dispatched Juan de Villalobos and Francisco de Silvera, two brave soldiers who volunteered for the enterprise, to proceed on foot, and, if possible, locate these mines.

After an absence of ten days they returned and reported that they had been well received by the natives; that their route lay partly through land excellent for grain and pasturage, and again over mountains so rugged that it would not be practicable for the army to cross them; that they had found among the natives a buffalo hide an inch thick and with hair as soft as sheep's wool; and lastly, that they had seen only a fine variety of copper, such as had already been met with. From the appearance of the soil, however, they thought it not improbable that both gold and silver were native to the region.

While De Soto was awaiting the return of these soldiers, the cacique of Chiaha one day presented him with a string of pearls two arms [1] in length. These pearls were as large as filberts; and, had they not been perforated, would have been of great value. Thankfully receiving them, De Soto complimented the Indian with pieces of velvet and cloths of various colors, and with other Spanish trifles held in much esteem by the natives. Upon inquiry, he learned that these pearls had been obtained in the neighborhood, and that in the sepulchres of the ancestors of the cacique many were stored. The governor being curious to see in what manner these pearls were extracted from the shells, the cacique dispatched forty canoes to fish for the oysters during the night. "At an early hour next morning a quantity of wood was gathered and piled up on the banks of the river, and, being set on fire, was speedily reduced to glowing coals. As soon as the canoes arrived, the coals were spread out and the oysters were laid upon them. They soon opened with the heat, and from some of the first thus opened the Indians obtained ten or twelve pearls as large as peas, which they brought to the governor and cacique, who were standing together, looking on. The pearls were of a fine quality, but somewhat discolored by the fire and smoke. The Indians were prone, also, to injure these pearls by boring them with a heated copper instrument.

"De Soto having gratified his curiosity, returned to his quarters to partake of the morning meal. While eating, a soldier entered with a large pearl in his hand. He had stewed some oysters, and, in eating them, felt this pearl between his teeth. Not having been injured by fire or smoke, it retained its beautiful whiteness, and was so large and perfect in its form that several Spaniards, who pretended to be skilled in these matters, declared it would be worth four hundred ducats in Spain. The soldier would have given it to the governor to present to his wife, Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, but De Soto declined the generous offer, advising the soldier to preserve it until he got to Havana, where he might purchase horses and many other things with it; moreover, in reward of his liberal disposition, De Soto insisted upon paying the fifth of the value, due to the crown."

The mussel or oyster here alluded to was doubtless the pearl-bearing unio still native to the Etowah and the Oostenaula, and to many other Southern streams. At that early period these shells were far more numerous than they are at present. Arti-

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega says two fathoms.

ficial shell-heaps still attest how industriously in that olden time these margatiferous shells were collected by primitive peoples, who valued them not only for their flesh, but also for the glistening beads they contained, and for their iridescent coverings from which various ornaments were manufactured. When pounded they were kneaded with clay and tended materially to give consistency and strength to the pottery of the region.

The denudation of the banks of these streams, and the destruction of extensive forests in reducing wild lands to a state of cultivation, have caused marked changes in the animal life of the country.

> "Before these fields were shorn and tilled,
> Full to the brim our rivers flowed."

Limpid then, with constant volumes they pursued their accustomed channels. Subsequently, becoming turbid with the soil washed from the slopes of a hundred hills, and no longer fed with regularity by well shaded and pure springs, but at one time enfeebled by drought and at another engorged by torrents, these streams have for many years been liable to sudden and violent fluctuations. Multitudes of margatiferous unios have consequently been torn from their habitats by unruly currents, and imbedded beyond life in sand bars and muddy deposits. The stable bottoms upon which they rested and multiplied have been rendered both uncertain and unwholesome. Thus has it come to pass that a marked extinction of such animal life has ensued.

A melancholy occurrence which took place while the army was at Chiaha is thus narrated by Theodore Irving[1] in his "Conquest of Florida:" —

"A cavalier, one Luis Bravo de Xeres, strolling, with lance in hand, along a plain bordering on the river, saw a small animal at a short distance, and launched his weapon at it. The lance missed the mark; but, slipping along the grass, shot over the river bank. Luis Bravo ran to recover his lance, but to his horror found it had killed a Spaniard who had been fishing with a reed on the margin of the river at the foot of the bank. The steel point of the lance had entered one temple and come out at the other, and the poor Spaniard had dropped dead on the spot. His name was Juan Mateos; he was the only one in the expedition that had gray hairs, from which circumstance he was called father Mateos, and respected as such. His unfortunate death was lamented by the whole army."

[1] Quoting from Garcilasso de la Vega.

A month had well-nigh elapsed since the arrival of the Spaniards at Chiaha. The men were entirely rested and the horses were again in good order. The governor resolved to take up the line of march for Coça on the Coosa River. Before leaving, yielding to the importunity of some in his command "who wanted more than was in reason," he asked from the cacique thirty women that he might take them with him in the capacity of slaves. The chief responded that he would consult with his principal men. Informed of the demand, and before answer had been made to it, the inhabitants fled by night from the town, taking their women and children with them. Although the cacique professed his regret at the course his people had pursued, and acknowledged his inability to control them, the governor, with thirty mounted men and as many foot soldiers, went in pursuit of the fugitives. In passing the towns of some of the chiefs who had absconded he cut down and destroyed their maize fields. Proceeding along up the stream he found the natives congregated upon an island in the river to which his cavalry could not penetrate. By an Indian he sent them word that if they would return and furnish him with some tamemes, he would not disturb their women, seeing in what special affection they were held. Upon this assurance they all came back to their homes.

Parting from the cacique of Chiaha with kind words, and having received from him some slaves as a gift, De Soto set out with his companions down the valley of the Coosa, and was soon, without further incident of moment, beyond the confines of the present State of Georgia. He had entered this territory early in March, 1540, and departed from it on the second day of July in the same year.

Thus did these mail-clad Spaniards, — the first Europeans who traversed the soil of Georgia, beheld the primal beauties of her forests, rivers, plains, and mountains, participated in the hospitalities of her primitive peoples, and sought but found not the treasures hidden within her bosom, — disappointed, yet not despairing, pass onward in quest of richer native lords and goodlier countries.

We may not follow them even until that day when, amid the smoke and thunder of battle at Mauvila, they barely escaped destruction at the hands of the lion-hearted Alibamons. It lies not within our purpose to accompany them as, impeded by tangled brake, morass, and stream, often pinched by hunger, frequently opposed by the red warriors, now buoyed up by hope, again

oppressed by apprehension, they painfully groped their way through vast and unknown regions this side and even beyond the Meschachepi. In the end, their golden visions vanished, the body of their leader silently and in darkness entombed in the *Father of Waters*, few in numbers and broken in spirit, their munitions exhausted, the survivors of this famous expedition fled from the land wherein they had garnered a harvest only of privation, peril, sorrow, mortification and death.[1]

[1] *Itinerary of Hernando de Soto, while marching through the Territory of the modern State of Georgia, as contained in the True Relation given by a Fidalgo of Elvas.*

March 3, 1540. Left Anhaica [Tallahassee, Fla.?].

March 7, 1540. Crossed a deep river [Ocklockony?].

March 9, 1540. Arrived at Capachiqui.

March 21, 1540. Came to Toalli.

March 24, 1540. Left Toalli.

March 25, 1540. Arrived at Achese.

April 1, 1540. Departed from Achese.

April 4, 1540. Passed through the town of Altamaca.

April 10, 1540. Arrived at Ocute.

April 12, 1540. Left Ocute. Passed through a town whose lord was called Cofaqui, and came to the province of another lord named Patofa.

April 14, 1540. Departed from Patofa.

April 20, 1540. Lost in a pine barren. Six days consumed in fording two rivers and in the effort to find a way of escape.

April 26, 1540. Set out for Aymay. Reached Aymay before nightfall.

April 28, 1540. Departed for Cutifachiqui.

May 3, 1540. Left Cutifachiqui.

May 10, 1540. Arrived at Chelaque.

May 15, 1540. Arrived at Xualla.

May 20, 1540. Arrived at Guaxule.

May 22, 1540. Arrived at Canasagua.

June 5, 1540. Arrived at Chiaha.

July 1, 1540. Departed from Chiaha.

CHAPTER III.

GRANT TO THE LORDS PROPRIETORS OF CAROLINA. — EARLY POSTS SOUTH OF THE SAVANNAH RIVER. — SPANISH MINING OPERATIONS IN THE APALATCY MOUNTAINS. — MARGRAVATE OF AZILIA. — GOVERNOR MOORE'S EXPEDITION. — MISSION OF SIR ALEXANDER CUMING. — SALE AND SURRENDER BY THE LORDS PROPRIETORS.

THE claim of Great Britain to the coast of North America lying between the fifty-sixth and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude rests upon the discovery of Sebastian Cabot, who, under a commission from and at the charge of the king of England, visited and sailed along that portion of the western continent. After the discovery of Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon, Spain does not appear to have attempted any conquest of that region until the expeditions of Narvaez in 1527 and of De Soto in 1539. By neither of these were any permanent settlements effected. The earliest grant of the lower portion of this territory was made by his majesty King Charles I., in the fifth year of his reign, to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general. In that patent it is called *Carolina Florida*, and the designated limits extended from the river Matheo in the thirtieth degree to the river Passa Magna in the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. There is good reason for believing that actual possession was taken under this patent, and that considerable sums were expended by the proprietor and those claiming under him in the effort to colonize. Whether this grant was subsequently surrendered, or whether it was vacated and declared null for *non user* or other cause, we are not definitely informed. Certain it is that King Charles II., in the exercise of his royal pleasure, deemed it proper to make to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina two grants of the same lands, with some slight modifications of boundaries. The last of these grants, bearing date the 30th of June in the seventeenth year of his reign, conveys to the Lords Proprietors all that portion of the New World lying between the thirty-sixth and the twenty-ninth degrees of north latitude. While the English under this concession were industriously engaged in peopling a portion of the coast embraced within the specified limits, it is

notorious that the Spaniards occupied only St. Augustine and a few adjacent points.

Although in 1670 England and Spain entered into stipulations for composing their differences in America, stipulations which have since been known as the *American Treaty*, the precise line of separation between Carolina and Florida was not defined. Disputes between these powers touching this boundary were not infrequent. In view of this unsettled condition of affairs, and in order to assert a positive claim to and retain possession of the debatable ground, which neither party was willing either to relinquish or clearly to point out, the English located and maintained a small military post on the south end of Cumberland Island, where the St. Mary's River empties its waters into the Atlantic. In 1720, apprehending that the French or Spanish forces would take possession of the Alatamaha River, King George I. ordered General Nicholson, then governor of South Carolina, with a company of one hundred men to secure that river as being within the bounds of South Carolina, and to erect a fort at some suitable point, with an eye to the protection of his majesty's possessions in that quarter and the control of the navigation of that stream. The fort was located near the confluence of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers and was named *King George*. Having been accidentally destroyed by fire, it was subsequently rebuilt at the expense of the province of South Carolina, but in an insubstantial manner. The garrison clamored for better accommodations. The locality, lonely and uninteresting at best, proved very unhealthy. The soldiers refused to exert themselves in procuring wholesome water, neglected to plant gardens, and proved insubordinate when ordered to prepare inclosures for cattle which General Nicholson proposed to send to them. They were so lazy that they would not even fish and hunt. Within a few years the post was abandoned. In 1727 the Crown was memorialized to reinstate this fort, as an evidence of English proprietorship in the territory, and to relieve the garrison at stated intervals from Port Royal. Orders were, in 1729, issued to Governor Robert Johnson, who had been appointed royal governor of South Carolina in the room of Nicholson with the full authority of captain-general and commander-in-chief, to reëstablish this deserted post on the Alatamaha. They were never carried into effect. It was contemplated also to lay out two towns on the Alatamaha, but this purpose failed of execution. Upon these efforts of the English to maintain a show of

occupancy within the disputed territory the Spaniards looked for the while with an eye of seeming indifference.

By the treaty of Seville in 1729 commissioners were appointed, among other things, to determine the northern boundary line of Florida which should form the southern limit of South Carolina. Nothing, however, was concluded in this regard, and the question remained open and a cause of quarrel until the peace of 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain. It will be perceived that at the date of the colonization of Georgia this southern boundary line was in dispute between Great Britain and Spain. It proved, as we shall see, a source of inquietude and extreme peril to the settlers under Oglethorpe.

In recalling the instances of temporary occupancy, by Europeans, of limited portions of the territory at a later period conveyed to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, it is proper that we should allude to mining operations conducted by the Spaniards at an early epoch among the auriferous mountains of Upper Georgia. Influenced by the representations made by the returned soldiers of De Soto's expedition of the quantity of gold, silver, and pearls existent in the province of Cosa, Luis de Velasco dispatched his general, Tristan de Luna, to open communication with Cosa by the way of Pensacola Bay. Three hundred Spanish soldiers of this expedition, equipped with mining tools, penetrated to the valley of the Coosa and passed the summer of 1560 in northern Georgia and the adjacent region. Juan Pardo was subsequently sent by Aviles, the first governor of Florida, to establish a fort at the foot of the mountains northwest of St. Augustine in the province of the chief Coabá. It would seem, therefore, that the Spaniards at this early period were acquainted with and endeavored to avail themselves of the gold deposits in Cherokee Georgia.

The German traveler, Johannes Lederer, who visited North Carolina and Virginia in 1669 and 1670, and wrote in Latin an account of his adventures, asserts that the Spaniards were then working gold and silver mines in the Appalachian Mountains. He avers that he saw specimens of the ore in the possession of the natives, and that he brought back samples with him. "Had I had with me," he adds, "half a score of resolute youths who would have stuck to me, I would have pushed on to the Spanish mines."

In 1690, while journeying over the "Apalathean Mountains" for inland discovery and trade with the Indians, Mr. James

Moore was informed by them that the Spaniards were at work in mines within twenty miles of the place where he then was. The Indians described to him the bellows and furnaces used by them, and offered to convey him to the spot where their operations were being conducted. A difference between himself and his guides prevented his visiting these mines. Subsequently he volunteered to lead a party to them, but the scheme was abandoned.

Thus are we advised that the Spaniards, long before the advent of the English colonists, permeated the valleys of the Cherokees in earnest quest for gold. Thus are we enabled to account, with at least some degree of probability, for those traces of ancient mining observed and wondered at by the early settlers of Upper Georgia, — operations of no mean significance, conducted by skilled hands and with metallic tools, which cannot properly be referred either to the red race or to the followers of De Soto.

In June, 1717, Sir Robert Mountgomery secured from the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina a grant and release of all lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, with permission to make settlements also on the south side of the former river. This territory was to be erected into a distinct province, "with proper jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, and franchises, independent of and in no manner subject to the laws of South Carolina." It was to be holden of the Lords Proprietors by Sir Robert, his heirs and assigns forever, under the name and title of the *Margravate of Azilia.* A yearly quit-rent of a penny per acre for all lands "occupied, taken up, or run out," was to be paid; such payment, however, was not to commence until three years after the arrival of the first ships transporting colonists. In addition, Sir Robert covenanted to render to the Lords Proprietors one fourth part of all the gold, silver, and royal minerals which might be found within the limits of the ceded lands. Courts of justice were to be organized, and such laws enacted by the freemen of the Margravate as might conduce to the general good and in no wise conflict with the statutes and customs of England. The navigation of the rivers was to be free to all the inhabitants of the colonies of North and South Carolina. A duty, similar to that sanctioned in South Carolina, was to be laid on skins, and the revenue thus derived was to be appropriated to the maintenance of clergy.

Sir Robert, in consideration of this cession, engaged to trans-

port at his own cost a considerable number of families, and all necessaries requisite for forming new settlements within the specified lands. It was mutually covenanted that if such settlements were not made within three years from the date of the grant it should become void.

In the "Discourse concerning the Designed Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina in the most delightful Country of the Universe," prepared by himself and printed in London in 1717, Sir Robert in glowing terms unfolds the attractions of his *future Eden*. Sympathizing in the views entertained by Colonel Purry, and submitted only a few years afterwards to the Duke of New Castle in aid of a Swiss colonization on the left bank of the Savannah, Sir Robert proclaims the Southern bounds of Carolina "the most amiable country of the universe," and affirms "that nature has not blessed the world with any Tract which can be preferable to it; that *Paradise* with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed at most but equal to its native excellencies." "It lies," he continues, "in the same latitude with *Palestine* herself, that promised *Canaan* which was pointed out by *God's* own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people." After commending in the highest terms its woods and meadows, mines and odoriferous plants, soil and climate, fruits and game, flowers and agricultural capabilities, streams and hills, he proceeds to explain his plan of settlement. He did not propose to satisfy himself "with building here and there a fort, the fatal practice of America, but so to dispose the habitations and divisions of the land that not alone our houses but whatever we possess will be inclosed by *military lines*, impregnable against the *savages*, and which will make our whole plantation one continued fortress. It need not be supposed that all the lands will thus be fortified *at once*. The first lines drawn will be in just proportion to the number of men they inclose. As the inhabitants increase, new lines will be made to inclose them also, so that all the people will be always safe within a well-defended line of circumvallation. . . . At the arrival therefore of the first men carried over, proper officers shall mark, and cause to be entrenched a square of land in just proportion to their number. On the outsides of this square, within the little bastions or redoubts of the entrenchment, they raise light timber dwellings, cutting down the trees which everywhere encompass them. The officers are quartered with the men whom they command, and the governour in chief is placed

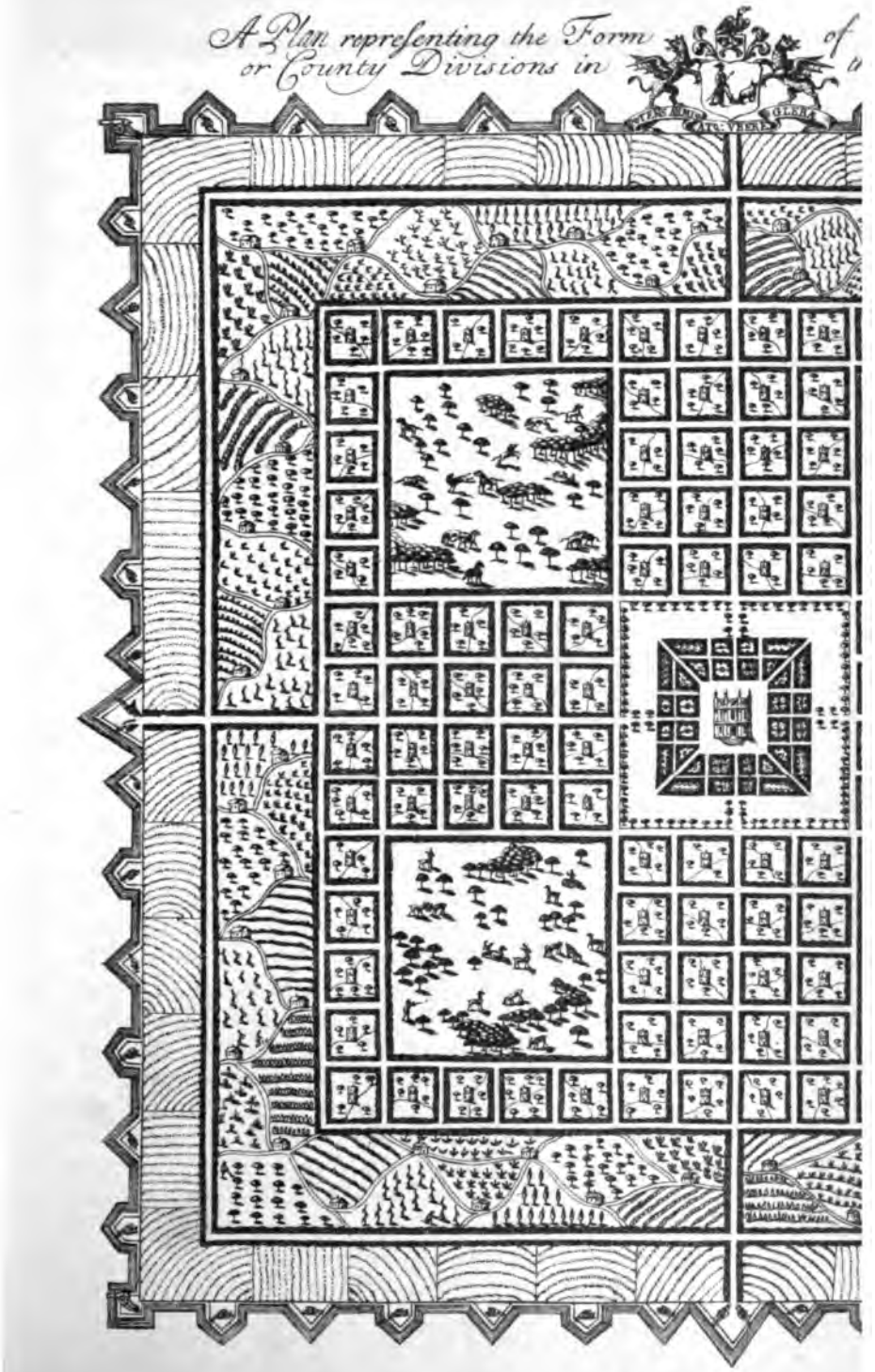
exactly in the centre. By these means the laboring people (being so disposed as to be always watchful of an enemy's approach) are themselves within the eye of those set over them, and *all together* under the inspection of their principal.

"The redoubts may be near enough to defend each other with musquets, but field pieces and patareros will be planted upon each, kept charged with cartridge shot and pieces of old iron. Within these redoubts are the common dwellings of the men who must defend them. Between them runs a palisadoed bank, and a ditch which will be scoured by the artillery. One man in each redoubt, kept day and night upon the guard, will give alarm upon occasion to the others at their work. So they cultivate their lands, secure their cattle, and follow their business with great ease and safety. Exactly in the centre of the inmost square will be a fort defended by large cannon, pointing every way, and capable of making strong resistance in case some quarter of the outward lines should chance to be surprised by any sudden accident, which yet, with tolerable care, would be impracticable.

"The nature of this scheme, when weighed against the ignorance and wildness of the natives, will show that men, thus settled, may at once defend and cultivate a territory with the utmost satisfaction and security even in the *heart of an Indian country.* Then how much rather a place considerably distant from the savage settlements.

"As the numbers shall increase, and they go on to clear more space of land, they are to regulate their settlements with like regard to safety and improvement; and, indeed, the difference as to time and labour is not near so great as may be thought betwixt enclosing land this way and following the dangerous common method. But what is here already said will serve the end for which it has been written, which was only to give a general notion of the care and caution we propose to act with."

After picturing Azilia in the plenitude of her beauty and matured growth, and having endeavored to demonstrate the fact that colonists at the very outset might reasonably anticipate the enjoyment of wealth, safety, and liberty, Sir Robert proceeds to give the following explanation of the engraved "plan, representing the form of setting the districts or county divisions in the Margravate of Azilia," with which his "Discourse" was illustrated. "You must suppose a level, dry, and fruitful Tract of Land in some fine Plain or Valley, containing a just Square of twenty Miles each way, or two hundred and fifty-six thousand Acres, laid out and settled in the Form presented in the Cut annexed.


A Plan representing the Form
or County Divisions in
of
Julius Bien & Co. Photo Lith.

"The District is defended by sufficient Numbers of Men who, dwelling in the fortified Angles of the Line, will be employed in cultivating Lands which are kept in hand for the particular advantage of the *Margrave*. These Lands surround the district just within the Lines, and everywhere contain in Breadth one Mile exactly.

"The Men thus employed are such as shall be hired in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, well disciplined, armed, and carried over on condition to serve faithfully for such a Term of Years as they before shall agree to. And that no Man may be wretched in so happy a Country, at the expiration of those Peoples' Time, besides some other considerable and unusual Incouragements, all such among them who shall marry in the Country, or come married thither, shall have a right of laying claim to a certain Fee-Farm, or Quantity of Land, ready cleared, together with a house built upon it, and a stock sufficient to improve and cultivate it, which they shall enjoy, Rent and Tax free during Life as a reward for their Services. By which Means two very great Advantages must naturally follow. Poor laboring Men, so secured of a fixed future settlement, will be thereby induced to go thither more willingly and act when there with double Diligence and Duty. And when their Time expires, possessing just Land enough to pass their Lives at Ease, and bring their Children up honestly, the Families they have will prove a constant Seminary of sober Servants, of both Sexes, for the Gentry of the Colony, whereby they will be under no necessity to use the dangerous Help of *Blackamoors*, or *Indians*. The Lands set apart for this Purpose are two Miles in Breadth, quite round the District, and lie next within the Margrave's own reserved Lands above mentioned.

"The 116 Squares, each of which has a House in the Middle, are every one a Mile on each Side, or 640 Acres in a Square, bating only for the Highways which divide them. These are the Estates belonging to the *Gentry of the District* who, being so confined to an Equality in *Land* will be profitably emulous of outdoing each other in *Improvement*, since that is the only way left them to grow richer than their Neighbors. And when the Margravate is once become strong enough to form many *Districts*, the Estates will be all given gratis, together with many other benefits, to honest and qualified Gentlemen in *Great Britain*, or elsewhere, who, having numerous and well-educated Families, possess but little Fortunes other than their Industry, and will therefore be chosen to enjoy these Advantages, which they shall

pay no rent or other Consideration for, and yet the Undertaking will not fail to find its own Account and Prosperity.

"The four great Parks or rather Forests are each four miles square, that is 16 Miles round each Forest, in which are propagated Herds of Cattle of all sorts by themselves not alone to serve the uses of the District they belong to, but to store such *New Ones* as may from Time to Time be measured out on Affluence of People.

"The Middle hollow Square, which is full of streets crossing each other, is the *City*, and the Blank which runs about it on the outside surrounded with Trees, is a large void Space which will be useful for a thousand Purposes, and, among the rest, as being airy and affording a fine Prospect of the Town in drawing near it.

"In the Centre of the City stands the *Margrave's House*, which is to be his constant Residence, or the Residence of the Governour, and contains all sorts of public Edifices for Dispatch of Business; and this again is separated from the City by a Space like that which, as above, divides the Town from the Country."

Sir Robert, continuing his "Discourse," which was in reality intended as an attractive manifesto to invite immigration, enlarges upon the profits which might, in this charming country, be readily realized from the cultivation of rice, coffee, tea, figs, raisins, currants, almonds, olives, silk, and cochineal. From the manufacture of potash great gain was anticipated. Liberal offers were made to all who might feel disposed to become colonists in the Margravate of Azilia, and ample guaranties were given for the protection of person and property.

Although subscription books were opened at the Carolina Coffee House in Birchin Lane, near the Royal Exchange, it does not appear that much stock was taken in the enterprise.

To the king Sir Robert addressed a petition specifying the tract of land, called Azilia, with which he had been invested by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, declaring that he had a *bonâ fide* intention of founding a colony there, and requesting the privilege of establishing in the city of Edinburgh a lottery of one hundred thousand tickets, at the rate of forty shillings per ticket, for the purpose of raising funds with which to defray the expense of the adventure.

A memorial was received from the Lords Proprietors explaining the proposal of Mountgomery "for settling the most South-

ern parts of Carolina," of which he was to be the governor. It was referred to a committee of the Privy Council for consideration. The board of trade, while recommending Sir Robert as a proper person for governor, in order to avoid the inconveniences arising from proprietary and charter governments, suggested to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina the advisability of their surrendering to the Crown their powers of government over the places intended to be erected into a new government, reserving to themselves only the property in the lands. The whole matter was referred to the attorney-general, who reported that, after examining the lease and release from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, and the charter of Carolina, he saw nothing in the cession prejudicial to the rights of the Crown, if his majesty thought fit to approve of the appointment of a governor for life. He doubted, however, whether the powers granted to the proprietors for the government of Carolina could be divided as proposed by the case. He also regarded it as questionable whether the Lords Proprietors alone could exempt the new colony from liability to the present laws of Carolina which were framed for the regulation of the entire province. To remove all difficulty, he suggested that if the Lords Proprietors would surrender to his majesty their powers of government over the territory to be erected into a new province, reserving to themselves only the right of property, they might then lease the land on such terms as they saw fit, and that his majesty might create a new government upon such conditions and with such powers as he deemed proper.

Despite the efforts made to induce immigration into this favored region, at the expiration of the three years allowed by the concession from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, Sir Robert Mountgomery found himself without colonists. His grant expired and became void by the terms of its own limitations. His Azilia remained unpeopled save by the red men of the forest. His scheme proved utterly utopian, and it was reserved for Oglethorpe and his companions to wrest from primeval solitude, and to vitalize with the energies of civilization, the lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha.

On more than one occasion during its ante-colonial period was the territory of Georgia the theatre of war and bloodshed. Excited by the French and Spaniards to open hostility against the English settlers in Carolina, and sometimes provoked to acts of violence by the rapacity and frauds of traders who, not content

with barter on the outskirts of civilization, penetrated into the heart of the Indian nations dwelling beyond the Savannah, the natives indulged in predatory excursions against their white neighbors. These evoked counter expeditions which generally resulted in the discomfiture of the weaker race. Thus the Appalachian Indians, because of their connection with the Spanish, having become insolent and troublesome, Governor Moore of South Carolina, at the head of a body of white troops and Indian allies, invaded their territories, laid such of their towns as were situated between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers in ashes, killed and captured several hundred of them, and compelled the province of Appalachia to submit to English rule. He also conducted within the region subsequently ceded to the trustees for the establishment of the colony of Georgia some fourteen hundred Indians who placed themselves under his protection. "This exertion of power in that quarter," says Mr. Hewatt, "was attended with good effects, as it filled the savages with terror of the British arms and helped to pave the way for the English colony afterwards planted between these rivers." After their defeat by Governor Craven, the Yemassees abandoned their homes in Carolina and, retreating to Florida, allied themselves to the Spaniards, by whom they were welcomed with ringing bells and salvos of artillery.

Although a treaty of peace had been signed at Seville in 1729 between the English, French, and Spaniards, the accommodation of existing difficulties amounted in fact to little more than a truce. The Spaniards from the south and the French on the west were still busy in their efforts to monopolize the Indian trade and to form alliances with the Cherokees. It was deemed important by the British government to share in this trade, and to win the Cherokees over to friendship and to an acknowledgment of at least a quasi allegiance to the Crown. Accordingly, Sir Alexander Cuming, of Aberdeenshire, Scotland, was dispatched on a secret mission to compass these desiderata. Departing from Charles-Town, South Carolina, with a small retinue, on the 13th of March, 1730, he penetrated into the heart of the Cherokee nation. At Keowee he found a large number of Indians assembled in their council house. Upon inquiry he learned that the disposition of the Cherokees towards the English was hostile. He further ascertained that the Lower Creeks, in sympathy with the French, were exerting themselves to induce the Cherokees to join them. Presents were expected from the

French, and upon their arrival it was confidently anticipated that the Cherokees would proclaim their hatred against the English. The situation of affairs was precarious. Sir Alexander resolved to play a bold part. At night, unheralded, he entered into the council house where above three hundred Indians were convened, and demanded from them an acknowledgment of the king of England's authority over them and their country. Surprised at the audacity of the stranger they at once submitted. Upon an intimation from Sir Alexander that if they violated the present promise their nationality would be destroyed, they declared upon bended knees their solemn intention to observe the vow of allegiance to the English Crown. Expresses were dispatched requiring the three head men of the nation to meet Sir Alexander at Nequassee on the 3d of April, and directing them to bring full power and assurance from the three settlements that what had been promised should be performed. The Indian traders at Nequassee and Joseph Cooper, the interpreter, who were eye-witnesses of what transpired on this occasion, declared they would not have believed it possible had they not themselves beheld the occurrence. They further asserted that if they had been made acquainted with what Sir Alexander purposed doing they would not have dared to have entered the council house with him. Taken by surprise and amazed at the heroism of Sir Alexander, the Indians quickly yielded to his demand. Standing up bravely in their midst he delivered his address through an interpreter. Although armed with pistols, gun, and sword, he permitted them to remain concealed under his great-coat, and made no attempt by show of weapons to intimidate the red men.

During the next thirteen days he journeyed through the domains of the Cherokees, visiting their chief cities, and making friends of their kings, head warriors, and medicine men. He learned that the Cherokees were governed by seven *mother towns*, viz.: Tanassie, Kettooah, Ustenary, Telliquo, Estootowie, Keeowee, and Noyohee, each having a king and a head warrior.

On the morning of the 3d of April he repaired to Nequassee, where he found a large concourse of Indians gathered from all parts of the nation in obedience to the summons issued from Keeowee. It was a day of the greatest solemnity, rendered memorable by singing, dancing, feasting, speeches, the creation of Moytoy as emperor, and then by a resignation of crown,

eagles' tails, scalps, and other emblems to Sir Alexander in token of submission to the sovereignty of King George. This submission was made on the knee by all the Cherokees present. Sir Alexander thereupon caused a document to be drawn up detailing the event and its significance. It was attested by himself, eleven companions, and by the leading Indians present.

His mission having been successfully accomplished, Sir Alexander retraced his footsteps, reaching Charlestown on the 20th of April and bringing with him seven prominent members of the Cherokee nation. The emperor Moytoy also accompanied him, and would have gone with him to England had he not been prevented by the sickness of his wife. Having tarried two weeks in Charlestown Sir Alexander, taking with him the seven Indians, on the 4th of May went on board the man-of-war Fox and set sail for Dover, where the ship safely arrived on the 5th of June. Thence he proceeded immediately to London by post, and the Cherokees were brought up in the ship.[1] The names of these Indians were respectively Ok-Oukah-Ulah, K. Skalilosken, Ketagustah, T. Tathlowe, C. Clogoittah, K. Kollannah, U. Ukwaneequa, and O. Onaconoa. Portraits were painted of them, attired in English garments and standing amid the tall trees of the park in London. Of this painting a fine engraving was made, impressions of which are now very scarce. From one of those engravings we borrow the following legend which, in a few words, narrates the reception and entertainment of these sons of the forest during their sojourn in the capital of the United Kingdom: —

"The above Indian kings or chiefs were brought over from Carolina by Sir Alexander Coming, Bart. (being the chiefs of the Cherrokee Indians) to enter into Articles of Friendship and Commerce with his Majesty. As soon as they arriv'd they were conducted to Windsor & were present at the Installation of Prince William & the Lord Chesterfield. The Pomp and Splendor of the Court and y^e^ Grandeur not only of the ceremony as well of the Place was what struck them with infinite Surprise and Wonder. They were handsomely entertain'd at his Majesty's Charge, and Cloathed with these Habits out of y^e^ Royal Wardrobe. When the Court left Windsor they were brought to Town and proper Lodgings & Attendance provided for them near Covent-

[1] See *Early History of Georgia, embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Country of the Cherokees in the year* 1730, etc. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston. 1872.

Garden. They were entertain'd at all y^e^ publick Diversions of the Town, and carried to all Places of Note & Curiosity. They were remarkably strict in their Probity and Morality. Their Behaviour easy & Courteous: and their Gratitude to his Majesty was often express'd, in a publick Manner, for y^e^ Many Favours they receiv'd. On Monday Sept. 7, 1730, Articles of Friendship and Commerce were accordingly propos'd to them by y^e^ L^ds^ Commissioners for Trade and Plantations w^ch^ were agreed on Two Days after, viz: on y^e^ 9th at Whitehall and Sign'd on y^e^ Part of their Lordships by Alured Popple Esq^r^; upon w^ch^ Ketagustah, after a short Speech in Complement to his Majesty, concluded by laying down his Feathers upon y^e^ Table & said: This is our Way of Talking w^ch^ is y^e^ same Thing to us as y^e^ Letters in y^e^ Book are to you; and to you, Beloved Men, we deliver these Feathers in Confirmation of all that we have said."

Having been generously entertained in England for some four months, these Indians, early in October, departed for Charlestown, whence they returned to their homes in Upper Georgia impressed with the wealth and power of the English nation, gratified at the liberal reception accorded to them, and resolved to perpetuate the friendly relations they had promised to maintain.

This embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming and this introduction of these chiefs to a personal acquaintance with the majesty of the home government and the wonders of its metropolis, exerted a beneficial influence upon the entire Cherokee nation. It brought about a complete pacification most valuable to the exposed settlements of Carolina, and all important to those colonists who were soon to establish their first town upon Yamacraw Bluff.

The protracted Indian wars maintained by Carolina and the effort to protect her coast against the incursions of pirates materially reduced the resources of the province, and engendered in the mind of the English population a painful sense of insecurity. In this emergency the legislature, memorializing the Lords Proprietors, and representing to them the enfeebled condition of the colony and the manifest dangers which threatened its destruction, implored their paternal assistance and protection. Apprehending that the proprietors might hesitate to pledge their English estates in order to raise funds requisite for the relief of their Carolina plantations, then in such a precarious situation, the legislature instructed its appointed agent, in case he failed in securing succor from the Lords Proprietors, to apply to the Crown for relief. The inhabitants generally were grievously annoyed at

and thoroughly dissatisfied with the posture of affairs. Incensed against a proprietary government which was either unable or unwilling to protect them, and which discountenanced any appeal to the Crown, they were unanimous in the opinion that the king should be immediately advised of their unfortunate condition and that his intervention should be earnestly sought.

About the middle of the year 1715 the Carolina agent, in the prosecution of his mission, waited upon the Lords Proprietors and represented the heavy calamities under which the colony was laboring. He further acquainted them with the fact that the Yemassees, instigated by Spanish emissaries, were claiming whole districts by virtue of their ancient occupancy of them, and that, having formed an alliance with other Indian nations, they were asserting their rights with force of arms. He insisted that under the circumstances prompt assistance should be rendered.

The answer of the proprietors being evasive and unsatisfactory, the agent at once petitioned the House of Commons in behalf of the distressed Carolinians. Thereupon the Commons addressed the king, beseeching his kind interposition and praying early assistance for the colony. The matter was referred by the king to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who, in their report, suggested that the province of Carolina being a proprietary government, if the English nation was to be at the expense of its protection, its government ought to be vested in the Crown.[1]

Advised of this, Lord Carteret addressed to them a communication in which he uses the following language: "We, the Proprietors of Carolina, having met on this melancholy occasion, to our great grief find that we are utterly unable of ourselves to afford our Colony suitable assistance in this conjuncture; and, unless his Majesty will graciously please to interpose, we can foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his Majesty's faithful subjects in those parts." The Lords of Trade inquired what sum would be necessary for the relief of the colony, and asked whether the government of the province of Carolina ought not to be surrendered to the Crown, if Great Britain should agree to bear the expense of its defense. To this Lord Carteret responded that the proprietors preferred that his majesty, in the exercise of his superior judgment, should determine what amount should be granted. He added, in case the money advanced from the public

[1] See *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. i. ch. v. London. MDCCLXXIX.

treasury for the benefit of the colony was not repaid within a reasonable time, his majesty would certainly have an equitable right to take the government of Carolina under his immediate protection. Within a short time a bill was introduced into the House of Commons for the better regulation of the charters and proprietary governments of his majesty's plantations in America. Its chief object was to supplant them with royal governments. Although it was apparent to those best capable of forming a valuable opinion on the subject that it was for the interest alike of Crown and plantations that the mother country should, at the earliest practicable moment, purchase these American colonies, delay occurred. In Carolina matters grew from bad to worse. There the disputes and conflicts between the Lords Proprietors and the colonists continued to be so constant and of such a pronounced character that all the proprietors, except Lord Carteret, taking advantage of the provisions of an act of Parliament, surrendered to the king not only their rights and interest in the government of Carolina, but also their ownership of the soil. The indenture of purchase and sale was executed on the 25th of July in the third year of the reign of his majesty King George II. The consideration paid amounted to £22,500. Thus, for this small sum, were seven eighths of the extensive territory, constituting the province of Carolina, sold by the Lords Proprietors to the Crown. The other eighth interest was owned by Lord Carteret, Baron of Hawnes. Subsequently, by deed dated the 28th of February, 1732, he conveyed to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America the one undivided eighth part of all lands lying between the Savannah and Alatamaha rivers. The other seven eighths of this territory were ceded to them by the Crown. With this explanation we understand why in the charter granted by King George II., dated the 9th of June, 1732, royal cession was made of only seven eighths of the lands to be erected into a province south of and entirely distinct from Carolina, and to be called GEORGIA.

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE. — ENGLISH PRISONS. — MISERIES OF INSOLVENT DEBTORS. — SCHEME FOR THE COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA. — ROYAL CHARTER GRANTED TO OGLETHORPE AND HIS ASSOCIATES. — ANALYSIS OF THAT CHARTER.

THE scheme which culminated in planting a colony on the right bank of the Savannah River, at Yamacraw Bluff, originated with James Edward Oglethorpe, a member of the English House of Commons, and "a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane." He was the third son of Sir Theophilus, and the family of Oglethorpe was ancient and of high repute. It appears from the parish register of St. James', Westminster, that the Founder of the Colony of Georgia was born on the 1st of June, 1689. At an early age a matriculate of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he soon quitted that seat of learning for an active military life. A love of arms was with him a matter of inheritance, for his father had attained the rank of major-general in the British service and held the office of first equerry to James II., who entrusted him with a command in the army assembled to oppose the Prince of Orange.[1] For a few years he served abroad as a gentleman volunteer. As an illustration of his self-possession, courage, and readiness, while still a youth, to redress a personal affront, this anecdote, related by Boswell in his "Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson,"[2] may be accepted: "The general told us that when he was a very young man, I think only fifteen, serving under Prince Eugene of Savoy, he was sitting in a company at table with a prince of Wirtemberg. The prince took up a glass of wine and, by a fillip, made some of it fly in Oglethorpe's face. Here was a nice dilemma. To have challenged him instantly might have fixed a quarrelsome character upon the young soldier; to have taken no notice of it might have been considered as cowardice. Oglethorpe therefore, keeping his eye upon the prince and smiling all the time as if he took what his highness had done in jest, said, 'Mon

[1] Wright's *Memoir of Gen. James Oglethorpe*, p. 3. London. 1867.

[2] Vol. iii. pp. 217, 218. Murray's edition. London. MDCCCLI.

Prince' (I forget the French words he used; the purport however was), 'that 's a good joke, but we do it much better in England,' and threw a whole glass of wine in the prince's face. An old general, who sat by, said, '*Il a bien fait, mon prince, vous l'avez commencé;*' and thus all ended in good humour."

Entering the English army as an ensign in 1710, he retained that rank until peace was proclaimed in 1713. The following year he became captain-lieutenant of the first troop of the queen's life guards. Preferring active service abroad to an idle life at home, he soon repaired to the Continent to perfect himself in the art of war under the famous Prince Eugene of Savoy who, upon the recommendation of John, Duke of Argyle, gave him an appointment upon his staff, first as secretary and afterwards as aide-de-camp. It was a brave school, and his alertness, fidelity, and fearlessness secured for him the good will, the confidence, and the commendation of his illustrious commander. Upon the conclusion of the peace of 1718, he returned to England versed in the principles of military science, accustomed to command, inured to the shock of arms, instructed in the conduct of campaigns, the management of sieges, and the orders of battle, and possessing a reputation for manhood, executive ability, and warlike knowledge not often acquired by one of his years.

His brother Theophilus dying, he succeeded to the family estate at Westbrook. The tradition is still current in the neighborhood that the Pretender was for some time secreted in the old mansion, with its park of noble trees, overlooking the ancient town of Godalming.

In October, 1722, he was elected a member for Haslemere in the county of Surrey. This venerable borough and market-town he continued to represent, through various changes of administration, for two and thirty years.[1] Beginning his political career at a time when the Jacobites were meditating the restoration of the Stuarts, and a high Tory in principles, his parliamentary course, from its inception, was independent and consistent. While evincing a loyal interest in all questions of general significancy, his energies were mainly enlisted in proposing and supporting measures for the benefit of commerce and the redress of grievances. His sympathies were specially engaged for the relief of unfortunate debtors, and his labors expended in the reformation of abuses which then disgraced the conduct of prisons within the realm. In this philanthropic mission, self-imposed, he became

[1] Wright's *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 12. London. 1867.

most deeply interested. Sad indeed was then the lot of all who found themselves unable to respond to their pecuniary obligations. Arrested and imprisoned at the instance of exacting creditors, they were powerless to liberate themselves from the disagreeabilities of a sponging-house or the greater horrors of a prison. The laws then contained no provisions for the relief of honest debtors, — for a judicious discrimination between fraud and misfortune. The hardships and barbarities inflicted upon confined debtors by the warden of the fleet, the infamous and extortionate Bambridge, by the butcher Acton, of the Marshalsea, and by others, were such as to shock common humanity and curdle the blood in all honest veins. In the long catalogue of brutalities which have scandalized the annals of civilized nations few, if any, can be named more abhorrent than those which were then perpetrated in English prisons. Among the maladministrations of justice which have disgraced officers and imposed unlawful and grievous burthens upon the unfortunate, none can be remembered more appalling than those which at this period characterized the conduct of both judges and jailors within the precincts of the city of London. Once within prison walls, to the confined, — be he Robert Castell, skilled in architecture and born to competency, whose only offense was that in the pursuit of his ingenious and liberal calling he incurred debts he was unable to pay, or Captain John Macpheadris, a flourishing merchant, who failed because he had become surety to the Crown for a friend, or Sir William Rich, or Oliver Read, or the most infamous thief, pirate, smuggler, or murderer, — small-pox, fever, filth, shackles, thumbscrews, iron skull-caps, and often death were meted out without discrimination by keepers who, save in form, bore no resemblance to humanity. The extortions practiced by these wardens were incessant and monstrous. Their treatment of the prisoners committed to their care was most inhuman. Insolently did they batten upon the fears and the slender purses of the immured, and their administration of the jails and sponging-houses of London was a disgrace to humanity and a blot upon civilization.

"No modern nation," says Grahame,[1] "has ever enacted or inflicted greater legal severities upon insolvent debtors than England. That jealous regard for liberty and national honor, and that generous and extended concern for the rights of human nature which the English have always claimed as distinguishing

[1] *History of the United States of North America*, vol. iii. p. 179. London. 1836.

features of their character, had proved unable to withstand the most sordid and inhuman suggestions of commercial ambition. For the enlargement of their commerce they sanctioned the atrocities of the slave-trade, and for the encouragement of that ready credit by which commercial enterprise is promoted, they armed the creditors of insolvent debtors with vindictive powers, by the exercise of which free-born Englishmen, unconvicted of crime, were frequently subjected, in the metropolis of Britain, to a thraldom as vile and afflicting as the bondage of negro slaves in the West Indies. So long was it before English sense and humanity were fully awakened to the guilt and mischief of this barbarous legal system, and its still more barbarous administration, that till a late period of the eighteenth century misfortunes in trade exposed an Englishman to a punishment more dreadful than the public feeling of England in the nineteenth century would suffer to be inflicted on the most infamous and detestable offenders."

Mr. Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, — whose "strong benevolence of soul" is eulogized by Pope, — was chairman of the committee raised by the House of Commons to visit the prisons, examine into the condition of the inmates, and suggest measures of reform. In three reports did that committee, in commenting upon the miserable national grievance, instance cases of suffering, injustice, and mismanagement, too painful and loathsome for repetition. Oglethorpe's public-spirited and charitable design prevailed, and measures were adopted for the punishment of the offending wardens, the alleviation of the sufferings of the incarcerated, and the purification of the prisons.

The idea occurred to him, while engaged in this philanthropic business, that not a few of these unfortunate individuals, confined for debt, of respectable connections and guilty of no crime, might be greatly benefited by compromising the claims held by their creditors upon condition that they would consent to become colonists in America. Thus would opportunity be afforded them of retrieving their fortunes. Thus would England be relieved of the shame and expense of their incarceration, and thus would her dominion in the New World be confirmed. Let us not misunderstand the project. Not the depraved who were suffering confinement as a punishment for crime; not felons who awaited the approach of darker days when graver sentences were to be endured; not the dishonest, who hoped by submitting to temporary imprisonment to weary out creditors and emerge with

fraudulently-acquired gains still concealed; but the honestly unfortunate were to be the beneficiaries of this benevolent and patriotic scheme. Those also in the United Kingdom who, through want of occupation and lack of means, were most exposed to the liability of confinement for debt were to be influenced in behalf of the contemplated colonization. It was believed that others, possessing some means, who were energetic and ambitious of preferment, could be enlisted in aid of the enterprise.

The anxiety of the Carolinians for the establishment of a plantation to the south which would serve as a shield against the incursions of the Spaniards, the attacks of the Indians, and the depredations of fugitive slaves; the memorial of Colonel Purry, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, advocating Swiss colonization; the scheme of Sir Robert Mountgomery for the foundation of the Margravate of Azilia and the attraction of Scotch emigration, and suggestions of a similar character, while they drew Oglethorpe's attention to the lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers as a suitable territory for the location of his purposed colony, also warned him of fundamental errors to be avoided in his plan of settlement. The idea grew upon him until his scheme, expanding, embraced within its benevolent designs not only the unfortunate of Great Britain, but the persecuted and oppressed Protestants of Europe. Charity for and relief of human distress were to be inscribed upon the foundations of the dwellings he proposed to erect amid the Southern forests. Their walls were to be advanced bulwarks for the protection of the Carolina plantations, and their aspiring roofs were to proclaim the enlarged honor and dominion of the British nation. With Oglethorpe, in this whole affair, there lingered no hope of personal gain, no ambition of a sordid character, no secret reservation of private benefit. His entire project was open, disinterested, charitable, loyal, and patriotic. Thus was it recognized by all. Such was its distinguishing peculiarity, and Mr. Southey did but echo the general sentiment when he affirmed that no colony was ever established upon principles more honorable to its projectors.

As the accomplishment of his purpose demanded a larger expenditure than his means justified, and as the administration of the affairs of the plantation would involve "a broader basis of managing power" than a single individual could well maintain, Oglethorpe sought and obtained the coöperation of wealthy and influential personages in the development of his beneficent enterprise.

In order that proper authority and royal sanction might be secured, in association with Lord Percival and other noblemen and gentlemen of repute, he addressed a memorial to the Privy Council in which, among other things, it was stated that the cities of London and Westminster and the parts adjacent thereto abounded with indigent persons, so reduced in circumstances as to become burdensome to the public, who would willingly seek a livelihood in any of his majesty's plantations in America if they were provided with transportation and the means of settling there. The petitioners engaged in behalf of themselves and their associates to take charge of the colonization and to erect the plantation into a proprietary government, if the Crown would be pleased to grant them lands lying south of the Savannah River, empower them to receive and administer all contributions and benefactions which they might influence in encouragement of so good a design, and clothe them with authority suitable for the enforcement of law and order within the limits of the province. After the usual reference, this petition received a favorable report, and by his majesty's direction a charter was prepared, which received the royal sanction on the 9th of June, 1732.

The features, grants, and privileges of this charter may be thus epitomized: —

As inducements to this exercise of his royal prerogatives, his majesty King George II. declares he has been credibly informed that many of his poor subjects, through misfortune or want of employment being unable to provide a maintenance for themselves and families, would, if the charges of passage and the expenses incident to new settlements were defrayed, be glad to settle in the American provinces where, by cultivating lands at present waste and desolate, they could not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen the colonies and increase the trade, navigation, and wealth of the British nation.

Alluding to the fact that his provinces in North America had been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies; that South Carolina in a late war had been devastated by the fire and sword of neighboring savages and a great number of the inhabitants massacred; that his subjects still resident therein were exposed to like calamities by reason of the fewness of their numbers and from the circumstance that the entire southern frontier of that province remained unsettled and open to the inroads of the Indians; deeming it highly necessary that protection should be

afforded; believing that the establishment of a colony in the southern territory would materially conduce to the safety of Carolina and the relief of her inhabitants; and being well assured, if the Crown would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a corporation for receiving, managing, and disposing of the contributions of loving subjects, that various persons would assist in the enterprise, his majesty willed, ordained, constituted, declared, and granted, "that our right trusty, and well beloved John, Lord Viscount Percival of our Kingdom of Ireland, our trusty and well-beloved Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moor, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, Esqrs, A. M., John Burton, B. D., Richard Bundy, A. M., Arthur Beaford, A. M., Samuel Smith, A. M., Adam Anderson, and Thomas Coram, gentlemen, and such other persons as shall be elected in the manner hereinafter mentioned, and their successors to be elected in the manner hereinafter directed, shall be one body politic and corporate in deed and in name, by the name of *The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.*"

The corporation, thus constituted, was vested with perpetual succession, and declared capable in law of purchasing, receiving, and enjoying in fee all lands, hereditaments, and franchises which it might acquire, and all personal property requisite for settling and maintaining the colony. Powers of gift, grant, lease, and demise were conferred. The right to sue and be sued, to have and use a common seal, to appoint a common council of the corporation, and to hold meetings from time to time and at such place or places as might be deemed convenient for the transaction of the business of the corporation, was fully accorded. The third Thursday in March in each year was designated for the election of members of the corporation and for filling any vacancies which might occur in the organization.

All persons elected members of the common council, before entering upon their office, were required to take an oath for the due and faithful execution of the duties appertaining to the position. This oath the president was to administer.

Lord John, Viscount Percival, was designated as the first president of the corporation, and it was made his duty, within thirty days after the grant of the charter, to convene the corporators that they might perfect their organization and enter upon the important business which lay before them. It was further declared as

"And whereas the said corporation intend to settle a colony and to make a habitation and plantation in that part of our province of South Carolina, in America, hereinafter described: Know ye that we, greatly desiring the happy success of the said corporation, for their further encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a work have, of our aforesaid grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said corporation and their successors under the reservation, limitation, and declaration hereafter expressed, seven undivided parts, the whole in eight equal parts to be divided, of all those lands, countries, and territories situate, lying, and being in that part of South Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively in direct lines to the South Seas: and all that share, circuit, and precinct of land within the said boundaries, with the islands on the sea lying opposite to the eastern coast of the said lands, within twenty leagues of the same, which are not inhabited already or settled by any authority derived from the Crown of Great Britain, together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs, and bays, mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver as other minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, as well royal fishings of whale and sturgeon, as other fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, privileges, and preëminences within the said frontiers and precincts thereof, and thereunto in any sort belonging or appertaining, and which we by our letters patent may or can grant; and in as ample manner and sort as we may, or any our royal progenitors have hitherto granted to any company, body politic or corporate, or to any adventurer or adventurers, undertaker or undertakers of any discoveries, plantations, or traffic of, in, or unto any foreign parts whatsoever, and in as legal and ample manner as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed: To have, hold, possess and enjoy the said seven undivided parts,[1] the whole into eight equal parts to be divided as aforesaid, of all and singular the lands, countries, and territories,

[1] We have already seen that the remaining undivided eighth part of this territory was acquired by the trustees by purchase from Lord Carteret, Baron of Hawnes.

with all and singular other the premises hereinbefore by these presents granted or mentioned, or intended to be granted, to them the said corporation and their successors forever, for the better support of the said Colony; to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our honour of Hampton Court, in our County of Middlesex, in free and common socage, and not in capite; yielding and paying therefor to us, our heirs and successors, yearly forever, the sum of four shillings for every hundred acres of the said lands which the said corporation shall grant, demise, plant, or settle; the said payment not to commence or to be made until ten years after such grant, demise, planting, or settling, and to be answered and paid to us, our heirs and successors, in such manner, and in such species of money or notes as shall be current in payment by proclamation from time to time in our said province of South Carolina: all which lands, countries, territories, and premises hereby granted, or mentioned, and intended to be granted, we do by these presents make, erect, and create one independent and separate province by the name of GEORGIA, by which name we will that the same shall henceforth be called; and that all and every person or persons who shall at any time hereafter inhabit or reside within our said province shall be, and they hereby are declared to be free, and shall not be subject to, or be bound to obey any laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions which have been heretofore made, ordered, and enacted, or which hereafter shall be made, ordered, or enacted by, for, or as the laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of our said province of South Carolina (save and except only the command in chief of the militia of our said province of Georgia to our governor, for the time being, of South Carolina, in manner hereafter declared), but shall be subject to and bound to obey such laws, orders, statutes and constitutions as shall from time to time be made, ordered, and enacted for the better government of the said province of Georgia in the manner hereinafter declared. And we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, will, and establish that for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, the said corporation assembled for that purpose shall and may form and prepare laws, statutes, and ordinances fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony, and not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, and the same shall and may present, under their common seal, to us, our heirs and successors, in our or their Privy Council for our or their

approbation or disallowance: and the said laws, statutes, and ordinances being approved of by us, our heirs and successors, in our or their Privy Council, shall from thenceforth be in full force and virtue within our said province of Georgia."

In order to obviate the inconvenience of assembling all the members of the corporation for the transaction of the ordinary affairs of the colony, power was lodged with the common council, or a majority of them, to receive and disburse the moneys and effects of the corporation in furtherance of the enterprise; to use the common seal in the execution of necessary covenants or contracts; to nominate and appoint a treasurer, secretary, and such other officers, ministers, and servants as might be adjudged requisite, and the same to remove at pleasure; to fix salaries, perquisites, and other rewards; and to administer oaths for the faithful discharge of the duties devolved upon such officers, ministers, and servants. The secretary and treasurer, during their tenure of office, were declared incapable of becoming members of the corporation.

Upon the corporation, its officers and agents, was conferred the privilege of transporting and conveying out of the limits of the United Kingdom, or from any of the British dominions into the province of Georgia for settlement there, as many subjects of the Crown as should be willing to go, and also such foreigners as should consent to there abide under the allegiance of the English Crown. Permission was granted to carry into the province such munitions of war as were requisite for its defense, and such clothing, implements, furniture, victuals, merchandise, cattle, horses, and wares as were needed by the colonists for their own use or for traffic with the natives. The faith of the general government was pledged to the doctrine that all persons born within the province, and their descendants, should enjoy all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural-born subjects of Great Britain as fully as if born and abiding within the kingdom of England.

In the worship of God liberty of conscience was to be universally allowed. To all, except Papists, was accorded a free exercise of religion, provided its ministrations and enjoyment were peaceable and caused no offense or scandal to the government.

In regard to alienation of land by the corporation, the charter contains the following provisions and limitations: "And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, declare and grant that it shall and may be lawful

for the said common council, or the major part of them assembled for that purpose, in the name of the corporation and under the common seal to distribute, convey, assign, and set over such particular portions of lands, tenements, and hereditaments by these presents granted to the said corporation, unto such of our loving subjects, natural born or denizens, or others that shall be willing to become our subjects and live under our allegiance in the said colony, upon such terms and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations, and conditions as the same may be lawfully granted, and as to the said common council, or the major part of them so present, shall seem fit and proper. Provided always, that no grants shall be made of any parts of the said lands unto any person being a member of the said corporation, or to any other person in trust for the benefit of any member of the said corporation; and that no person having any estate or interest in law or equity in any part of the said lands shall be capable of being a member of the said corporation during the continuance of such estate or interest. Provided also, that no greater quantity of lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to or for the use or in trust for any one person, than five hundred acres; and that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof shall be absolutely null and void."

The corporation was invested with the right to appoint suitable persons to administer the oaths prescribed by act of Parliament passed in the first year of the reign of King George I., — to be taken instead of oaths of allegiance and supremacy, — also oaths of objurgation to persons residing in the colony, and solemn affirmations to Quakers as authorized by the laws of the realm. It was further ordained that the corporation and its successors should have full power and authority for and during the term of twenty-one years next ensuing the date of the letters patent to erect and constitute courts of record and other courts for "hearing and determining all manner of crimes, offenses, pleas, processes, plaints, actions, matters, causes, and things whatsoever arising or happening within the said province of Georgia, or between persons of Georgia, whether the same be criminal or civil, and whether the said crimes be capital or not capital, and whether the said pleas be real, personal, or mixed, and for awarding and making out executions thereupon."

All leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements, and improvements of any lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the limits of the colony made by or in the name of the corpora-

ion, or memorials containing the substance thereof, were to be registered with the auditor of plantations within one year from the respective dates thereof; otherwise they were to be held void.

Annually an account of such conveyances was to be transmitted to the auditor of plantations for the time being, or to his deputy, and to the surveyor, for the time being, of South Carolina; both of whom had the power of inspection and verification by resurvey so as to ascertain the quit rents due to the Crown.

From time to time statements showing the progress of the colony were to be rendered to the principal secretaries of state and to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Eight members of the common council were declared a legal quorum for the transaction of business, and the common council was authorized to nominate, appoint, and commission such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers, and officers, civil, military, and naval, as they might deem fit and needful for the government of the province. The Crown, however, reserved to itself the right of selecting all officers for the management and collection of revenues due from the colony to the general government. It was further stipulated that the colonial governor before entering upon his office should be approved of by the Crown, that he should take such oaths and qualify himself in such manner as were required of the governors and commanders-in-chief of the other colonies in America, and that he should give approved security for observing the several acts of Parliament relating to trade and navigation, and for obeying all instructions which should be issued to him by the home government.

The corporation and its successors, during the twenty-one years sequent upon the grant of the charter, were empowered, through officers by them from time to time appointed, to train, instruct, exercise, and govern a militia for the special defense of the colony; to assemble in martial array, upon an emergency, all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms, to repulse as well on land as at sea any enemy either within or without the confines of the province, and in all fitting ways and enterprises to slay and conquer any who in a hostile manner might attempt the invasion, detriment, annoyance, or destruction of the plantation. Martial law might be proclaimed in seasons of actual hostilities, invasion, or of rebellion.

The duty of erecting forts and of fortifying towns, of supplying

them with ordnance and ammunition, and of garrisoning them, was also imposed upon the corporation which stood charged alike with the maintenance of good order within the confines of the ceded territory and with the protection of its coast and boundaries from the incursions of marauders, pirates, savages, and enemies. The governor of South Carolina was named as the commander-in-chief of the militia of Georgia. All orders issued by him were to be respected.

Free importation and exportation of goods and products were authorized. Vessels conveying them were not compelled to first touch at a Carolina port.

Upon the expiration of the term of twenty-one years specified in the charter, it was provided that such form of government would then be adopted and such laws promulgated for the regulation of the colony and the observance of its inhabitants as the Crown should ordain. Thereafter the governor of the province, and all its officers, civil and military, were to be nominated and commissioned by the home government.

These letters patent conclude with a royal promise that they would be upheld according to their true intent and meaning; and that they would be construed in all courts and elsewhere in a sense most favorable, beneficial, and advantageous to the corporation and its successors.

CHAPTER V.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE CHARTER BY THE CORPORATORS. — THEIR ORGANIZATION PERFECTED. — THE CORPORATE SEAL. — SUBSCRIPTIONS SOLICITED. — THE SCHEME OF COLONIZATION AS UNFOLDED BY THE TRUSTEES. — OGLETHORPE'S APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC. — MARTYN'S REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA.

THE projected colony was called GEORGIA in honor of the reigning monarch of England, who had graciously sanctioned a charter so liberal in its provisions, and granted a territory so extensive and valuable for the encouragement of the plantation. Compared with other instruments of like character, it will be freely admitted that these letters patent embrace all that could have been asked from the Crown, that in their scope they are generous and comprehensive, and that they contain unusual pledges of a charitable and disinterested nature on the part of those who sought the concession and were charged with the execution of the enterprise.

In July, 1732, the corporators convened for a formal acceptance of the charter, and to perfect an organization under its provisions. The letters patent having been read, the right honorable Lord Viscount Percival exhibited a certificate from the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by which it appeared that he had qualified himself as president of the corporation and taken the oath for the faithful observance of the trust. He then administered the oath of office to such of the trustees as were present. Frequent meetings were held for the transaction of business connected with the rapid and orderly development of the scheme of colonization. The Bank of England was designated as financial agent and custodian of all moneys which might be contributed in aid of the colony. Benjamin Martyn was elected secretary, and the following gentlemen formed the common council: the right honorable Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury; the right honorable John, Lord Viscount Percival; the right honorable John, Lord Viscount Tyrconnel; the right honorable James, Lord Viscount Limerick; the right honorable George, Lord Carpenter; the honorable Edward Digby, Esq., James Ogle-

thorpe, Esq., George Heathcote, Esq., Thomas Tower, Esq., Robert Moore, Esq., Robert Hucks, Esq., Rogers Holland, Esq., William Sloper, Esq., Francis Eyles, Esq., John Laroche, Esq., James Vernon, Esq., Stephen Hales, A. M., Richard Chandler, Esq., Thomas Frederick, Esq., Henry L'Apostre, Esq., William Heathcote, Esq., John White, Esq., Robert Kendal, Esq., alderman, and Richard Bundy, D. D.[1]

The corporate seal adopted had two faces. That for the authentication of legislative acts, deeds, and commissions contained this device: two figures resting upon urns, from which flowed streams typifying the rivers forming the northern and southern boundaries of the province. In their hands were spades, suggesting agriculture as the chief employment of the settlers. Above and in the centre was seated the genius of the colony, a spear in her right hand, the left placed upon a cornucopia, and a liberty cap upon her head. Behind, upon a gentle eminence, stood a tree, and above was engraven this legend: COLONIA GEORGIA AUG. On the other face — which formed the common seal to be affixed to grants, orders, and certificates — were seen silk-worms in the various stages of their labor, and the appropriate motto NON SIBI SED ALIIS. This inscription not only proclaimed the disinterested motives and intentions of the trustees, but suggested that the production of silk was to be reckoned among the most profitable employments of the colonists.

Aware of the fact that the mulberry-tree was indigenous to Georgia, and informed that the climate was favorable to the silk-worm, the trustees were encouraged by Sir Thomas Lombe to believe that raw silk of a superior quality could be readily produced in the province, and that thus vast sums, which were annually expended in the purchase of foreign silks, might be saved to the nation. Oglethorpe was firmly persuaded that England could thus be most materially benefited, and the trustees resolved to engage persons in Italy, acquainted with the method of feeding the worms and winding the threads from the cocoons, to accompany the first settlers and instruct them in the various necessary processes.[2]

That the public might be intelligently advised of the benevolent character and scope of the undertaking, and rest assured

[1] *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain*, etc., p. 3. London. MDCCXXXIII.

[2] See Wright's *Memoir of Gen. James Oglethorpe*, p. 52. London. 1867.

that any pecuniary assistance rendered would be faithfully applied, a commission of leading citizens was organized to solicit subscriptions. To prevent any misappropriation of funds a special account was opened with the Bank of England, where a register was kept of the names of all benefactors and the amounts of their several donations. The trustees contributed generously of their private means. Liberal responses were received from individuals and public institutions; and, as an honorable indorsement of the scheme and of its managers, Parliament donated the sum of £10,000. So charitable was the design, so unselfish the attitude of the trustees, and so manifest were the benefits which might reasonably be expected from a proper administration of the trust that the great heart of the nation beat in sympathy with the project. Even the pulpit raised its voice in commendation of the proposal.

In an account of their designs, addressed to the public, the trustees, after explaining the need for funds not only to defray the passage of the colonists, but also to support them while engaged in a new and unsubdued region in felling trees, building houses, fortifying settlements, and tilling the land preparatory to the first harvest, declare their intention "to relieve such unfortunate persons as cannot subsist here, and establish them in an orderly manner so as to form a well-regulated town. As far as their fund goes, they will defray the charges of their passage to Georgia; give them necessaries, land, and subsistence till such time as they can build their houses and clear some of their land. They rely for success first on the goodness of Providence, next on the compassionate disposition of the people of England; and they doubt not that much will be spared from luxury and superfluous expenses, by generous tempers, when such an opportunity is offered them by the giving of £20 to provide for a man or woman, or £10 to a child, forever.

"In order to prevent the benefaction given to this purpose from ever being misapplied, and to keep up, as far as human precaution can, a spirit of disinterestedness, the Trustees have established the following method: That each benefactor may know what he has contributed is safely lodged and justly accounted for, all money given will be deposited in the Bank of England and entries made of every benefaction in a book to be kept for that purpose by the Trustees; or, if concealed, the names of those by whose hands they sent their money. There are to be annual accounts of all the money received, and how

the same has been disposed of, laid before the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them, and copies of these will be transmitted to every considerable benefactor.

"By such a Colony many families, who would otherwise starve, will be provided for, and made masters of houses and lands; the people in Great Britain to whom these necessitous families were a burthen, will be relieved; numbers of manufacturers will be here employed for supplying them with clothes, working tools, and other necessaries; and by giving refuge to the distressed Saltzburghers and other persecuted Protestants, the power of Britain, as a reward for its hospitality, will be increased by the addition of so many religious and industrious subjects.

"The Colony of Georgia lying in about the same latitude with part of China, Persia, Palestine, and the Madeiras, it is highly probable that when hereafter it shall be well-peopled and rightly cultivated, England may be supplied from thence with raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other materials for manufactures which she is obliged to purchase from southern countries. As towns are established and grow populous along the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, they will make such a barrier as will render the southern frontier of the British Colonies on the Continent of America safe from Indian and other enemies."

This account discusses also the benefit which will accrue to home manufacturers by an increased supply of the crude material at reduced prices. It declares that by the execution of their designs the trustees will be instrumental in the conversion of the Indians, and in the reformation, perhaps, of some of the colonists, who will be encouraged to lead sober, industrious, and religious lives. After contemplating with satisfaction the probability that the colonization of Georgia would prove more speedy and successful than the settlement of the other plantations in America, and after expressing the hope that the province would soon be able to take care of itself in a pecuniary point of view, the address concludes with the following appeal: "There is an occasion now offered for every one to help forward this design; the smallest benefaction will be received and applied with the utmost care: every little will do something; and a great number of small benefactions will amount to a sum capable of doing a great deal of good."

Oglethorpe, ever on the alert, not only intervened by personal influence, spoken argument, and private contribution, but prepared and circulated a carefully considered tract[1] by which he anonymously, yet none the less earnestly, sought to enlighten the public mind in regard to the colony, the nature and situation of its lands, and the benefits which would inure to England from its successful foundation.

Upon the temperature, climate, and natural products of the region he dwells with genuine rapture, concluding this part of his description with Waller's account of the delights experienced on an island in the neighborhood of Carolina: —

"The lofty Cedar which to Heav'n aspires,
The prince of trees, is fuel for their fires.
The sweet Palmettoes a new Bacchus yield,
With leaves as ample as the broadest shield,
Under the shadow of whose friendly boughs
They sit carousing where their liquor grows.
Figs there unplanted thro' the fields do grow
Such as fierce Cato did the Romans show:
With the rare fruit inviting them to spoil
Carthage, the mistress of so rich a soil.
With candid Plantines and the Juicy Pine,
On choicest Melons and sweet Grapes they dine,
And with Potatoes fat their lusty swine.
—— The kind spring which but salutes us here
Inhabits there and courts them all the year.
Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same trees live,
At once they promise, what at once they give.
So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
Heav'n sure has kept this spot of earth uncurs't,
To show how all things were created first."

Of the health of the country he speaks in unqualified praise. In proof of the longevity of the natives, he cites the case of one of the Florida kings, mentioned by Purchas, who, three hundred years old, had a father, then living, fifty years older than himself.

Maintaining the proposition that persons reduced to poverty at home, detracting from the wealth of the nation and impairing its prosperity, would be greatly benefited by a removal to the new settlement, he writes thus: "Let us in the mean time cast our eyes on the multitude of unfortunate people in the kingdom, of reputable families, and of liberal or, at least, easy education; some undone by guardians, some by lawsuits, some by ac-

[1] *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia*, etc. London. 1732.

cidents in commerce, some by stocks and bubbles, and some by suretyship. But all agree in this one circumstance that they must either be burthensome to their relations or betake themselves to little shifts for sustenance which ('tis ten to one) do not answer their purposes, and to which a well-educated mind descends with the utmost constraint. What various misfortunes may reduce the rich, the industrious, to the danger of a prison, to a moral certainty of starving! These are the people that may relieve themselves and strengthen Georgia by resorting thither, and Great Britain by their departure. I appeal to the recollection of the reader (tho' he be opulent, tho' he be noble) does not his own sphere of acquaintance (I may venture to ask), does not even his own blood, his set of near relations furnish him with some instances of such persons as have been here described? Must they starve? What honest mind can bear to think it? Must they be fed by the contributions of others? Certainly they must, rather than be suffered to perish. Are these wealth to the nation? Are they not a burthen to themselves, a burthen to their kindred and acquaintance, a burthen to the whole community?

"I have heard it said (and 'tis easy to say so) let them learn to work: let them subdue their pride and descend to mean employments, keep ale-houses, or coffee-houses, even sell fruit, or clean shoes for an honest livelihood. But alas! these occupations, and many more like them, are overstocked already by people who know better how to follow them than do they whom we have been talking of. Half of those who are bred in low life and well versed in such shifts and expedients, find but a very narrow maintenance by them. As for labouring, I could almost wish that the gentleman or merchant who thinks that another gentleman or merchant in want can thresh or dig to the value of subsistence for his family or even for himself, I say I could wish the person who thinks so were obliged to make trial of it for a week, or (not to be too severe) for only a day. He would find himself to be less than the fourth part of a labourer, and that the fourth part of a labourer's wages could not maintain him. I have heard it said that a man may learn to labour by practise; 'tis admitted. But it must also be admitted that before he can learn he may starve. Suppose a gentleman were this day to begin, and with grievous toil found himself able to earn three pence, how many days or months are necessary to form him that he may deserve a shilling *per diem?* Men whose

wants are importunate must try such experiments as will give immediate relief. 'Tis too late for them to begin to learn a trade when their pressing necessities call for the exercise of it.

"Having thus described (I fear too truly) the pitiable condition of the better sort of the indigent, an objection rises against their removal upon what is stated of their imbecility for drudgery. It may be asked if they can't get bread here for their labour, how will their condition be mended in *Georgia?* The answer is easy. Part of it is well attested, and part self evident. They have land there for nothing, and that land is so fertile that (as is said before) they receive an hundred-fold increase for taking very little pains.

"Give here in England ten acres of good land to one of these helpless persons and I doubt not his ability to make it sustain him, and this by his own culture without letting it to another. But the difference between no rent and rack-rent is the difference between eating and starving. If I make but twenty pound of the produce of a field, and am to pay twenty pound for it, 'tis plain I must perish if I have not another fund to support me. But if I pay no rent the produce of that field will supply the mere necessities of life.

"With a view to the relief of people in the condition I have described, his majesty has this present year incorporated a considerable number of persons of quality and distinction and vested a large tract of *South Carolina* in them, by the name of *Georgia*, in trust to be distributed among the necessitous. These trustees not only give land to the unhappy who go thither, but are also impowered to receive the voluntary contributions of charitable persons to enable them to furnish the poor adventurers with all necessaries for the expense of the voyage, occupying the land, and supporting them till they find themselves comfortably settled. So that now the unfortunate will not be obliged to bind themselves to a long servitude to pay for their passage, for they may be carried *gratis* into a land of liberty and plenty where they immediately find themselves in possession of a competent estate, in a happier climate than they knew before, and they are unfortunate indeed if here they can't forget their sorrows."

In this practical, cogent manner did Oglethorpe appeal to the impoverished, and seek to influence the better class of the unfortunate in England to become friends of and participators in the proposed colonization.

Then addressing himself to a consideration of the question of

emigration from a political and economical point of view, he demonstrates very clearly that many who at home were not only unable to earn a subsistence, but were a positive incubus upon the fortunes and industry of others, yielding no taxes or revenues to the government, might, in the new province of Georgia, under the charitable administration of the trustees, maintain themselves in comfort, enrich the mother county by the products of their labor, and extend the dominion of the realm.

Alluding to the condition of the Salzburgers, martyrs in the cause of truth and conscience, and gratefully acknowledging the sympathy and valuable coöperation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he sees, in the accession of colonists from this source, the advancement of Christianity, the rapid conversion of the natives, relief from religious persecution, and sure increase of the wealth and trade of Great Britain. "Subjects thus acquired," says he, "by the impolitic persecutions, by the superstitious barbarities of neighboring princes, are a noble addition to the capital stock of the British Empire."

The tract concludes with an encouraging view of the advantages which would accrue to the commerce and wealth of England from the production of silk, rice, cotton, wine, lumber, and other articles of trade and consumption.

The designs of the trustees were further unfolded in a publication made by Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the Board, entitled "Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain," etc.,[1] a contribution of no little merit and importance. In this work the profits to be realized from silk production in Georgia are carefully considered, and the expectations of the trustees are confirmed by a letter from Sir Thomas Lombe, the inventor of silk-throwing machinery of curious and intricate structure, in which he declares that the silk, raised in Carolina, possesses as much natural strength and beauty as the silk of Italy, and ventures the opinion that its culture in Georgia would be attended with success if proper measures were adopted for the instruction and encouragement of those who were to be employed about it. Looking eagerly to the development of this industry, the trustees, at the outset, procured from Italy a sufficient quantity of silk-worm eggs, and engaged the services of competent Piedmontese to accompany the colonists and acquaint them with all necessary information on the subject. We will hereafter learn that in the development of

[1] London. MDCCXXXIII.

their plans the trustees established formal rules for the propagation of white mulberry trees.

Having discussed at considerable length the benefits which might be confidently anticipated from a trade in indigo, cochineal, olives, dyeing-woods, medicinal herbs, wine, flax, corn, and other products, and having reviewed the advantages which would accrue to England upon the establishment and development of Georgia as a home for the unfortunate, the oppressed, and the enterprising, Martyn concludes with this appeal to the charity and patriotism of the nation: —

"As the Mind of Man cannot form a more exalted Pleasure than what arises from the Reflexion of having relieved the Distressed; let the Man of Benevolence, whose Substance enables him to contribute towards this Undertaking, give a Loose for a little to his Imagination, pass over a few Years of his Life, and think himself in a Visit to *Georgia*. Let-him see those, who are now a Prey to all the Calamities of Want, who are starving with Hunger, and seeing their Wives and Children in the same Distress; expecting likewise every Moment to be thrown into a Dungeon, with the cutting Anguish that they leave their Families expos'd to the utmost Necessity and Despair: Let him, I say, see these living under a sober and orderly Government, settled in Towns, which are rising at Distances along navigable Rivers; Flocks and Herds in the neighbouring Pastures, and adjoining to them Plantations of regular Rows of Mulberry-Trees entwin'd with Vines, the Branches of which are loaded with Grapes; let him see Orchards of Oranges, Pomegranates, and Olives; in other Places extended Fields of Corn, or Flax and Hemp. In short, the whole Face of the Country chang'd by Agriculture, and Plenty in every Part of it. Let him see the People all in Employment of various Kinds, Women and Children feeding and nursing the Silkworms, winding off the Silk, or gathering the Olives; the Men ploughing and planting their Lands, tending their Cattle, or felling the Forest, which they burn for Potashes, or square for the Builder; let him see these in Content and Affluence, and Masters of little Possessions which they can leave to their Children; and then let him think if they are not happier than those supported by Charity in Idleness. Let him reflect that the Produce of their Labour will be so much new Wealth for his Country, and then let him ask himself, Whether he would exchange the Satisfaction of having contributed to this, for all the trifling Pleasures the Money, which he has given, would have purchas'd.

"Of all publick-spirited Actions, perhaps none can claim a Preference to the Settling of Colonies, as none are in the End more useful. . . . Whoever then is a Lover of Liberty will be pleas'd with an Attempt to recover his fellow Subjects from a State of Misery and Oppression, and fix them in Happiness and Freedom.

"Whoever is a Lover of his Country will approve of a Method for the Employment of her Poor, and the Increase of her People and her Trade. Whoever is a Lover of Mankind will join his wishes to the Success of a Design so plainly calculated for their Good: Undertaken, and conducted with so much Disinterestedness.

"Few arguments surely are requisite to excite the Generous to exert themselves on this Occasion. To consult the Welfare of Mankind regardless of any private Views is the Perfection of Virtue; as the Accomplishing and Consciousness of it is the Perfection of Happiness."

CHAPTER VI.

REGULATIONS ESTABLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES. — GRANTS IN TAIL MALE DETERMINED UPON. — NEGRO SLAVERY AND THE IMPORTATION OF RUM PROHIBITED.

THE trustees, meanwhile, were framing regulations for the observance of the colonists and maturing such plans as, under the provisions of the charter, appeared most conducive to the prosperity and permanence of the contemplated settlement. Their views are fully expressed in a publication made by them entitled "An Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its first Establishment."[1]

Each male inhabitant was regarded both as a planter and as a soldier. He was therefore to be provided with arms for defense and with tools for the cultivation of the soil. In their use was he to be instructed. Towns, in their inception, were reckoned as garrisons; consequently the lands allotted for tillage were to be in their immediate neighborhood, so that, in case of alarm, the inhabitants might speedily betake themselves thither for safety and mutual protection.

That the military strength of the province might be maintained at the highest possible standard, they deemed it important to establish such tenures of land as would best conduce to that end. Each lot, therefore, was to be held as a military fief, and fifty acres were adjudged sufficient for the support of a planter and his family. The number of lots ceded was to equal the number of persons capable of occupying and rendering service. Regulations were established to prevent on the one hand the accumulation of lots in one ownership lest the garrison should be enfeebled, and their division on the other hand into smaller parcels whereby they would be rendered too scanty for the procurement of suitable subsistence.

Grants in tail male were declared preferable to any other tenure because most likely to answer the needs of the province. Should they be made in tail general it was thought that the

[1] London, MDCCXLI. pp. 71.

strength of each township might be speedily diminished, inasmuch as a female heir in tail, although unmarried, might become entitled to a lot and thus withdraw from the garrison the portion of a soldier. By intermarriages, too, several lots might be merged into one ownership. If the tenant in tail general should chance to have several daughters, his lot must then be divided equally among them as coparceners.

Nor were these the only inconveniences which, in the judgment of the trustees, would probably arise should estates in tail general be allowed. Women being incapable of serving on juries or acting as soldiers, those duties and others, such as watching and warding, would devolve upon each adult male the oftener as the number of men in the township was lessened, and might become very burdensome. In case of attack from the Indians, French, or Spaniards, the township, under such circumstances, would be less able to offer a becoming resistance.

Nor was it deemed prudent to sanction alienations in fee; for, a right of sale being inseparable from an estate in fee, the grantee, upon being invested with the title, might at once sell, mortgage, or alien his lands to any one he chose. The trustees refused to commit this power to the early colonists and for the following reasons: —

First. Many of the persons who were to be transported to Georgia were indigent. What they had been masters of at home they had administered so indiscreetly that it did not appear safe at the outset, and before they had by careful and industrious behavior given some assurance that they would prove better managers in the future, to entrust them with the entire and unrestrained property in the lands allotted to them.

Second. They were to be sent over to inhabit, cultivate, and secure, by a personal residence, the lands granted to them in the province. This they voluntarily engaged to do; and, in the expectation that they would observe this promise, they were to be maintained at the public expense during the voyage and to be at no charge for their passage. They were, moreover, to be provided with tools, arms, seeds, and other necessaries, and to be supported, at least for a season, from the general stores. Hence the public might be said to have purchased from such settlers, for a valuable consideration, their personal residence, and all the industry and labor they could bestow upon the cultivation of the soil assigned for their new homes.

Third. It was thought unsafe to grant estates in fee because

they might be the means of introducing into the colony persons opposed to the Protestant religion, the maintenance of which was regarded as all important. On the west of the province were the French, and the Spaniards to the south, — Papists all.

Fourth. The concentration of the ownership of many lots in a single individual would be a necessary consequence of a free purchase and sale of lands within the province, and this would conflict with the manifest intent of the charter which forbade a grant of more than five hundred acres of land to any one person.

Besides, where the tenant in fee died without children and intestate, it might be a difficult and a tedious matter to ascertain the heir general. Meanwhile, the improvements upon the lot would decay and the land remain uncultivated.

Although these restraints upon the ownership and sale of real property were deemed wholesome in the beginning, the trustees were prepared, upon special cause shown, to modify their rules and even to grant a license for the alienation of land. We shall see, too, that when the succession of females became less dangerous to the province, when its population multiplied and grew confirmed in its local attachments, and when, by the arrival of the king's forces, its military capabilities were increased, the trustees consented to an enlargement of the land tenures.

In order to insure industry on the part of the settlers to be transported and furnished with homes at the expense of the trust, they were placed under covenant to clear and cultivate, within a given time, a certain portion of the lands allotted to them respectively, and also to plant one hundred white mulberry trees upon every ten acres which should be cleared. Should this contract not be observed on the part of the tenants, the trustees reserved to themselves the right of reëntry on such portions of the lots as remained untilled.

Subsequently, however, when it was evident that the colonists, because of Spanish alarms, successive droughts, and other unforeseen accidents, had been prevented from reducing into cultivation within the required time the specific number of acres, the trustees resolved to cancel all forfeitures.

To such persons as could carry ten men-servants with them and settle in Georgia at their own expense, if, upon inquiry, their characters were found to be above reproach, the trustees agreed to grant five hundred acres of land in tail male, reserving to themselves for the support of the colony a yearly rent of twenty shillings sterling for every hundred acres. The payment of this

rental was not to commence until ten years after the date of the grant.

Within a month after its execution the grant, or a memorial of it, was to be registered with the auditor of plantations. The grantee obligated himself, within twelve months after the date of the cession, to repair to Georgia with ten able-bodied men-servants, each being at least twenty-one years of age. He further agreed to abide in Georgia with his servants for three years, building houses and cultivating his lands. Within ten years from the date of the grant he was to clear and cultivate two hundred of the five hundred acres, and plant thereon two thousand white mulberry trees. On every hundred of the remaining three hundred acres, when cleared, one thousand white mulberry trees or plants, to be furnished by the trustees, were to be set out and preserved. No alienation of the five hundred acres or of any part thereof for a term of years or otherwise could be made except by special leave of the trustees. On the determination of the estate in tail male the land was to revert to the trust. These grantees were not permitted to depart from the province without license. All forfeitures for non-residence, high treason, felonies, etc., were to inure to the trustees for the benefit of the colony. If any part of the five hundred acres of land, within eighteen years from the date of the grant, should remain uncultivated, uncleared, unplanted, and without a worm fence or paling six feet high, such portion should then revert to the trust.

Upon the expiration of the terms of service of the male servants ("the same being for not less than four years") the common council agreed, if requested by the grantee so to do, to grant to each of such servants twenty acres of land in tail male upon such rents, conditions, limitations, and covenants as might have been attached to grants to men-servants in like circumstances. The grantees of these five-hundred-acre tracts were prohibited from hiring, keeping, lodging, or employing any negro except by special permission.

When the lands reverted to the trust on determination of the estate in tail male, the trustees covenanted to grant it again to such persons as the common council should think most advantageous to the colony, special regard being had for the daughters of such as had made improvements upon their lots. The widows of persons dying without male issue were, during their lives, to be entitled to the enjoyment of the mansion house and of one half of the lands improved by their husbands.

The introduction of rum was prohibited. Trading with Indians was forbidden, unless sanctioned by special license. The trustees also saw fit to prohibit the importation, ownership, and use of negroes within the limits of the province of Georgia. For this action on their part the following reasons were assigned: —

The intention of the charter being to provide for poor persons incapable of subsisting themselves at home, and to establish a frontier for South Carolina which, because of the small number of its white inhabitants, was much exposed to the inroads both of hostile Indians and jealous Spaniards, it was thought impossible that the indigent who should be sent from England, and the foreign persecuted Protestants who would enter the colony utterly without means, could either purchase negroes or support them if they were furnished. Should the trustees undertake such a charge they would be crippled in their ability to maintain the white settlers. The prime cost of a negro was then about thirty pounds. This sum would suffice to pay the passage over of a white man, supply him with tools and other necessaries, and subsist him for a year. At the expiration of that time it was hoped that the planter's own labor would enable him to earn a livelihood. Consequently, argued the trustees, the purchase-money of every negro (deducting the cost of feeding him and his master) by being applied in that way would prevent them from sending a white man who would add to the strength of the colony, whereas the negro would only render its security the more precarious.

It was thought that the white man, in possessing a negro slave, would himself be less inclined to labor; that much of his time would be consumed in keeping the negro at work and in guarding against any dangers he and his family might apprehend from the slave; and that in the event of the death or absence of the master his family would be in large degree at the mercy of the negro.[1]

It was also apprehended that the Spaniards at St. Augustine would be continually enticing the negroes away or inciting them to insurrections. This fear found its justification in the conduct of the Spaniards toward the negro slaves of Carolina. Although

[1] It will be here remembered that the negro alluded to was the recently imported African, with his wild passions in large measure unsubdued, but little modified by the restraints of a superior civilization, and ignorant of those attachments and of that sense of mutual dependence which, at a later period, bound master and servant so closely together.

at a greater distance from St. Augustine, many of them, persuaded by emissaries from that place, had deserted in periaguas and small boats to the Spaniards; and on more than one occasion large bodies of them had risen in arms, to the great alarm and loss of that province.

The trustees were under the impression that the products of Georgia would not require the intervention of negro labor. The cultivation of rice in Carolina was an unhealthy and a heavy task demanding the service of slaves, whereas the silk and other matters which would claim the attention of the Georgia colonists could be best cared for by white men and their wives and children.

It was also feared that if the persons who should go over to Georgia at their own expense were allowed the use of negroes the poor planters, who constituted the strength of the colony and who could not purchase them, would be dispirited and perhaps ruined. Under such circumstances, clamorous to have negroes furnished to them, and being refused, they would either quit the colony or grow negligent of their small plantations. Or, disdaining to work like negroes, they would seek to hire themselves as overseers to the wealthy planters. Upon the admission of negroes these wealthy planters would be inclined to adopt the course pursued in other colonies and absent themselves from their plantations, entrusting them and their black slaves to the supervision of paid overseers.

It was believed by the trustees that the poor planter, sent on charity, in his eagerness to own negro slaves, and the rich planters too who had come at their own charge, if permitted to alienate lands, would mortgage their real estate to the negro merchant, or at least become his debtors in the purchase of slaves. If these claims were not met, both negroes and land might pass into the ownership of the slave dealer, — a result to be deeply deplored and to be avoided if possible.

It was apprehended that the introduction of negro slaves into Georgia would facilitate the desertion of the Carolina negroes through Georgia into Florida, thus defeating one of the prime intentions of the founders of the colony, which was to make it a barrier and sure defense to Carolina against the malign influences and malevolent designs of the Spaniards at St. Augustine.

Influenced by these considerations the trustees made the non-introduction of negro slaves a fundamental principle in the constitution of the colony of Georgia. At first the prohibition was

doubtless salutary in its operation, but there soon came a time, in the development of the plantation, when its abrogation was found essential to the prosperity, nay, to the life itself, of the province.

In preparing a form of government under the provisions of the letters patent the trustees arranged for the establishment of a court for the trial of causes both civil and criminal, for the appointment of magistrates, three bailiffs, a recorder, two constables, and two tithing-men. Those were selected as magistrates who seemed to be most prudent and discreet; although, where "all were upon a level at the first setting out," it appeared "impossible to make any choice or distinction which would not create some future uneasiness among them."[1]

[1] See an *Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its first Establishment*, pp. 5–11, 48, 49. London. MDCCXLI.

CHAPTER VII.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST EMBARKATION. — OGLETHORPE LEADS THE COLONISTS. — DEPARTURE IN THE GALLEY ANNE. — ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION AT CHARLESTOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA. — OGLETHORPE VISITS YAMACRAW BLUFF. — HIS FIRST INTERVIEW WITH TOMO-CHI-CHI. — THE COLONISTS LAND AT SAVANNAH.

HAVING thus digested a plan for the conduct of the proposed colony, and having secured funds sufficient to justify them in putting into practical operation their scheme for the settlement of the ceded lands, the trustees gave public notice of their readiness to receive and consider applications from parties who desired to emigrate to Georgia. Numerous were the responses. That they might not be deceived in the characters and antecedents of those who signified a wish to depart, a committee was appointed to visit the prisons and examine the applicants there confined. If they proved worthy of the charity, compromises were to be effected with their creditors, and consents for their discharge procured. Another committee was raised to inquire into the circumstances and qualifications of such as presented themselves at the office of the corporation. Keeping in view the benevolent objects of the association and the nature of the settlement to be compassed, it was manifest that only fit persons ought to be selected, and that due care should be exercised in the choice of emigrants.[1] As the men were to act in the double capacity of planters and soldiers, it was important not only that they should be able-bodied and reliable, but that they should, at the earliest moment,

[1] It has been idly charged that in the beginning Georgia colonists were impecunious, depraved, lawless, and abandoned, that the settlement at Savannah was a sort of Botany Bay, and that Yamacraw Bluff was peopled by runagates from justice. The suggestion is utterly without foundation. The truth is, no applicant was admitted to the privilege of enrollment as an emigrant until he had been subjected to a preliminary examination and had furnished satisfactory testimony that he was fairly entitled to the benefits of the charity.

Other American colonies were founded and augmented by individuals coming at will, without question, for personal gain, and bringing no certificate of present or past good conduct. Georgia, on the contrary, exhibits the spectacle, at once unique and admirable, of permitting no one to enter her borders who was not, by competent authority, adjudged worthy the rights of citizenship.

be instructed in the use of arms. Consequently, upon receiving the approbation of the committee, and until the arrival of the time fixed for sailing, the emigrants were drilled each day by the sergeants of the Royal Guards. Preferences were given to those who came well recommended by the ministers, church-wardens, and overseers of their respective parishes.

By the 3d of October, 1732, one hundred and fourteen individuals, comprising men, women, and children, had been enrolled for the first embarkation. Three weeks afterwards they were asked whether they objected to any of the terms and conditions proposed by the trustees. They all responded that they were fully satisfied with them. Articles testifying their consent were thereupon signed, sealed, and filed in the office of the trustees.

Four of them desired that their daughters might inherit as well as their sons, and that provision should be made for the widow's dower. Yielding to their solicitation, the trustees resolved that any person claiming the privilege might name a successor to the lands granted to him, and that in case the original grantee died without male issue such successor should hold to himself or herself and his or her male heirs forever. It was further ordained that widows should have their thirds as regulated by the laws of England.[1]

Five thousand acres of land within the limits of Georgia were granted to three of the colonists[2] in trust to convey therefrom fifty acres to every male adult upon his arrival in the province, at his request, and upon condition that he would form a settlement thereon. Such lot was to become the property of the grantee and his heirs male.

A vessel chartered to convey the emigrants was, at the charge of the trust, comfortably fitted out for their accommodation, and furnished not only with necessaries for the voyage, but also with arms, agricultural implements, tools, munitions, and stores for the use and support of the colonists after their arrival in America. The liberality of the supervisors was further shown in the supply of domestic utensils. Ten tuns of Alderman Parson's best beer were put on board,[3] and every provision was made for the reasonable subsistence of these industrious adventurers during their

[1] *Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., pp. 11, 12. London. MDCCXLI.

[2] Thomas Christie, William Calvert, and Joseph Hughes.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1732, p. 1029.

earliest efforts to subdue the native wilds of the untrodden region so soon to become their permanent home.

At his own request Oglethorpe was selected to accompany the colonists and establish them in Georgia. He voluntered to bear his own expenses, and to devote his entire time and attention to the consummation of the enterprise. Himself the originator and the most zealous advocate of the scheme, this offer on his part placed the seal of consecration upon his self-denial, patriotism, and enlarged philanthropy. Most fortunate were the trustees in having such a representative. To no one could the power to exercise the functions of a colonial governor have been more appropriately confided. Attentive to the voice of suffering, and ready to lend a helping hand wherever the weak and the oppressed required the aid of the more powerful and the noble-minded for the redress of wrongs and the alleviation of present ills; "in the prime of life, very handsome, tall, manly, dignified, but not austere, the *beau idéal* of an English gentleman, and blessed with ample means for the gratification of every reasonable desire;" possessing a liberal education, a fearless soul, a determined will, a tireless energy, a practical knowledge of military affairs and of the management of expeditions, and an experience of men and climes and matters which only years of careful observation, intelligent travel, and thoughtful study could supply, there was that about his person, character, attainments, and abilities which inspired confidence and rendered Mr. Oglethorpe, beyond all dispute, the man of his age and people best qualified to inaugurate and conduct to a successful issue an enterprise so entirely in unison with his own philanthropic sentiments and so important to the interests of both England and America.[1]

A more striking instance of self-negation, of disinterested benevolence, of public spirit, cannot readily be recalled; and we cordially sympathize in the compliment paid by a contemporary who, in reviewing Oglethorpe's behavior, says: "To see a gentleman of his rank and fortune visiting a distant and uncultivated land with no other society but the miserable whom he goes to assist, exposing himself freely to the same hardships to which they are subjected, in the prime of life, instead of pursuing his pleasures or ambition, intent on an improved and well-concerted plan from which his country must reap the profits, at his own

[1] See *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi*, p. 16. C. C. Jones, Jr. Albany, N. Y. 1868.

expense, and without a view or even a possibility of receiving any private advantage from it; this, too, after having done and expended for it what many generous men would think sufficient to have done, — to see this, I say, must give every one who has approved and contributed to the undertaking the highest satisfaction, must convince the world of the disinterested zeal with which the settlement is to be made, and entitle him to the truest honour he can gain, — the perpetual love and applause of mankind." [1]

Their last Sabbath in England was passed by the emigrants at Milton, on the banks of the Thames. There, in a body, they attended divine worship in the parish church. Fortunately their sorrows at the prospect of an early separation from home and friends were not then enhanced by any gloomy picture of the land to which they were hastening. Goldsmith had not then penned his mournful lines: —

> . . . "To distant climes, a dreary scene,
> Where half the convex world intrudes between,
> Through torrid tracts with fainting steps they go,
> Where wild Altama murmurs to their woe.
> Far different these from all that charm'd before,
> The various terrors of that horrid shore;
> Those blazing suns that dart a downward ray,
> And fiercely shed intolerable day;
> Those matted woods where birds forget to sing,
> But silent bats in drowsy clusters cling;
> Those poisonous fields with rank luxuriance crowned,
> Where the dark scorpion gathers death around;
> Where at each step the stranger fears to wake
> The rattling terrors of the vengeful snake;
> Where crouching tigers wait their hapless prey,
> And savage men more murd'rous still than they;
> While oft in whirls the mad tornado flies,
> Mingling the ravag'd landscape with the skies.
> Far different these from every former scene,
> The cooling brook, the grassy-vested green,
> The breezy covert of the warbling grove,
> That only sheltered thefts of harmless love."

On the 16th of November several of the trustees went to Gravesend, where the vessel was moored with the colonists on board, inquired strictly into the provisions made for their accommodation, ascertained that everything was in good order and that the emigrants were in fine spirits, addressed to them cheering words, and took formal leave of them. The following

[1] *Political State of Great Britain*, February, 1733, vol. xlv. p. 181, quoted by Stevens in his *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 81.

day the Anne, a galley of some two hundred tons burthen, commanded by Captain Thomas, and having on board about one hundred and thirty persons, among whom were Mr. Oglethorpe, the Rev. Dr. Henry Herbert,[1] a clergyman of the Church of England who went as chaplain, and Mr. Amatis, from Piedmont, who was engaged to instruct in breeding silk-worms and in the art of winding silk, departed from England bearing the first persons selected for the colonization of Georgia. Thirty-five families were represented among these emigrants. There were carpenters, bricklayers, farmers, and mechanics, — all able-bodied and of good reputation. Mr. Oglethorpe furnished his own cabin, and, at his individual expense, laid in provisions sufficient not only for himself and servants but for the comfort of his fellow-passengers.[2] Shaping her course for the island of Madeira, the Anne touched there and took on board five tuns of wine. Sailing thence she fetched a compass for Charlestown harbor, where she dropped anchor outside the bar on the 13th of January, 1733. The voyage, although a little protracted, proved pleasant and prosperous. Two delicate children had died at sea.[3] With this exception no sorrow clouded the passage, and all the colonists were well and happy.

On the very night of their arrival, having first assembled the emigrants and returned thanks to Almighty God for this favorable termination of the voyage, Oglethorpe, accompanied by an escort, proceeded to Charlestown and waited upon his excellency Robert Johnson, governor of the province of South Carolina. By him and his council was he warmly welcomed, and treated with the most distinguished hospitality. The Duke of Newcastle, then at the head of colonial affairs, had addressed circulars to the governors of the American provinces, commending Oglethorpe and his mission to their courtesy and favor. The lords of the admiralty, too, had issued instructions to naval commanders on the Virginia and Carolina stations to render every possible assistance to the Georgia colony and its leader. This courteous reception, therefore, was accorded both in obedience to royal command and as an expression of the good-will of the authorities of Carolina who were deeply interested in the success

[1] Dr. Herbert charitably volunteered to go without any allowance, and to perform all religious and ecclesiastical offices for the colonists.

[2] Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 58. London. 1867.

[3] These were Richard Cannon's youngest son, aged eight months, and Robert Clarke's youngest son, aged one year and a half. — *Journal of the Trustees.*

of the plantation. In truth, Georgia was to constitute a protection to all of the American colonies, and especially to Carolina, against the encroachments of the Spaniards, who regarded with jealous and hostile eyes the growing power and expanding settlements of England upon American shores. This mutual sympathy and dependence were, at an early date, acknowledged by a contributor to the "London Magazine" in the following lines: —

> "To Carolina be a Georgia joined;
> Then shall both colonies sure progress make,
> Endeared to either for the other's sake;
> Georgia shall Carolina's favour move,
> And Carolina bloom by Georgia's love."

Cheerfully responding to his needs, Governor Johnson ordered Mr. Middleton, the king's pilot, to attend upon Mr. Oglethorpe and to conduct the Anne into Port Royal. Instructions were also issued for small craft to convey the colonists thence to the Savannah River. Further assistance was cordially promised on the part of Carolina. The next morning Oglethorpe returned on board the Anne and sailed for Port Royal harbor. Having posted a detachment of eight men upon an island about midway between Beaufort and Savannah River, with injunction to "prepare huts for the reception of the colony against they should lie there in their passage," he proceeded to Beaufort-town, where he arrived early on the morning of the 19th. He was saluted by all the artillery there posted, and at his request the new barracks were made ready for the reception of the colonists who ascended the river and occupied them on the following day. Valuable assistance was rendered by Lieutenant Watts, Ensign Farrington, and the other officers of his majesty's independent company, by Mr. Delabarr, and by some gentlemen of the neighborhood.

Leaving the colonists to refresh themselves at this pleasant place, Oglethorpe, accompanied by Colonel William Bull, proceeded to the Savannah River and ascended that stream as far as Yamacraw Bluff. Regarding this as an eligible situation, he landed and marked out the site of a town which, from the river which flowed by, he called *Savannah*. This bluff, rising some forty feet above the level of the river, and possessing a bold frontage on the water of nearly a mile, ample enough for the riparian uses of a settlement of considerable magnitude, was the first high ground, abutting upon the stream, encountered by him in its ascent. To the south a high and dry plain, over-

shadowed by pines, interspersed with live-oaks and magnolias, stretched away for a considerable distance. On the east and west were small creeks and swamps affording convenient drainage for the intermediate territory. The river in front was capable of floating ships of ordinary tonnage, and they could lie so near the shore that their cargoes might with facility be discharged. Northwardly, in the direction of Carolina, lay the rich delta of the river, with its islands and lowlands crowned with a dense growth of cypress, sweet-gum, tupelo, and other trees, many of them vine-covered and draped in long gray moss swaying gracefully in the ambient air. The yellow jessamine was already mingling its delicious perfume with the breath of the pine, and the trees were vocal with the voices of song-birds. Everything in this semi-tropical region was quickening into life and beauty under the reviving influences of returning spring. In its primeval repose it seemed a goodly land. The temperate rays of the sun gave no token of the heat of summer. There was no promise of the tornado and the thunder-storm in the gentle winds. In the balmy air lurked no suspicion of malarial fevers. Its proximity to the mouth of the river rendered this spot suitable alike for commercial purposes and for maintaining facile communication with the Carolina settlements.

Near by was an Indian village, the head-quarters of the Yamacraws, a small tribe the chief or mico of which was the venerable Tomo-chi-chi. Here too a post had been established by Musgrove,[1] a Carolina trader, married to a half-breed named Mary. Before leading his colonists to this home which he had selected for their first habitation, Oglethorpe was anxious to propitiate the natives. He accordingly visited the village, and obtained an interview with Tomo-chi-chi. Mary Musgrove, who had acquired a tolerable knowledge of English and was favorably inclined toward her husband's countrymen, on this occasion not only acted as interpreter but exerted a valuable influence in securing from the Indians pledges of amity. When first acquainted with Oglethorpe's design of forming a settlement at Yamacraw the natives manifested much uneasiness and even threatened to prevent by force the advent of the whites. Assured, however, of the friendly intentions of the English, and persuaded of the benefits which would flow from direct association with them, the In-

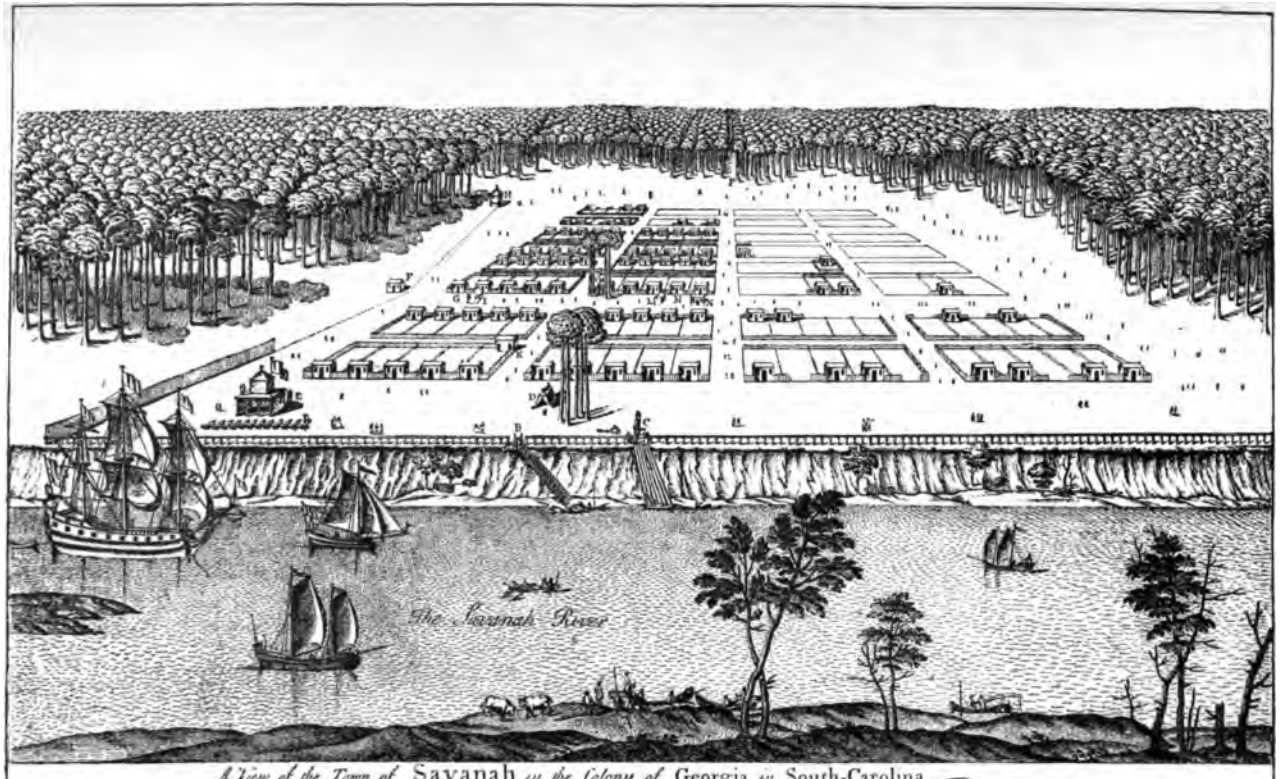
[1] Musgrove's presence here contravened the stipulations of a treaty long existent between the colony of South Carolina and the natives, which forbade the establishment of trading-posts south of the Savannah River.

dians finally withdrew their opposition and, with protestations of gladness, entered into an informal agreement by which the desired lands were ceded, and promises given to receive the strangers with good-will.

His preliminary arrangements having been thus accomplished, Oglethorpe returned to Beaufort, reaching that town on the 24th. During his absence the emigrants were greatly refreshed by their sojourn on shore. They had been the recipients of every attention and hospitality. The following Sunday was observed as a day of special thanksgiving, the Rev. Lewis Jones preaching before the colonists, and their chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Herbert, occupying Mr. Jones' pulpit in Beaufort. The gentlemen of the neighborhood united with the colonists on this occasion, and the ceremonies terminated with a bountiful dinner provided by Oglethorpe. Among the articles mentioned as constituting this first feast were four fat hogs, eight turkeys, many fowls, English beef, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a generous quantity of wine. Although this repast was accompanied with a bountiful supply of malt liquor, wine, and spirits, we are informed that everything was conducted in such an agreeable manner that no one became drunk. Throughout the course of the entertainment there was an entire absence of everything savoring of disorder.

On the 30th of January the colonists, conveyed in a sloop of seventy tons and in five periaguas, set sail for Savannah. Encountering a storm they were forced to seek shelter from its violence at a point known as Look Out. Here they lay all night, and the next day proceeded as far as John's, where the eight men, there stationed by Oglethorpe, had prepared huts for their reception. A plentiful supply of venison awaited their coming. Upon this they supped, and there they spent the night. Reembarking in the morning, they arrived the same afternoon at Yamacraw Bluff. Before dark they erected four large tents (one for each tything) capable of accommodating all the people, and transferred their bedding and other necessaries ashore. There they slept, passing their first night upon the soil of Georgia.

Faithful to his trust, Oglethorpe, having posted his sentinels, sought no protection save the shelter of the towering pines, and lay upon the ground near the central watch-fire. The ocean had been crossed, and the germ of a new colony was planted in America.



A View of the Town of Savanah, *in the Colony of* Georgia, *in* South-Carolina. —

Humbly Inscribed to his Excellency Gen^{l} Oglethorpe —

References A. *Part of an Island called* Hutchinsons *Island.* B. *The Stairs & Landing Place from the River to the Town.* C. *A Crane & Bell to draw up any Goods from Boats & to land them.* D. *A Fort pitched near the Landing for* Gen^{l} *Oglethorpe.* E. *A Guard House with a Battery of Cannon lying before it.* F. *The Parsonage House.* G. *A Piece of Ground to build a Church on.* H. *A Fort, or Look out to the Woodside.* I. *The House for all Stores.* K. *The Court House & Chappel.* L. *The Mill House for the Publick.* M. *A House for all Strangers to reside in.* N. *The Common Bake House.* O. *A Draw-Well for Water.* P. *The Wood Covering the Back & Sides of the Town with Several Vistas cut into it.* —

From a Print published at London in 1741.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY LABORS OF THE COLONISTS AT SAVANNAH. — OGLETHORPE'S LETTERS TO THE TRUSTEES. — COMMUNICATION AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA. — ASSISTANCE FROM PRIVATE PARTIES IN CAROLINA. — ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONIZATION WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN FROM CHARLESTOWN. — OGLETHORPE VISITS CHARLESTOWN AND ADDRESSES THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — CONGRATULATIONS FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

EARLY on the morning of the 2d of February, 1733 (O. S.), Oglethorpe convened the people to thank God for his safe conduct of the colony to its appointed destination, and to invoke his blessings upon the plantation. These religious services ended, he solemnly and earnestly reminded them of their duties as the founders of Georgia, impressing upon them an appreciation of the important fact that the seed now sown would yield a harvest either for good or bad in the coming generations. Against the evils of intemperance and idleness he uttered an emphatic warning, and cautioned them to be prudent and upright in their intercourse with the Indians. "It is my hope," said he, "that through your good example the settlement of Georgia may prove a blessing and not a curse to the native inhabitants." Then, having explained the necessity for their laboring in common until the site of the town should be cleared, and having exhorted and encouraged them to work amicably and cheerfully, he dismissed them that they might enter upon the orderly discharge of the duties claiming immediate attention.[1] Some were detailed for the erection of a crane with which to facilitate the landing of bulky articles. Others plied axes and felled the tall pines, rendering more comfortable the temporary shelters prepared so hastily the evening before for the accommodation of the emigrants, and busying themselves with the erection of new booths. Others still were detailed to unload the vessels, to split and sharpen posts with which to stockade the town, and to begin the construction of a fort at the eastern extremity of the bluff. Varied and arduous were these duties, but all with alacrity and energy entered

[1] See Wright's *Memoir of General Oglethorpe*, p. 60. London. 1867.

upon and prosecuted their performance. Sharing the privations and the labors of his people, Oglethorpe was present everywhere, planning, supervising, and encouraging. The general outline of Savannah was soon indicated. In marking out its squares, lots, and streets, the founder of the colony was assisted by Colonel William Bull of South Carolina, a gentleman of intelligence and experience, who generously lent four of his servants, expert sawyers, to aid in preparing boards for houses. Oglethorpe claimed in his own behalf and for his own comfort no labor from the colonists. He caused four clustering pines to be left standing near the bluff and opposite the centre of the encampment. Beneath their shadow he pitched his tent, and this canvas was his abiding-place for nearly a year. Subsequently he contented himself with hired lodgings in one of the houses of his people.

Upon his arrival at Charlestown on the 13th of January, Oglethorpe addressed a letter to the trustees communicating the happy intelligence, and on the 10th of February, from his camp at Savannah, penned his first communication on Georgia soil. It runs as follows: —

"*To the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.*

"GENTLEMEN, — I gave you an Account in my last of our Arrival at Charles-Town. The Governor and Assembly have given us all possible Encouragement. Our People arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January where I lodged them in some new Barracks built for the Soldiers, while I went myself to view the Savannah River. I fix'd upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea. The River here forms a Half-Moon, along the South-Side of which the Banks are about forty Foot high, and on the Top a Flat which they call a Bluff. The plain high Ground extends into the Country five or six Miles, and along the River-side about a Mile. Ships that draw twelve Foot Water can ride within ten Yards of the Bank. Upon the River-Side, in the Centre of this Plain, I have laid out the Town. Opposite to it is an Island of very rich Pasturage, which I think should be kept for the Trustees' Cattle. The River is pretty wide, the Water fresh, and from the Key of the Town you see its whole Course to the Sea, with the Island of Tybe, which forms the Mouth of the River; and the other way you see the River for about six Miles up into the Country. The Landskip is very agreeable, the Stream being wide, and border'd with high Woods on both Sides. The whole People arrived here on the first of

February. At Night their Tents were got up. 'Till the seventh we were taken up in unloading and making a Crane which I then could not get finish'd, so took off the Hands, and set some to the Fortification and began to fell the woods. I mark'd out the Town and Common. Half of the former is already cleared, and the first House was begun Yesterday in the Afternoon. Not being able to get Negroes, I have taken ten of the Independent Company to work for us, for which I make them an allowance. I send you a copy of the Resolutions of the Assembly and the Governor and Council's Letter to me. Mr Whitaker has given us one hundred Head of Cattle. Col. Bull, Mr Barlow, Mr St Julian, and Mr Woodward are come up to assist us with some of their own Servants. I am so taken up in looking after a hundred necessary Things, that I write now short, but shall give you a more particular Account hereafter. A little Indian Nation, the only one within fifty Miles, is not only at Amity, but desirous to be Subjects to his Majesty King George, to have Lands given them among us, and to breed their Children at our Schools. Their Chief, and his Beloved Man, who is the Second Man in the Nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian Religion.

"I am, Gentlemen

"Your Most Obedient, Humble Servant,

"JAMES OGLETHORPE."

Here are the letter of the governor and council of South Carolina and the resolutions of the Assembly alluded to in the foregoing communication: —

"SIR. We can't omit the first Opportunity of Congratulating you on your safe Arrival in this Province, wishing you all imaginable Success in your charitable and generous Undertaking in which we beg Leave to assure you any Assistance we can give shall not be wanting in promoting the same. The General Assembly having come to the Resolutions inclosed, we hope you will accept it as an Instance of our sincere Intentions to forward so good a Work, and of our Attachment to a Person who has at all times so generously used his Endeavours to relieve the Poor and deliver them out of their Distress, in which you have been hitherto so successful that we are persuaded this Undertaking can't fail under your prudent conduct, which we most heartily wish for. The Rangers and Scout-Boats are order'd to attend you as soon as possible. Col: Bull, a Gentleman of this Board, and whom we esteem most capable to assist you in the Settling your new Colony, is desired to deliver you this, and to accom-

pany you and render you the best Services he is capable of, and is one whose Integrity you may very much depend on.

"We are with the greatest Regard and Esteem, Sir,

"Your most obedient Humble Servants,

Council Chamber,
26th of Jan: 1732.

ROBERT JOHNSON,
THOMAS BROUGHTON,
JOHN PENWICKE,
AL: MIDDLETON,
THOMAS WARING,
A. SKEENE,
J. HAMMERTON,
FRA: YONGE,
JAMES KINLOCK."

"The Committee of his Majesty's Honourable Council appointed to confer with a Committee of the Lower House on his Excellency's Message relating to the Arrival of the Honourable James Oglethorpe Esqr:

"Report: That agreeable to his Majesty's Instructions to his Excellency, sent down together with the said Message, we are unanimously of Opinion that all due Countenance and Encouragement ought to be given to the Settling of the Colony of Georgia.

"And for that End your Committee apprehend it necessary that his Excellency be desired to give Orders and Directions that Capt MacPherson, together with fifteen of the Rangers do forthwith repair to the new Settlement of Georgia to cover and protect M^r Oglethorpe, and those under his care, from any Insults that may be offer'd them by the Indians, and that they continue and abide there till the new Settlers have enforted themselves, and for such further time as his Excellency may think necessary.

"That the Lieutenant and four Men of the Apalachucola Garrison be order'd to march to the Fort on Combahee to Join those of the Rangers that remain; that the Commissary be order'd to find them with Provisions as usual. That his Excellency will please to give Directions that the Scout Boat at Port Royal do attend the new Settlers as often as his Excellency shall see Occasion. That a Present be given to M^r Oglethorpe for the new Settlement of Georgia forthwith of an hundred Head of breeding Cattle, and five Bulls, as also twenty breeding Sows, and four Boars, with twenty Barrels of good and merchantable Rice; the whole to be deliver'd at the Charge of the Publick at such Place in Georgia as M^r Oglethorpe shall appoint.

"That Parriaguas be provided at the Charge of the Publick

to attend Mr Oglethorpe at Port Royal in order to carry the new Settlers, arrived in the Ship *Anne*, to Georgia with their Effects and the Artillery and Ammunition now on Board.

"That Col. Bull be desired to go to Georgia with the Hon: James Oglethorpe Esq: to aid him with his best Advice and Assistance in the Settling of that Place."[1]

This early and acceptable aid extended by the province of Carolina was supplemented by private benefactions. Thus, Colonel Bull, with four of his servants, came to Savannah and spent a month there, supervising the work of the sawyers, designating the proportions of the buildings, surveying the lots, and rendering service most valuable. From Mr. Whitaker and his friends were received one hundred head of cattle, a free gift to the colony. Mr. St. Julian for several weeks directed the people in erecting their houses and advancing the settlement. A present of a silver boat and spoon was made by Mr. Hume for the first child born on Georgia soil. These were awarded to the infant of Mrs. Close. For two months Mr. Joseph Bryan gave his personal attention and the labor of four of his servants, who were sawyers. Sixteen sheep were sent by the inhabitants of Edisto Island. Mr. Hammerton contributed a drum. Mrs. Ann Drayton loaned four of her sawyers, and Colonel Bull and Mr. Bryan furnished Mr. Oglethorpe with twenty servants to be employed in such manner as he might deem most advantageous. Governor Johnson presented seven horses.[2]

Well knowing that the planting of this colony to the south would essentially promote the security of Carolina, shielding that province from the direct assaults and machinations of the Spaniards in Florida, preventing the ready escape of fugitive slaves, guarding her lower borders from the incursions of Indians, increasing commercial relations, and enhancing the value of lands, the South Carolinians were eager to advance the prosperity of Georgia.

The following extract from a letter of Mr. Oglethorpe to the trustees, dated at Savannah, February 20, 1733, advises us of his further impressions of Yamacraw Bluff: —

"Our People are all in perfect Health. I chose the situation for the Town upon an high Ground forty Foot perpendicular

[1] See *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain*, etc., pp. 42–46. London. MDCCXXXIII.

[2] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 92. Philadelphia. MDCCCXLVII.

above High-Water Mark: The Soil dry and sandy, the Water of the River fresh, Springs coming out from the Sides of the Hills. I pitch'd on this Place not only for the Pleasantness of its Situation, but because from the above-mention'd and other Signs I thought it Healthy, for it is shelter'd from the Western and Southern Winds (the worst in this Country) by vast Woods of Pine-trees many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy Foot high. There is no Moss on the Trees, tho' in most Parts of Carolina they are cover'd with it, and it hangs down two or three Foot from them; The last and fullest Conviction of the Healthfulness of the Place was that an Indian Nation, who know the Nature of this Country, chose it for their Habitation."[1]

In his next communication, under date of March 12th, he conveys the following information in regard to the extent of the province, the temper of the aboriginal population, and the progress of colonization: —

"This Province is much larger than we thought, being 120 miles from this river to the Alatamaha. The Savannah has a very long course, and a great trade is carried on by the Indians, there having above twelve trading boats passed since I have been here. There are in Georgia, on this side the mountains, three considerable nations of Indians; one called the Lower Creeks, consisting of nine towns, or rather cantons, making about a thousand men able to bear arms. One of these is within a short distance of us and has concluded a peace with us, giving us the right of all this part of the Country: and I have marked out the lands which they have reserved to themselves. Their King[2] comes constantly to Church, is desirous to be instructed in the Christian religion, and has given me his nephew,[3] a boy who is his next heir, to educate. The two other Nations are the Uchees and the Upper Creeks: the first consisting of two hundred, the latter of eleven hundred men. We agree so well with the Indians that the Creeks and the Uchees have referred to me a difference to determine which otherwise would have occasioned a war.

"Our people still lie in tents, there being only two clap-board houses built and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery cannon, and magazine are finished. This is all that we

[1] *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with Regard to the Trade of Great Britain*, etc., p. 48. London. MDCCXXXIII.

[2] Tomo-chi-chi.

[3] Toonahowi.

have been able to do by reason of the smallness of our number, of which many have been sick and others unused to labour; though I thank God, they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival here."

In the South Carolina "Gazette" of March 22, 1733, may be found the following account of a visit paid by some Carolina gentlemen to Mr. Oglethorpe: —

"On Tuesday, the 13th Instant, I went on board a Canoe, in company with M^r George Ducat and M^r John Ballantine, with four Negroes; and about 10 o'clock we set off from M^r Lloyd's Bridge for Georgia and, passing by Port Royal on Wednesday Night we arrived on Friday Morning an Hour before Day at *Yammacraw*, — a Place so called by the Indians, but now *Savannah* in the Colony of *Georgia*. Some time before we came to the Landing the Centinel challenged us, and understanding who we were, admitted us ashore. This is a very high Bluff, — Forty Feet perpendicular from High-water Mark. It lies, according to Captain Gascoigne's Observations, in the Latitude 31: 58. which he took off *Tybee*, an island that lies at the Mouth of the *Savannah* River. It is distant from *Charles-Town* S. W according to the Course and Windings of the Rivers and Creeks, about 140 Miles; but, by a direct Course, 77, allowing *Sullivants* Island to be in the Latitude 32:47: from *Augustine* N E and by E about 140 Miles, and by the Course of the Rivers is distant from Fort *Moore* 300 Miles; but upon a direct Line but 115 Miles N. W and by W. This Bluff is distant 10 Miles from the Mouth of the Rivers on the South Side; and *Parrysburgh* is 24 Miles above it on the North, and is so situated that you have a beautiful Prospect both up and down the River. It is very sandy and barren, and consequently a wholesome Place for a Town or City. There are on it 130 odd souls; and from the Time they embarqued at London to the Time I left the Place there died but two sucking Children, and they at Sea. When they arrived, there was standing on it a great Quantity of the best Sorts of Pine, most of which is already cut down on the Spot where the Town is laid out to be built. The Land is barren about a Mile back, when you come into very rich Ground; and on both Sides within a Quarter of a Mile of the Town is choice, good Planting Land. Colonel Bull told me that he had been Seven Miles back, and found it extraordinary good.

"M^r Oglethorpe is indefatigable, takes a vast deal of Pains; his fare is but indifferent, having little else at present but salt

Provisions: He is extremely well beloved by all his People; the general Title they give him is *Father*. If any of them is sick he immediately visits them and takes a great deal of Care of them. If any difference arises, he is the Person that decides it. Two happened while I was there, and in my Presence; and all the Parties went away, to outward Appearance, satisfied and contented with his Determination. He keeps a strict Discipline; I neither saw one of his People drunk or heard one swear all the Time I was there; He does not allow them Rum, but in lieu gives them *English* Beer. It is surprising to see how chearfully the Men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it; There are no Idlers there; even the Boys and Girls do their Parts. There are Four Houses already up but none finish'd; and he hopes when he has got more Sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short time, to finish two Houses a Week. He has ploughed up some Land, part of which he sowed with Wheat, which is come up and looks promising. He has two or three Gardens which he has sowed with divers Sorts of Seeds, and planted Thyme, with other Sorts of Pot-herbs, Sage, Leeks, Skellions, Celeri, Liquorice, &c, and several Sorts of Fruit trees. He was palisading the Town round, including some Part of the Common, which I do suppose may be finish'd in a Fortnight's time. In short he has done a vast deal of Work for the Time, and I think his Name Justly deserves to be immortalized.

"Mr Oglethorpe has with him Sir Walter Raleigh's written Journal, and, by the Latitude of the Place, the Marks and Tradition of the Indians, it is the very first Place where he went ashore and talked with the *Indians*, and was the first *Englishman* that ever they saw: And about half a Mile from *Savannah* is a high Mount of Earth under which lies their chief King; and the *Indians* informed Mr *Oglethorpe*, that the King desired, before he died, that he might be buried on the Spot where he talked with that great good Man.

"The River Water is very good, and Mr *Oglethorpe* has proved it several Ways and thinks it as good as the River of *Thames*. On Monday the 19th we took our Leave of Mr *Oglethorpe* at Nine o'Clock in the Morning and embarked for Charles Town; and when we set off he was pleased to honour us with a Volley of small Arms, and the Discharge of Five Cannon: And coming down the Rivers, we found the Water perfectly fresh Six Miles below the Town, and saw Six or Seven large Sturgeon leap, with which Fish that River abounds, as also with Trout,

Perch, Cat, and Rock Fish &c, and in the Winter Season there is Variety of Wild Fowl, especially Turkeys, some of them weighing Thirty Pounds, and abundance of Deer."[1]

In the absence of machinery, the labor of converting the pine logs into boards was tedious and severe. Nevertheless the work progressed, and one by one frame houses were builded. As rapidly as they were finished the colonists were transferred from tents into these more permanent and comfortable lodgings. A public garden was laid out and a servant detailed, at the charge of the trust, to cultivate it. This was to serve as a nursery whence might be procured fruit trees, vines, plants, and vegetables for the private orchards and gardens of the inhabitants. It was also largely devoted to the propagation of the white mulberry, from the general cultivation of which, as food for the silkworm, great benefit was anticipated.

Sensible of the courtesies and assistance extended by Carolina, Oglethorpe repaired to Charlestown to return thanks in behalf of his colony, and to interest the public still more in the development of the plantation. He was met at the water's edge by the governor and council, who conducted him to Governor Johnson's mansion where he formally received the congratulations of the General Assembly. In response to his application for additional assistance, a handsome sum was voted by the Assembly, and the citizens of Charlestown complimented him with a generous donation. When next in Charlestown (June 9, 1733), he took occasion to deliver before the governor and general assembly of the province an address framed and pronounced in special acknowledgment of Georgia's indebtedness to Carolina for aid most opportune and bounteous. "I should think myself," said he, "very much wanting in Justice and gratitude if I should neglect thanking your Excellency, you Gentlemen of the Council, and you Gentlemen of the Assembly, for the assistance which you have given to the Colony of Georgia. I have long wished for an opportunity of expressing my sense of the universal zeal which the inhabitants of this Province have shown for assisting that Colony, and could not think of any better opportunity than now when the whole Province is virtually present in its General Assembly. I am therefore Gentlemen, to thank you for the handsome assistance given by private persons as well as by the public. I am to thank you not only in the name of the Trustees and the

[1] *An Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its First Establishment*, pp. 41, 42. London. MDCCXLI.

little Colony now in Georgia, but in behalf of all the distressed people of Britain and persecuted Protestants of Europe to whom a place of refuge will be secured by this first attempt.

"Your charitable and generous proceeding, besides the self-satisfaction which always attends such actions, will be of the greatest advantage to this Province. You, Gentlemen, are the best Judges of this since most of you have been personal witnesses of the dangerous blows which this country has escaped from French, Spanish and Indian Arms. Many of you know this by experience, having signalized yourselves personally either when this Province by its own strength, and unassisted by anything but the courage of its inhabitants and the Providence of God, repulsed the formidable invasions of the French, or when it defeated the whole body of the Southern Indians who were armed against it and was invaded by the Spaniards who assisted them. You Gentlemen, know that there was a time when every day brought fresh advices of murders, ravages, and burnings; when no profession or calling was exempted from arms; when every inhabitant of the Province was obliged to leave wife, family, and useful occupations, and undergo the fatigues of war for the necessary defence of the Country; and all their endeavors scarcely sufficient to guard the western and southern frontiers against the Indians.

"It would be needless for me to tell you who are much better judges, how the increasing settlement of a new Colony upon the southern frontiers will prevent the like danger for the future. Nor need I tell you how every plantation will increase in value by the safety of the Province being increased; since the lands to the southward already sell for above double what they did before the new Colony arrived. Nor need I mention the great lessening of the burden of the people by increasing the income of the tax upon the many thousand acres of land either taken or taking up on the prospect of future security.

"The assistance which the Assembly have given, though not quite equal to the occasion, is very large with respect to the present circumstances of the Province; and as such, shows you to be kind benefactors to your new come countrymen whose settlements you support, and dutiful subjects to his Majesty whose revenues and dominions you by this means increase and strengthen.

"As I shall soon return to Europe I must recommend the infant Colony to your further protection; being assured, both from your generosity and wisdom that you will, in case of any danger or necessity, give it the utmost support and assistance."

Although the colony of Georgia was, from its location, particularly beneficial to Carolina, its maintenance and development were not without importance in the esteem of the more northerly English plantations in America. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, at an early period of the settlement, gave every assurance of their good wishes for its confirmation and success. Thus Thomas Penn, proprietor of the former colony, in a letter addressed to the trustees and written from Philadelphia on the 6th of March, 1733, approved very highly of the undertaking, promised to contribute all the assistance in his power, and acquainted them with the fact that he had himself subscribed one hundred pounds sterling, and was then engaged in collecting from others all sums he could influence, that they might be sent to them and expended for the purposes designated in their charter.

From Boston, on the 3d of May, 1733, Governor Belcher wrote to Mr. Oglethorpe as follows: —

"It is with great pleasure that I congratulate you upon your safe arrival in America; and I have a still greater in the advantages which these parts of his Majesty's dominions will reap from your noble and generous pursuits of good to mankind in the settlement of Georgia. May God Almighty attend you with his blessing, and crown your toils with success."

Ever on the alert to promote the best interests of his infant colony, Oglethorpe omitted nothing which could possibly conduce to its security, good order, advancement, and substantial prosperity.

CHAPTER IX.

OGLETHORPE'S CONCILIATORY CONDUCT TOWARD THE INDIANS. — CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF TOMO-CHI-CHI. — GEORGIA'S DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO THIS MICO. — CONVENTION OF CHIEFS. — ARTICLES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE PROPOSED AND RATIFIED.

IN nothing were the prudence, wisdom, skill, and ability of the founder of the colony of Georgia more conspicuous than in his conduct toward and treatment of the Indians. The ascendency he acquired over them, the respect they entertained for him, and the manly, generous, and just policy he ever maintained in his intercourse with the native tribes of the region are remarkable. Their favor, at the outset, was essential to the repose of the settlement; their friendship necessary to its existence. In the beginning, few in numbers and isolated in position, a hostile breath would have blown it into nothingness. As claimants of the soil by virtue of prior occupancy it was important that the title they asserted to these their hunting-grounds should, at an early moment, be peaceably and formally extinguished. A resort to the sword in assertion of England's dominion over this territory would have led at once to ambush, alarm, and bloodshed. The adoption of a violent and coercive course toward the aborigines would have aroused their hostility and imperiled the success of the plantation. Far better the plan of conciliation. This Oglethorpe fully recognized, and shaped his policy accordingly.

It will be remembered that upon his preliminary survey of the region when, in company with Colonel Bull, he selected a spot for primal settlement, he sought an interview with Tomo-chi-chi and, by friendly offers and kind arguments, won the favor of that chief and his tribe and obtained their consent that the expected colonists should occupy Yamacraw Bluff. A few days afterwards, when the emigrants did arrive, true to his promise, this aged mico, at the head of his little band, welcomed the new-comers at the water's edge; and, when their tents were pitched upon the shore, repeated his salutations. Of the ceremonies observed on this occasion the following account has been preserved: In front advanced the "Medicine Man" bearing in each hand a fan of

white feathers, — the symbols of peace and friendship. Then came Tomo-chi-chi and Scenauki, his wife, attended by a retinue of some twenty members of the tribe filling the air with shouts. Approaching Oglethorpe, who advanced a few paces to meet them, the medicine man, or priest, proclaiming the while the brave deeds of his ancestors, stroked the governor on every side with his fans, — apt emblems of amity. This done, the king and queen drew near and bade him and his followers welcome. After an interchange of compliments the Indians were entertained as hospitably as the means at command would allow.

This acquaintance with Tomo-chi-chi ripened into a friendship close and valuable.

That the Indians in the neighborhood might be impressed with the power and military skill of the emigrants, Oglethorpe frequently, when the opportunity offered, exercised the colonists in their presence in the manual of arms, in marching and in firing, and sometimes roused the forests from their slumbers by the thunders of his cannon. Well did he know that such exhibitions of superior power would exert a potent influence upon the minds of the red men and engender a respect for the English all the more wholesome because commingled with fear.

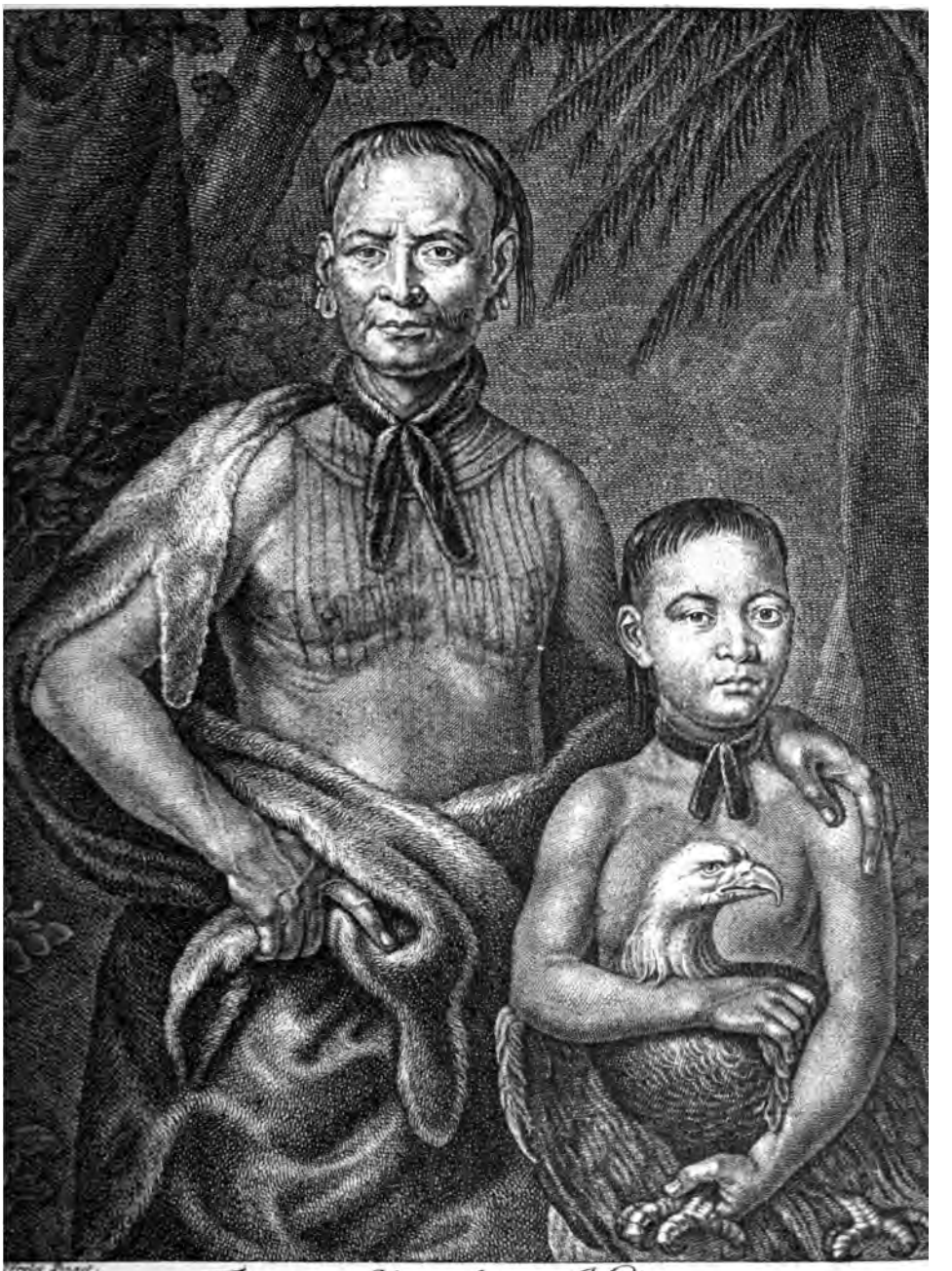
The situation of this feeble colony was, in the very nature of things, extremely precarious. Located in the depths of a primeval forest, the tangled brakes and solemn shadows of which proclaimed loneliness and isolation; the vast Atlantic rolling its waters between it and the mother country; the Carolina settlements at best few in numbers and contending in a stern life-struggle for their own existence; Spaniards in Florida jealous of this disputed domain, and ready at any moment to frustrate by stealthy approaches and with force of arms all efforts of the English to extend their plantations along the Southern coast; and, above all, Indian tribes in the occupancy of the country attached to their grand old woods and gently flowing streams, watchful of the graves of their ancestors, imposed upon by Spanish lies, disquieted by French emissaries, cheated by Carolina traders, and naturally inclined to resist all encroachments by the whites upon their hunting-grounds, it did indeed appear that the preservation and development of this colony were well-nigh impossible. But its planting and perpetuation had been confided to the guardian care of one who was, perhaps, beyond all others, most capable of conducting the enterprise.

In his efforts to conciliate the native population he derived in-

calculable benefit from the friendship and kindly intervention of Tomo-chi-chi. This chief, whose memory is so honorably associated with the early history of Georgia, and whose many acts of kindness and fidelity to the whites demand and must ever receive the most grateful acknowledgment, although at this time far advanced in years, was a man of commanding presence, grave demeanor, marked character, established influence, of a philosophical turn of mind, and in the full possession of all his faculties. For some cause, the precise nature of which has never been fully explained, he had, with a number of his countrymen, suffered banishment at the hands of his people, the Lower Creeks. Whatever the real reason may have been for this action on the part of the Creeks toward Tomo-chi-chi, it does not seem that it was the result of any special ill-will, or that the expatriation was a punishment either for specific crime or general misconduct. The probability is that he went into voluntary exile for a season, or that he may have been temporarily expelled the limits of the nation, on account of some political disagreements. Oueekachumpa, the great chief of the O'Conas, claimed kinship with him and saluted him as a good man and a distinguished warrior.

Removing from his former abode, after some wanderings he finally, and not very long before the arrival of the colony of Georgia, formed a settlement at or very near the present site of the city of Savannah, where he gathered about him the tribe of Yamacraws, consisting mainly of disaffected parties from the Lower Creeks, and, to some extent, of Yemassee Indians, by whom he was chosen mico, or chief. Prior to his removal to Yamacraw Bluff he tarried for a season with the Palla-Chucolas. But little can be gathered of his life previous to his acquaintance with Oglethorpe. Ninety-one years had been, amid the forest shades, devoted to the pursuits of war and the chase, and there is scarcely a tradition which wrests from oblivion the deeds and thoughts of this aged chieftain during that long and voiceless period.

During the visit which he subsequently made to London, in company with Oglethorpe, his portrait was painted by Verelst, and hung for many years in the Georgia rooms. This likeness, which represents him in a standing posture with his left hand resting upon the shoulder of his nephew and adopted son, Toonahowi, who holds an eagle in his arms, was subsequently engraved by Faber and also by Kleinsmidt. That Tomo-chi-chi was noble in his connections we are fully advised, and there is that about the countenance of this venerable mico, as it has thus been



Tomo Chachi Mico

oder König Von Yamacraw und Tooanahowi Seines Bruders des Mico oder Königes Von Stichitas John.

nach dem Londischen Original in Augspurg nachgestochen von

Joh Jacob Kleinschmidt.

Johns Burn & Co Photo. Leith

handed down to us, which savors of intellect, dignity, manliness, and kingly bearing.

It will readily be perceived how important it was to the interests of the colony that the good-will of this chief should be secured at the earliest moment, and his consent obtained for the peaceable occupation of the soil by the whites. On the occasion of his first interview with Tomo-chi-chi, as we have already seen, Mr. Oglethorpe was fortunate in securing the services of Mary Musgrove[1] as an interpreter. Perceiving that she possessed considerable influence with the Creeks, he retained her in this capacity, allowing her an annual compensation of £100. The meeting between the governor of the colony and the aged mico beneath the grand live-oaks and towering pines, the sheltering arms of which formed a noble canopy, was frank, cordial, and satisfactory. His personal friendship and the good-will of the Yamacraws were firmly pledged, and permission was granted for the permanent occupation of the site selected by Oglethorpe for the town of Savannah.

Although amicable relations had thus been established with the nearest Indians, it was necessary, in order to promote the security of the colony, that consent to its foundation here should be ratified by other and more powerful nations.

Learning from Tomo-chi-chi the names and the abodes of the most influential chiefs dwelling within the territory ceded by the charter, Mr. Oglethorpe enlisted the good offices of the mico in extending to them an earnest invitation to meet him at Savannah at some early convenient day. The value of these interviews with and the generous intervention of Tomo-chi-chi cannot easily be overestimated in considering their influence upon the well-being and prospects of this lonely colony struggling for its primal existence. Had this chief, turning a deaf ear to the advances of Mr. Oglethorpe, refused his friendship, denied his request, and, inclining his authority to hostile account, instigated a determined and combined opposition on the part not only of the Yamacraws, but also of the Uchees and the Lower Creeks, the perpetuation of this English settlement would have been either most seriously imperiled or abruptly terminated amid smoke and carnage. When, therefore, we recur to the memories of this period, and as often as the leading events in the early history of the colony of Georgia are narrated, so often should the favors experienced at the hands of this Indian chief be gratefully acknowledged. If

[1] Her Indian name was *Coosaponakeesee*.

Oglethorpe's proudest claim to the honor and the respect of succeeding generations rests upon the fact that he was the founder of the colony of Georgia, let it not be forgotten by those who accord him every praise for his valor, judgment, skill, endurance, and benevolence that in the hour of supreme doubt and danger the right arm of this son of the forest and his active friendship were among the surest guaranties of the safety and the very existence of that colony. The enduring and universal gratitude of the present may well claim illustrious expression from the lips of the poet, the brush of the painter, and the chisel of the sculptor.

To the day of his death these pledges of amity and the assurances of good-will and assistance given during these first interviews were faithfully observed. The firm friend of the white man, the guide, the adviser, the protector, of the colonist, the constant companion and faithful confederate of Oglethorpe, — as such let us always remember the aged mico of the Yamacraws.

True to his promise Tomo-chi-chi exerted his influence in behalf of the contemplated convention, and dispatched messengers to the various principal towns and chief men of the Georgia tribes, apprising them of the objects of the convocation and leading their minds in advance to a favorable consideration of the propositions which had been intimated to him by Mr. Oglethorpe. The interval, which necessarily intervened prior to the assembling of the Indians, was improved by the founder of the colony in furthering the settlement at Savannah and in paying a visit to the province of Carolina. The fullest narrative of the meeting between Mr. Oglethorpe and the Indians, in pursuance of this invitation, is contained in the forty-sixth volume of the "Political State of Great Britain," and we repeat the account as it is there given: —

"On the 14th of May, Mr. Oglethorpe set out from Charlestown on his return to Savannah, which is the name of the town now begun to be built in Georgia. That night he lay at Col. Bull's house on Ashley River, where he dined the next day. The Rev. Mr. Guy, rector of the parish of St. John's, waited upon him there, and acquainted him that his parishioners had raised a very handsome contribution for the assistance of the colony of Georgia. Mr. Oglethorpe went from thence to Capt. Bull's, where he lay on the 15th. On the 16th, in the morning, he embarqued at Daho, and rested at Mr. Cochran's island. On the 17th he dined at Lieut. Watts' at Beaufort,

and landed at Savannah on the 18th, at ten in the morning, where he found that Mr. Wiggan, the interpreter, with the chief men of all the Lower Creek nation, had come down to treat of an alliance with the new colony.

"The Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians who formerly consisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight tribes or towns, who have each their different government, but are allied together and speak the same language. They claim from the Savannah River as far as S. Augustin, and up to the Flint river, which falls into the bay of Mexico. All the Indians inhabiting this tract speak their language. Tomo-chi-chi, mico, and the Indians of Yamacraw are of their nation and language.

"Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new houses that afternoon. They were as follows: —

"*From the tribe of Coweeta* — Yahou-Lakee, their king or mico. Essoboa, their warrior, — the son of old Breen, lately dead, whom the Spaniards called emperor of the Creeks, — with eight men and two women attendants.

"*From the tribe of the Cussetas* — Cusseta, the mico, Tatchiquatchi, the head warrior, and four attendants.

"*From the tribe of the Owseecheys* — Ogeese, the mico, or war king, Neathlouthko and Ougachi, two chief men, with three attendants.

"*From the tribe of Cheehaws* — Outhleteboa, the mico, Thlautho-thlukee, Figeer, Soota-Milla, war-captains, and three attendants.

"*From the tribe of Echetas* — Chutabeeche and Robin, two war-captains, (the latter was bred among the English) with four attendants.

"*From the tribe of Pallachucolas* — Gillatee, the head warrior, and five attendants.

"*From the tribe of Oconas* — Oueekachumpa, called by the English 'Long King,' Coowoo, a warrior.

"*From the tribe of Eufaule* — Tomaumi, the head warrior, and three attendants.

"The Indians being all seated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, stood up, and with a graceful action and a good voice, made a long speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and John Musgrove, and was to the following purpose. He first claimed all the land to the southward of the river Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. Next he said that although they were poor and ignorant, He who had given the English breath had

given them breath also; that He who had made both, had given more wisdom to the white men; that they were firmly persuaded that the Great Power which dwelt in heaven and all around, (and then he spread out his hands and lengthened the sound of his words), and which had given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives and children; that therefore they gave them up freely their right to all the land which they did not use themselves, and that this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the eight towns of the Creeks, each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief men with skins, which is their wealth. He then stopped, and the chief men of each town brought up a bundle of buck-skins, and laid eight bundles from the eight towns at Mr. Oglethorpe's feet. He then said those were the best things they had, and therefore they gave them with a good heart. He then thanked him for his kindness to Tomo-chi-chi, mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related; and said, that though Tomo-chi-chi was banished from his nation, he was a good man, and had been a great warrior, and it was for his wisdom and courage that the banished men chose him king. Lastly, he said, they had heard in the nation that the Cherokees had killed some Englishmen, and that if he should command them, they would enter with their whole force into the Cherokee country, destroy their harvest, kill their people and revenge the English. He then sat down. Mr. Oglethorpe promised to acquaint the trustees with their desire of being instructed, and informed them that although there had been a report of the Cherokees having killed some Englishmen, it was groundless. He thanked them in the most cordial manner for their affection, and told them that he would acquaint the trustees with it.

"Tomo-chi-chi, mico, then came in, with the Indians of Yamacraw, to Mr. Oglethorpe, and, bowing very low, said: 'I was a banished man; I came here poor and helpless to look for good land near the tombs of my ancestors, and the trustees sent people here; I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted corn; but you confirmed our land to us, gave us food and instructed our children. We have already thanked you in the strongest words we could find, but words are no return for such favors; for good words may be spoke by the deceitful, as well as by the upright heart. The chief men of all our nation are here to thank you for us; and before them I declare your goodness, and that here I design to die; for we all love your

people so well that with them we will live and die. We do not know good from evil, but desire to be instructed and guided by you that we may do well with, and be numbered amongst the children of the trustees.'[1] He sat down, and Yahou-Lakee, mico of Coweeta, stood up and said: 'We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I have been often advised to go down to Charles-Town, but would not go down because I thought I might die in the way; but when I heard that you were come, and that you were good men, I knew you were sent by Him who lives in Heaven, to teach us Indians wisdom; I therefore came down that I might hear good things, for I knew that if I died in the way I should die in doing good, and what was said would be carried back to the nation, and our children would reap the benefit of it. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, and to see our friends that have long been gone from amongst us. Our nation was once strong, and had ten towns; but we are now weak, and have but eight towns. You have comforted the banished, and have gathered them that were scattered like little birds before the eagle. We desire therefore to be reconciled to our brethren who are here amongst you, and we give leave to Tomo-chi-chi, Stimoiche, and Illispelle, to call the kindred that love them out of each of the Creek towns, that they may come together and make one town. We must pray you to recall the Yamasees that they may be buried in peace amongst their ancestors, and that they may see their graves before they die; and their own nation shall be restored again to its ten towns.' After which he spoke concerning the abatement of the prices of goods, and agreed upon articles of a treaty which were ordered to be engrossed."

Tomo-chi-chi invited them to his town, where they passed the night in feasting and dancing. On the 21st, the treaty was signed. "A laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt were given to each of the Indian chiefs; to each of the warriors a gun, and a mantle of Duffils; and to all their attendants coarse cloth for

[1] In *A Curious Account of the Indians by an Honorable Person*, Mr. Oglethorpe writes: "Tomo-chi-chi, in his first set speech to me, among other things, said, 'Here is a little present;' and then gave me a buffalo's skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. He desired me to accept it because 'the eagle signified speed, and the buffalo strength: that the English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since like the first, they flew from the utmost parts of the earth, over the vast seas, and like the second, nothing could withstand them: that the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo skin was warm, and signified protection; therefore he hoped that we would love and protect their little families.'"

clothing. A barrel of gunpowder, four cags of bullets, a piece of broad-cloth, a piece of Irish linen, a cask of tobacco pipes, eight belts, and cutlashes with gilt handles, tape and inkle of all colors, and eight cags of rum, to be carried home to their towns; one pound of powder, one pound of bullets, and as much provision for each man as they pleased to take for their journey home," were also distributed.[1]

During this interview the conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe toward the Indians was characterized by marked kindness, courtesy, and conciliation. He urged upon them an appreciation of the fact that in making this settlement the English desired neither to dispossess nor to annoy the natives, but that the earnest wish of his government and people was to live in peace and friendship with the surrounding tribes. He further explained the power of the British nation and the general object in view in founding the colony, and asked from the assembled chiefs and those whom they represented a cession of the lands lying between the Savannah and Alatamaha rivers. In addition, he invoked the ratification of a treaty of commerce and of perpetual amity.

The interview was in every respect satisfactory, and resulted in the consummation of a treaty by which the Lower Creeks agreed to place themselves under the general government of Great Britain and to live in peace with the colonists. To the trustees were granted all lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers, from the ocean to the head of tide-water. This cession also embraced the islands on the coast, from Tybee to St. Simon's Island inclusive, with the exception of the islands of Ossabau, Sapelo, and St. Catharine, which were reserved by the Indians for the purposes of hunting, bathing, and fishing. The tract of land lying above Yamacraw Bluff, between Pipemaker's Bluff and Pally-Chuckola Creek, was also reserved as a place of encampment whenever it should please them to visit their beloved friends at Savannah. Stipulations were entered into regulating the price of goods, the value of peltry, and the privileges of traders. It was further agreed that all criminal offenses should be tried and punished in accordance with the laws of England.[2]

Although this treaty was engrossed, and formally executed by

[1] See *The Political State of Great Britain*, xlvi. 237; *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1733, iii. 384, *et seq.*; *American Gazetteer*, ii., article "Georgia." London. 1762.

[2] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, i. 37, 38.

Oglethorpe on the one part and the chiefs and principal warriors who were then present on the other, in order that its terms might be duly considered and approved, it was forwarded to the trustees for their formal confirmation.

In due course it was returned with the following ratification:[1]

"The Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America to the chief men of the nation of the Lower Creeks,

SEND GREETING:

"WHEREAS, The great king, George the Second, king of Great Britain, did by his letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the 9th day of June, in the 5th year of his reign, constitute and appoint a body politic and corporate by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America:

"And, WHEREAS, The said Trustees have received from their beloved Mr. James Oglethorpe, of West Brook Place, in the county of Surry, Esquire, one of the common council of the said Trustees, a copy of certain articles of friendship and commerce between the said Trustees and the said chief men, which is in the words following (that is to say), Articles of friendship and commerce between the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the nation of the Lower Creeks.

"*First.* The Trustees, bearing in their hearts great love and friendship to you the said head-men of the Lower Creek nation, do engage to let their people carry up into your towns all kinds of goods fitting to trade in the said towns, at the rates and prices settled and agreed upon before you the said head-men, and annexed to this treaty of trade and friendship.

"*Secondly.* The Trustees do by these articles promise to see restitution done to any of the people of your towns by the people they shall send among you; proof being made to the beloved man they shall at any time send among you, that they who have either committed murder, robbery, or have beat or wounded any of your people, or any wise injured them in their crops, by their horses, or any other ways whatever; and upon such proof the said people shall be tried and punished according to the English law.

[1] This ratification of these articles of friendship and commerce between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America and the chief mico of the nation of the Lower Creeks was made on the 18th of October, 1733. See *Minutes of the Common Council for the Years* 1731 *to* 1736, p. 75.

"*Thirdly.* The Trustees when they find the hearts of you the said head-men and your people are not good to the people they shall send among you, or that you or your people do not mind this paper, they will withdraw the English trade from the town so offending. And that you and your people may have this chain of friendship in your minds and fixed to your hearts, they have made fast their seal to this treaty.

"*Fourthly.* We, the head-men of the Coweta and Cuseta towns, in behalf of all the Lower Creek nation, being firmly persuaded that He who lives in Heaven and is the occasion of all good things, has moved the hearts of the Trustees to send their beloved men among us, for the good of our wives and children, and to instruct us and them in what is straight, do therefore declare that we are glad that their people are come here; and though this land belongs to us (the Lower Creeks), yet we, that we may be instructed by them, do consent and agree that they shall make use of and possess all those lands which our nation hath not occasion to use; and we make over unto them, their successors and assigns, all such lands and territories as we shall have no occasion to use; provided always, that they, upon settling every new town, shall set out for the use of ourselves and the people of our nation such lands as shall be agreed upon between their beloved men and the head-men of our nation, and that those lands shall remain to us forever.

"*Fifthly.* We, the head-men, do promise for ourselves and the people of our towns that the traders for the English which shall settle among us, shall not be robbed or molested in their trade in our nation; and that if it shall so happen any of our people should be mad, and either kill, wound, beat or rob any of the English traders or their people, then we the said head-men of the towns aforesaid do engage to have justice done to the English, and for that purpose to deliver up any of our people who shall be guilty of the crimes aforesaid, to be tried by the English laws, or by the laws of our nation, as the beloved man of the Trustees shall think fit. And we further promise not to suffer any of the people of our said towns to come into the limits of the English settlements without leave from the English beloved man, and that we will not molest any of the English traders passing to or from any nation in friendship with the English.

"*Sixthly.* We, the head-men, for ourselves and people do promise to apprehend and secure any negro or other slave which shall run away from any of the English settlements to our na-

tion, and to carry them either to this town, or Savannah, or Palachuckola garrison, and there to deliver him up to the commander of such garrison, and to be paid by him four blankets or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods; provided such runaway negro, or other slave, shall be taken by us or any of our people on the farther side of Oconee River; and in case such negro or runaway slave shall be taken on the hither side of the said river, and delivered to the commanders aforesaid, then we understand the pay to be one gun, or the value thereof; and in case we or our people should kill any such slave for resistance or running away from us in apprehending him, then we are to be paid one blanket for his head, by any trader, for carrying such slave's head unto him.

"*Lastly.* We promise with stout hearts, and love to our brothers the English, to give no encouragement to any other white people, but themselves, to settle amongst us, and that we will not have any correspondence with the Spaniards or French; and to show that we both for the good of ourselves our wives and children do firmly promise to keep the talk in our hearts as long as the sun shall shine or the waters run in the rivers, we have each of us set the marks of our families.

SCHEDULE OF THE PRICES OF GOODS AGREED ON, ANNEXED.

Two yards of stroud	Five buck-skins.
One yard of plains	One ditto.
White blanket	One ditto.
Blue ditto	Five ditto.
A gun	Ten ditto.
A pistol	Five ditto.
A gun-lock	Four ditto.
Two measures of powder	One ditto.
Sixty bullets	Ditto ditto.
One white shirt	Two ditto.
One knife	One doe-skin.
Eighteen flints	One buck-skin.
Three yards of cadiz	One doe-skin.
Ditto ditto of gartering	Ditto ditto.
One hoe	Two buck-skins.
One axe	Ditto ditto.
One large hatchet	Three doe-skins.
One small ditto	One buck-skin.
Brass kettles per lb.	Ditto ditto.

Doe-skins were estimated at half the value of the bucks.

"And, WHEREAS, The said Trustees are greatly desirous to maintain and preserve an inviolable peace, friendship and commerce between the said head-men of the Lower nation of Creeks, and the people the said Trustees have sent and shall send to inhabit and settle in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to endure to the world's end;

"Now know ye that we the said Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America do by these presents ratify and confirm the said articles of friendship and commerce between the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief-men of the Lower Creeks, and all and every of the articles and agreements therein contained, and also the rates and prices of goods above mentioned, settled and agreed upon before the said head-men, and annexed to the said treaty of trade and friendship.

"In witness whereof the Common Council of the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America have to these presents made fast the common seal of the corporation of the said Trustees, the eighteenth day of October, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Second, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

"By order of the said Common Council,

"BENJAMIN MARTYN, *Secretary.*"[1]

This treaty of the 21st of May, 1733, resulted in the pacification of all the Lower Creek Indians, the Uchees, the Yamacraws, and of other tribes acknowledging their supremacy. Nor did the influences of this convocation rest with them only. They were recognized by the Upper Creeks, and, at a later date, similar stipulations were ratified by the Cherokees. For years were they preserved inviolate; and the colony of Georgia, thus protected, extended its settlements up the Savannah River and along the coast, experiencing neither molestation nor opposition, but on the contrary receiving on every hand positive and valuable assurances of the good-will and sympathy of the children of the forest. Probably the early history of no plantation in America affords so few instances of hostility on the part of the natives, or discloses so many acts of kindness extended by the red men. To the prudence, conciliatory conduct, sound judgment, and wis-

[1] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, i. 357, *et seq.*

dom of Mr. Oglethorpe, seconded by the hospitality and generosity as well as the direct personal influence of Tomo-chi-chi, was the colony of Georgia indebted for this first and liberal treaty of amity and commerce with the aborigines.[1]

[1] See *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi*, pp. 25–37. C. C. Jones, Jr. Albany, N. Y. 1868.

CHAPTER X.

ARRIVAL OF THE SHIP JAMES. — FORT ARGYLE BUILT AND GARRISONED. — THE VILLAGES OF HIGH-GATE AND HAMPSTEAD LOCATED AND PEOPLED. — FORTS AT THUNDERBOLT AND ON SKIDOWAY ISLAND. — JOSEPH'S TOWN. — ABERCORN. — IRENE. — THE HORSE QUARTER. — EARLY PLANTATIONS. — MANCHECOLAS FORT AT SKIDOWAY NARROWS. — TYBEE LIGHTHOUSE. — PLAN OF SAVANNAH. — NAMES OF ITS SQUARES, STREETS, WARDS, AND TITHINGS. — ARRIVAL OF HEBREW IMMIGRANTS. — DEED SHOWING FIRST ALLOTMENT OF TOWN LOTS, GARDEN LOTS, AND FARMS IN SAVANNAH, AND CONTAINING THE NAMES OF THE ORIGINAL GRANTEES.

DURING the month of March, 1733, the ranks of the colonists were increased by small accessions from London. Some of them came at their own charge, and all found their way to Savannah through the intermediate port of Charlestown. In May seventeen persons arrived at Yamacraw Bluff, who had been approved of by the trustees and conveyed at their expense. Among them were some Italians from Piedmont accustomed to the propagation of silk-worms and the manufacture of raw silk. They were engaged to develop an industry from the pursuit of which no inconsiderable gain was anticipated, and obligated themselves to instruct the colonists in the cultivation of the white mulberry tree, in the breeding of silk-worms, and in reeling the threads from cocoons. The ship which conveyed them was the James, Captain Yoakley. As this was the first vessel from England which ascended the Savannah River, landed her passengers, and discharged her cargo at Yamacraw Bluff, to her captain was awarded the prize offered by the trustees.[1]

The colonists at Savannah being busily employed in such labors as were most conducive to the promotion of their comfort and safety, Mr. Oglethorpe deemed it prudent, at this early pe-

[1] The following notice of this arrival may be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1733, p. 384 : —

"Savannah, May 20, 1733. — The James, Captain Yoakley, 110 tons and 6 guns, arrived here on the 14th with passengers and stores. This Ship rode in 2 Fathom and a half water close to the Town at low water Mark. The Captain received the Price appointed by the Trustees for the first Ship that should unload at this Town, where is safe Riding for much larger Vessels."

riod in the life of the plantation, to advance his outposts and to occupy strategic points in the neighborhood which would tend to confirm the security of the town. Captain McPherson, of South Carolina, with his rangers, had been stationed just above Yamacraw Bluff at a point on the Savannah River known as the *Horse Quarter*. His duty was, while the settlers were "enforting themselves" and constructing their temporary shelters, to maintain strict watch against any hostile demonstration. Now, however, as a battery of cannon had been planted, and as the stockade which surrounded the space allotted for the town was partially completed, it was thought best to detach the captain and a portion of his command that possession might be taken of a locality on the Great Ogeechee River where the Indians, in their predatory expeditions against Carolina, were accustomed to cross that stream. Here a fort was builded which Oglethorpe, in honor of his friend John, Duke of Argyle, called *Fort Argyle*. It commanded the passage of the river. That this outpost might be strengthened, ten families were soon sent from Savannah to erect dwellings and cultivate lands in its vicinity.

Between four and five miles south of Savannah, as its limits were at first defined, and on rising ground, the village of High-Gate was laid out, and twelve families, mostly French, were assigned to its occupancy. About a mile to the eastward, the village of Hampstead was located and peopled with twelve families, chiefly German. Gardening was to be the occupation of these settlers, and their principal business was to supply the inhabitants of Savannah with vegetables and provisions. In the spring of 1736 Francis Moore, who then visited these little towns, describes them as being "pretty," and says that the planters there domiciled were "very forward, having built neat huts and cleared and planted a great deal of land." The prosperity of these villages was of short duration. In 1740 but two families remained at High-Gate, while Hampstead had then been entirely abandoned.

As a protection against hostile approach by the way of St. Augustine Creek, a small fort was constructed at Thunderbolt. To several families were homes here granted. So frail was this defensive structure that it fell into decay as early as 1737. On the northeast end of Skidoway Island ten families were located in 1734, and a fort was built for their protection. This attempt at early colonization at this exposed point proved so unsuccessful that within four years the village disappeared and the fortification fell into a deserted and dilapidated condition.

Joseph's-Town, situated on the Savannah River opposite Onslow and Argyle islands, was another of the early outlying towns. It was occupied by colonists from Scotland, but malarial fevers and a failure of crops brought about its speedy abandonment.

On a creek or branch of the Savannah, distant some three miles from its confluence with that river, and about fifteen miles above the town of Savannah, the village of Abercorn was laid out in 1733. The plan of the town embraced twelve lots, with a trust lot in addition at either extremity. Four miles below the mouth of Abercorn Creek was Joseph's-Town where Scotch gentlemen had selected plantations. Journeying from this place towards Savannah in the early days of the colony the visitor would pass, in succession, Sir Francis Bathurst's plantation, Walter Augustin's settlement, Captain Williams' plantation, Mrs. Matthews' place, the Indian school-house Irene, the Horse Quarter, and the lands reserved by the Indians just west of Yamacraw. A strange fatality attended all these early attempts at colonization in the swamp region of the lower Savannah. Born of the subjugation of the forests and the exhalations from the rich, dank soil were miasmatic fevers and fluxes which engendered lassitude and death. Short-lived were these little settlements, and it was only after the introduction of slave labor that these plantations bordering upon the Savannah River became permanent and productive. The Europeans who strove to bring them into a state of cultivation failed in the effort and quickly passed away. Others who endeavored to complete their labors experienced similar misfortune and disappointment.

Of the ten families assigned to Abercorn in 1733, all were gone within a period of four years. Mr. John Brodie, with twelve servants, then occupied the settlement, but, after an experiment of three years, he abandoned the place, leaving its improvements to fall down piecemeal. Many of the servants who cultivated the lands of the Scotch gentlemen at Joseph's-Town died, and that plantation for a while reverted to the dominion of nature.

For the defense of Skidoway Narrows, a Manchecolas Fort was erected, and it was garrisoned by detachments from Captain Noble Jones' company of marines quartered near his residence, called Wormsloe, on the Isle of Hope.

A light-house, to rise ninety feet above the ground, was commenced near the northern end of Great Tybee Island, and here a guard was posted.

Johnston & Co. Photo Lith.

As the number of immigrants multiplied, plantations were formed on Augustine Creek, on Wilmington Island, on the Isle of Hope, on the Little Ogeechee, at Bewlie, and even as far south as the Great Ogeechee River.

Several accessions to its population having occurred, and sufficient progress having been made in clearing the bay, the square, and the streets, in erecting a crane, in planting a battery of cannon, in palisading the town, in the preparation of a commodious garden, and in uncovering the general outlines of Savannah, Oglethorpe, on the 7th of July, 1733, convened the colonists that they might be definitely advised of the precise plan of the village, learn the names which he proposed to bestow upon the square, streets, wards, and tithings, and participate in the assignment of town lots, gardens, and farms. The convocation occurred early in the morning, and the business of the day was preceded by an invocation of the Divine blessing.

Four wards, each containing four tithings, were marked and named, viz.: *Percival Ward*, so named in honor of John, Lord Percival, the first Earl of Egmont, and president of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America; *Heathcote Ward*, so named in honor of George Heathcote, M. P., an alderman of London and one of the most active and influential members of the board of trustees; *Derby Ward*, so called in compliment to the Earl of Derby, who was one of the most generous patrons of the colonization; and *Decker Ward*, so named in honor of Sir Matthew Decker, whose benefactions to the charitable design had been conspicuous. The tithings embraced in *Percival Ward* were called, respectively, *Moore*, *Hucks*, *Holland*, and *Sloper*, in honor of Robert Moore, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, and William Sloper, members of Parliament all, and influential trustees. *Heathcote Ward* was composed of *Eyles*, *Laroche*, *Vernon*, and *Belitha* tithings, so named to perpetuate the pleasant memories of Sir Francis Eyles, Bart., one of the commissioners of the navy and a member of Parliament, John Laroche, also a member of Parliament, James Vernon, Esqr., and William Belitha, all members of the trust. The four tithings constituting *Derby Ward* were *Wilmington*, *Jekyll*, *Tyrconnel*, and *Frederick*. These were named in compliment to the Earl of Wilmington, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, who, with his lady, had contributed six hundred pounds in furtherance of the laudable design of the trustees, Lord John Tyrconnel, and Thomas Frederick, M. P., both members of the board of trustees. The tithings into which

Decker Ward was divided were named *Digby*, *Carpenter*, *Tower*, and *Heathcote*, in honor of Edward Digby, George, Lord Carpenter, Thomas Tower, M. P., and George Heathcote, M. P., trustees all.

The first and only public square then designated, and which was to serve as a model for all others which should be called into existence by the expansion of the town, was *Johnson Square*. It was so named in compliment to his excellency Robert Johnson, governor of South Carolina, who cordially welcomed Oglethorpe and his companions upon their advent, and contributed generously to the comfort and advancement of the colony.

The streets then laid out were *Abercorn*, *Drayton*, *Bull*, and *Whitaker*, running north and south, and the *Bay*, *Bryan*, and *St. Julian* streets, intersecting them at right angles. In naming these also Oglethorpe sought, in an enduring manner, to express the gratitude of the colony and its founder. Thus, the principal street bore the name of Colonel William Bull, who accompanied Oglethorpe when he selected Yamacraw Bluff as a suitable site for Savannah, and on various occasions rendered the plantation services disinterested and valuable. The liberality of Mr. Joseph Bryan, of Mr. St. Julian, of Mrs. Ann Drayton, of Mr. Whitaker of South Carolina, and of the Earl of Abercorn was in this manner publicly acknowledged.

In the middle of Johnson Square a large sun-dial was erected for the convenience of the inhabitants. It perished long ago, and the spot where it stood is now dignified by a shaft dedicated to the memory of General Nathanael Greene, which testifies to the ages the enduring gratitude cherished for him who, in the primal struggle for independence, next to Washington engaged the affections and excited the admiration of the Georgia patriots.

Christ Church occupies to-day the trust lot then designated as a site for a house of worship, and the general plan of the lots, streets, and square, established at this time, served for a guide in the subsequent years. The wisdom of Oglethorpe in conserving open spaces, at regular and near intervals, that free ventilation might be enjoyed in this warm latitude, was manifest; and the town lots, which the luxurious demands of the present may pronounce too small, then amply sufficed for the needs of the colonists. It will not be forgotten that these lots were intended simply as sites for private dwellings. Appurtenant to them were gardens and farms, situated on the outskirts of the town, so that each male inhabitant of full age participating in the al-

lotment, became possessed of a *town lot* containing sixty feet in front and ninety feet in depth, a *garden lot* embracing five acres, and a *farm* containing forty-four acres and one hundred and forty-one poles. The grant, therefore, aggregated fifty acres, thus conforming to the instructions of the trustees and supplying land sufficient for the support of the colonist who came at the charge of the trust and brought no servants with him. The entire plan of Savannah having been fully shown, there followed an allotment, to each inhabitant, of his town lot, garden lot, and farm. This done, at noon all the colonists partook of a bounteous dinner provided by Oglethorpe. Fresh beef, turkeys, venison, and vegetables from the public garden were supplemented by a liberal supply of English beer.

"Hitherto," says Mr. Wright,[1] "Mr. Oglethorpe had retained to himself undivided authority over his people, but finding, from their increasing numbers, that the task of disposing the new settlers to the reciprocal offices of a social state and of keeping the troublesome in subordination was more than he could longer individually accomplish, he now determined to delegate to others a portion of the powers with which he was invested." Accordingly, in the afternoon a town court for the determination of causes both civil and criminal was established. Magistrates, a recorder, constables, and tithing-men[2] were appointed and inducted into office. A jury was drawn and empaneled, and a case tried. "Conservators to keep the peace"[3] were named, and Thomas Causton was selected as the keeper of the public stores.

Shortly after the conclusion of this important business a ves-

[1] *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 73. London. 1867.

[2] On the 8th of November, 1732, the trustees had commissioned George Symes, Richard Hodges, and Francis Scott as bailiffs, Noble Jones as recorder, Richard Cannon and Joseph Coles as constables, and Francis Magridge and Thomas Young as tithing-men, for the then unlocated town of Savannah.

The following persons composed the first jury empaneled in Georgia: Samuel Parker, Thomas Young, Joseph Cole, John Wright, John West, Timothy Bowling, John Millidge, Henry Close, Walter Fox, John Grady, James Carwell, and Richard Cannon.

[3] The persons named as such by the trustees on the 8th of November, 1732, were Peter Gordon, William Waterland, Thomas Causton, Thomas Christie, George Symes, Richard Hodges, Francis Scott, and Noble Jones.

For the village of Thorpe, which was included within the precincts of Savannah, the trustees commissioned, on the 18th of October, 1733, Robert Parker, Sen., as chief constable, George Buckmar and William Johnson as constables, and Arthur Ogle Edgecombe and William Riley as tithing-men.

Two days before they had sealed a commission for Thomas Causton as second bailiff of the town of Savannah, in the room of Richard Hodges, deceased, and had selected Henry Parker as third bailiff.

sel arrived from England having on board forty Hebrew colonists. They came to Savannah without the sanction of the trustees, although the expenses incident to their transportation had been defrayed with moneys collected under commissions granted by the common council. It appears from the journal of the trustees that among the commissions empowering the holders to solicit and receipt for contributions in aid of the colonization were three in favor of Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador, Jr., and Anthony Da Costa.

It was understood that all moneys which they might collect were to be transmitted to the trustees, to be by them applied in furtherance of the objects specified in the charter. Acting under their commissions Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa did secure benefactions to a considerable amount. Instead, however, of paying these funds over to the trustees, or lodging them in the Bank of England to the credit of the trust, as they should have done, they busied themselves with collecting Hebrew colonists to the number of forty and, without the permission of the common council, appropriated the moneys which they had collected to chartering a vessel and defraying the expenses requisite for the conveyance of these Israelites to Savannah. Receiving an intimation that Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa were exceeding their authority and acting in violation of the instructions which accompanied the delivery of the commissions, and apprehending that the purposes of these individuals, if consummated, would prove prejudicial to the best interests both of the trust and of the colony, the trustees, as early as the 31st of January, 1733, instructed their secretary, Mr. Martyn, to wait upon them and demand a surrender of the commissions which they held. With this demand Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa refused to comply and, as we have stated, persisted in appropriating the funds they had collected in the manner indicated.

Mr. Oglethorpe had not been advised of the coming of these colonists, and was somewhat at a loss to determine what disposition should be made of them. As the charter guaranteed freedom of religious opinion and observance to all, save Papists, he wisely concluded to receive them, and in due course notified the trustees of their arrival and of his action in the premises. Those gentlemen did not hesitate to avow their disapproval of the whole affair. They declared that such irregular and unauthorized conduct on the part of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa

was prejudicial to the good order and scheme of the colonization, and that the sending over of these people had turned aside many intended benefactions. A committee was appointed to prepare for publication a statement of the matter, and to assure the public that they did not propose "to make a Jew's colony of Georgia." To Mr. Oglethorpe they wrote that they had heard with grave apprehension of the arrival of these Israelites in Georgia, and that they hoped "they would meet with no sort of encouragement." They counseled him to "use his best endeavors that they be allowed no kind of settlement with any of the grantees," and expressed the fear that their presence in Savannah would prove injurious to the trade and welfare of the colony.

The following extracts from the journal of the trustees evidence their feeling and action in a matter which for some time attracted no little attention both in England and in Georgia: —

"PALACE COURT. *Saturday, December* 22, 1733.

"At a meeting of Trustees, assembled by summons, Ordered That the Secretary do wait on Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^{r} and Anthony Da Costa with the following message in writing:

"Whereas a message, dated Jan^{y} 31. 1732–3, was sent for the redelivery of their Commissions with which they did not think proper to comply, and which on the said Refusal were vacated by the Trustees: And Whereas the Trustees are inform'd that by monies rais'd by virtue of their commissions (which monies ought to have been transmitted to the Trustees) certain Jews have been sent to Georgia contrary to the intentions of the Trustees, and which may be of ill consequence to the Colony: the Trustees do hereby require the said Mess^{rs} Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^{r}, and Anthony Da Costa immediately to redeliver to M^{r} Martyn, their Secretary, the said Commissions and to render an account in writing to the Trustees of what monies have been raised by virtue thereof; and if they refuse to comply with this demand that then the Trustees will think themselves obliged not only to advertize the world of the demand and refusal of the said Commissions and Account, and of the misapplication before mentioned, in order to prevent any further impositions on his Majesty's Subjects under pretence of an authority granted by those vacated Commissions; but likewise to recover those commissions and demand an account of the monies collected in such manner as their Counsel shall advise."

"PALACE COURT. *Saturday Jan^ry 5th*, 1733–4.

"Ordered. That the Secretary do wait on Mess^rs Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r and Anthony Da Costa with the following Message in writing:

"The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America having receiv'd a letter from Mess^rs Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r, and Anthony Da Costa, in answer to a message sent for their Commissions, which letter does not appear satisfactory to the said Trustees, they think themselves oblig'd not only to insist on the redelivery of their Commissions, but as they conceive the settling of Jews in Georgia will be prejudicial to the Colony, and as some have been sent without the knowledge of the Trustees, the Trustees do likewise require that the said Mess^rs Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jr. and Anthony Da Costa, or whoever else may have been concerned in sending them over, do use their endeavours that the said Jews be removed from the Colony of Georgia, as the best and only satisfaction they can give to the Trustees for such an indignity offer'd to Gentlemen acting under his Majesty's Charter."

"PALACE COURT. *Saturday Jan^ry 19th*, 1733–4.

"The Secretary acquainted the Board that pursuant to their order of Jan^ry 5th instant he had waited on Mess^rs Alvaro Lopez Suasso, Francis Salvador Jun^r, and Anthony Da Costa, and left with them the message of the Trustees in writing, and that he had receiv'd the Commissions formerly given to them; and then he delivered the said Commissions to the Board.

"Resolved that the said Commissions be laid by, and the further consideration of this affair be postponed till M^r Oglethorpe comes home."

There the record ends; and, so far as we can learn, no further action was taken. Ignoring the suggestions of the trustees, Oglethorpe furnished ample accommodation and encouragement for these Hebrew colonists, who by their peaceable behavior, orderly conduct, and industry commended themselves to the favorable consideration of the governor. In communicating with the trustees he took occasion to express the opinion that this accession had not proved a detriment to the colony. He specially invites the attention of his associates to the good offices of Dr. Nunis. In acknowledging his kindness, the trustees request Mr. Oglethorpe to offer him a gratuity for his medical services, but insist that all grants of land within the limits of the province should

be withheld from these Israelites. With these instructions, however, as we shall presently see, the founder of the colony of Georgia did not comply. In the general conveyance of town lots, gardens, and farms, executed on the 21st of December, 1733, some of these Hebrews are mentioned as grantees.

That the trustees were justified in condemning and rebuking the irregularity, disobedience, and contumacy of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa, cannot be questioned. That it was entirely prudent and proper in them to claim and exercise the right of selecting colonists for the plantation is equally certain. That they alone possessed the power of determining who should seek homes in Georgia, and of binding applicants in advance to a due observance of prescribed rules, was a privilege conferred by the terms of the charter. That they should, under the circumstances, have entertained some apprehension of the effect which would be produced upon the public mind by this unauthorized introduction, within the limits of the colony, of this considerable body of Hebrews, excites no surprise. That they were fully justified in recalling the commissions sealed in favor of Messrs. Suasso, Salvador, and Da Costa, all will admit. And yet Oglethorpe was right in receiving these people and according them homes in Savannah. The excitement, in the end, entirely subsided. These Hebrews proved orderly and useful citizens. Many of them removed to South Carolina, but others remained in Savannah, and their descendants may this day be found in the city of Oglethorpe.

Although the formal allotment of lands within the confines of Savannah was made in July, the requisite deed assuring the cessions then specified was not executed until several months afterwards. It will be remembered that prior to the embarkation of the first colonists the trustees conveyed to three of their number, viz., Thomas Christie, William Calvert, and Joseph Hughes, five thousand acres of land to be utilized in parceling out homes for the early settlers in Georgia. Out of this tract were the Savannah lands carved, and the original deed carrying into effect and confirming the allotments made on the 7th of July, 1733,[1] may now be seen in the office of the Secretary of State of Geor-

[1] Other allotments, made subsequently to this date, are also included in this deed. Additional colonists had arrived, among whom may be mentioned one hundred and thirty-two persons conveyed in the Savannah, which sailed from England on the 12th of September, 1733.

See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1733, p. 493.

gia. It is an instrument of the highest interest and value, and has withstood in a remarkable degree the obliterating influences of time and dust which, in the case of many contemporaneous documents, have "eaten out the letters," and "made a parenthesis betwixt every syllable." Unfortunately, the "Plan of Savannah" which accompanied it, and to which reference is therein made, has been lost. All efforts for its recovery have thus far proved futile.

Preserving as it does the names of many of the earliest colonists, indicating the estates granted, and designating the parcels then conveyed, we make no apology for introducing the following abstract of that important document: —

"To all to whom these Presents shall come; We, Thomas Christie and William Calvert, send greeting. Whereas by Indentures of Lease and Release made between the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America on the one part; and us the said Thomas Christie and William Calvert and Joseph Hughes, deceased, on the other part, bearing date the twenty-fifth day of October Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred thirty and two, under the common seal of the said Trustees, they the said Trustees did for the considerations therein mentioned Grant and convey unto us the said Thomas Christie and William Calvert and the said Joseph Hughes, deceased, and to the Survivors of us and our Assigns, Five Thousand Acres of Land lying and being in the Province of Georgia in America, being part and parcel of the Land which his Majesty graciously granted to the said Trustees by his Letters Patent bearing date the Ninth day of June Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred thirty and two, to be set out in such parts of the said Province as should be thought convenient and proper by such Person as should be appointed by the Common Council for that purpose, under such limitations and in trust for such uses and purposes as are therein mentioned, as in and by the said Indentures, relation being to them had, may more fully appear: And Whereas the said Common Council did by deed, under the Common Seal of the said Trustees, bearing Date the Twenty Sixth day of October Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred thirty and two authorize and appoint James Oglethorpe Esquire, of Westbrook Place in the County of Surry, to set out and limit the said Five Thousand Acres in such part of the said Province as he should think most convenient; And Whereas the said James Oglethorpe hath set out and limited the said Five thousand

Acres in such a regular manner as is most convenient for the support of a Town and the Inhabitants thereof, and hath set out part of the said Five Thousand Acres for a Town called Savannah, with Lotts for Houses, and left a Common round the Town for convenience of Air; And, adjoining to the Common, hath set out Garden Lotts of Five Acres each, and beyond such Garden Lotts hath set out Farms of Forty Four Acres and One hundred forty and one Pole each, and hath drawn a Plan of the Town, and Plot of the Garden Lots and Farms respectively, with proper Numbers, References, and Explanations for the more easy understanding thereof, which Plan and Plot are hereunto annexed and set forth in Folio One and Folio Nine of this Book:

"Now Know Ye, that we, the said Thomas Christie and William Calvert, pursuant to the said Deed, and in performance of the said Trust, do Grant and Enfeoff unto John Goddard one House Lot in Wilmington Tything in Derby Ward, expressed in the said Plan by Number One, containing Sixty feet in front and Ninety feet in depth, and one Garden Lot containing Five Acres, expressed on the said Plot by Number Eleven, lying South East from the Center of the said Town, and one Farm expressed in the said Plot by Number Five and Letter A in the said Ward and Tything, containing Forty Four Acres and One Hundred Forty and One Pole, making together Fifty Acres of Land: To Have and To Hold the said Fifty Acres of Land unto him the said John Goddard during the term of his natural life, and after his decease then to the Heirs Male of his Body forever, Upon the Conditions and under the express Limitations hereinafter mentioned."

Upon similar conditions, town lots in the various tithings and wards in Savannah, garden lots, and farms were conveyed in and by this deed to Walter Fox, John Grady, James Carwall, Richard Cannon, Frances Cox, relict of William Cox, William Cox, Jr., George Sims, Joseph Fitzwalter, Mary Samms, relict of John Samms, Elizabeth Warren, relict of John Warren, William Warren, son of the said John Warren, Mary Overend, relict of Joshua Overend, Francis Mugridge, Robert Johnson, William Horn, John Penrose, Elizabeth Hughes, relict of Joseph Hughes, Mary Hodges, relict of Richard Hodges, Mary Hodges, Elizabeth Hodges, and Sarah Hodges, — daughters of the said Richard Hodges, — James Muir, Thomas Christie, Joseph Cooper, John West, James Willson, Thomas Pratt, William Waterland, Elizabeth Bowling, relict of Timothy Bowling, Mary Bowling,

daughter of the said Timothy Bowling, Elizabeth Millidge, relict of Thomas Millidge, Heirs Male of the said Thomas Millidge, William Little, Jane Parker, relict of Samuel Parker, Thomas Parker, son of the said Samuel Parker, Mary Magdalene Tibbeau, relict of Daniel Tibbeau, Heirs Male of the said Daniel Tibbeau, Hannah Close, relict of Henry Close, Ann Close, daughter of the said Henry Close, Joseph Stanley, Robert Clark, Peter Gordon, Thomas Causton, John Vanderplank, Thomas Young, Joseph Coles, Thomas Tebbit, John Dearn, John Wright, Noble Jones, Ann Hows, relict of Robert Hows, John Clark, William Gough, William MacKay, Thomas Ellis, Edward Johnson, Isaac Nunez Henriquez, William Mears, Moses le Desma, Paul Cheeswright, Samuel Nunez Ribiero, John Musgrove, Noble Wimberly Jones, Daniel Ribiero, Charles Philip Rogers, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Robert Gilbert, Edward Jenkins, Senior, Jacob Lopez d'Olivera, William Savory, Edward Jenkins, Junior, Isaac de Val, David Cohen del Monte, Benjamin Shaftell, Bearsley Gough, Robert Hows, Abraham Nunez Monte Santo, John Millidge, Jacob Yowel, Samuel Parker, Junior, Abraham Minis, Jacob Lopez de Crasto, and David de Pas; the said grantees "yielding and paying for such Town Lott, Garden Lott, and Farm, containing together Fifty Acres as aforesaid, to the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, and to their Successors, yearly and every year, the Rent or Sum of two Shillings of lawful Money of Great Britain, the same to be paid to such person or persons and at such place in the said Town of Savannah in the said Province of Georgia as by the Common Council (for the time being) of the said Trustees shall be appointed. The first Payment to be made on the first Day of the Eleventh year to be computed from the Day of the date of these Presents: provided always, and these Presents are upon these conditions, that if it shall happen that the said yearly Rent of Two Shillings or any part thereof be unpaid by the space of Twelve Kalendar Months next after the day of Payment, on which the same ought to be paid as aforesaid, And if the said several persons or their respective Heirs above mentioned shall not within the space of Eighteen Kalendar Months from the date hereof erect one House of Brick, or framed, square timber work, on their respective Town Lotts, containing at the least Twenty four feet in length, upon Sixteen in breadth, and eight feet in height, and abide, settle, and continue in the said Province for and during the full term of three years to be computed from the

date hereof, and if the said several Persons and each of them respectively shall not, within the space of ten years, to be likewise computed from the date hereof, clear and cultivate Ten Acres of the said Land herein before to them respectively granted; And if the said several Persons aforesaid shall not plant or cause to be planted, One Hundred plants of the White Mulberry Tree which are to be delivered unto them respectively by the said Trustees, so soon as the same or sufficient part thereof be cleared, and sufficiently fence and preserve the same from the bite of Cattle, and in stead of such Trees as shall happen to die or be destroyed shall not set other Trees of the same sort, And if any or either of the said several persons above mentioned who shall by virtue of these Presents, or of the Grant and Enfeoffment hereby made or intended to be made, now or at any time or times hereafter become possessed of the said Fifty Acres of Land or any part or parcel thereof respectively, at any time or times alien, transfer, or convey the same or any part thereof for any term of years, or any estate or interest in the same, to any Person or Persons whatsoever without special leave and licence of the said Common Council (for the time being) or of such Officer as the said Common Council shall from time to time authorize to Grant such licence; And if the said Person or Persons or any other Person who shall by virtue of these Presents and of the Grant in Tail Male hereby made from time to time become possessed of the said Fifty Acres of Land shall do or commit any Treason, Misprison of Treason, Insurrection, Rebellion, Counterfeiting the Money of Great Britain, or shall commit Murder, Felony, Homicide, Killing, Burglary, Rape of women, unlawful Conspiracy or Confederacy, and shall be thereof lawfully convicted; and if any of the said Person or Persons hereinbefore mentioned or any other Person or Persons who shall by virtue of these Presents and of the Grant hereby made, from time to time become possessed of any of the said Fifty Acres of Land shall at any time hire, keep, lodge, board, or employ within the limits of the said Province of Georgia any person or persons being Black or Blacks, Negroe or Negroes, or any other Person or Persons being a Slave or Slaves, on any account whatsoever without the special leave and licence of the said Common Council (for the time being) of the said Trustees, that then and from thenceforth in any or either of the aforesaid cases it shall be lawful to and for the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America and their Successors into and upon the said Fifty Acres of Land hereby granted

of such person so offending, and upon any and every part thereof in the name of the whole to reënter and the same to have again, retain, repossess and enjoy as if this present grant had never been made; And all and every such Person or Persons so neglecting, or misbehaving him or themselves in any or either of the cases aforesaid, and all other the occupyers and possessors of the said Fifty Acres of Land (to such person so misbehaving as aforesaid belonging) or any part or parcel thereof, thereout and from thence utterly to expel, put out, and amove; And also upon the Entry in any of the cases before mentioned of such Officer or Officers who shall by the said Common Council (for the time being) be for that purpose authorized and appointed, the Grant hereby made of the said Fifty Acres of Land unto such Person so misbehaving as aforesaid shall cease, determine, and become void.

"In Witness Whereof the said Thomas Christie, and William Calvert have hereunto set their Hands and Seals this twenty-first day of December in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred Thirty and Three.

"THOS. CHRISTIE [L S].
"WM. CALVERT [L S]."

Attached to the foregoing conveyance is the following schedule exhibiting the names of the Grantees and the numbers and locations of their respective gardens and farms: —

	Gardens.	Farms.
PERCIVAL WARD.		
MORE TYTHING.	No.	I.
James Willoughby,		
Robert More,		
Robert Potter,		
Robert Hanks,		
Thomas Egerton,		
John Desborough,		
Lewis Bowen,		
John Kelly,		
John Lawrence,		
Thomas Chenter.		
HUCKS TYTHING.		K.
John Millidge,	45 E.	10
Jacob Yowel,	65 W.	1
Samuel Parker, Junr,	32 W.	7
Abraham Minis,	51 W.	6
James Turner,		9
Thomas Atwell,		2
Hugh Frazier,		5
John Graham,		3
Samuel Marcer,		4
William Brownjohn.		8
HOLLAND TYTHING.		L.
SLOPER TYTHING.		M.
Henry Parker,		7
Thomas Gapen,		
Francis Delgrass,		
Jeremiah Papot,		
Peter Baillou,		
James Papot.		
HEATHCOTE WARD.		
EYLES TYTHING.	No.	N.
LAROCHE TYTHING.		O.
Jacob Lopez de Crasto,	42 W.	
David de Pas.	27 W.	
VERNON TYTHING.		P.
BELITHA TYTHING.		Q.

	Gardens.	Farms.
DERBY WARD.		
WILMINGTON TYTHING.	No.	A.
John Goddard,	33 E.	5
Walter Fox,	12 E.	4
John Grady,	53 E.	8
James Carwall,	61 E.	6
Richard Cannon,	62 E.	5
Frances, Relict of Dr. William Cox,	52 E.	7
George Sims,	41 E.	10
Joseph Fitzwalter,	37 E.	9
Relict of John Samms,	7 E.	3
Elizabeth, Relict of John Warren.	64 E.	2
JEKYLL TYTHING.		B.
Mary, Relict of Joshua Overend,	51 E.	9
Francis Mugridge,	37 E.	2
Robert Johnson,	42 E.	6
William Horn,	59 E.	5
John Penrose,	30 E.	1
Joseph Hughes,	26 E.	4
Mary, Relict of Richard Hodges,	36 E.	10
James Muir,	48 E.	7
Thomas Christie,	3 E.	8
Joseph Cooper.	27 E.	3
TYRCONNEL TYTHING.		C.
John West,	13 E.	3
James Willson,	63 E.	8
Thomas Pratt,	57 E.	5
William Waterland,	22 E.	4
Timothy Bowling,	4 E.	2
Elizabeth, Relict of Thomas Millidge,	66 E.	6
Elizabeth, Relict of William Little,	60 E.	7
Samuel Parker, Sen^{r},	49 E.	9
Daniel Tibbeau,	39 E.	1
Henry Close.	6 E.	10
FREDERICK TYTHING.		D.
Joseph Stanley,	34 E.	6
Robert Clark,	9 E.	3
Peter Gordon,	10 E.	7
Thomas Causton,	8 E.	10
John Vanderplank,	5 E.	9
Thomas Young,	38 E.	4
Joseph Coles,	65 E.	3
Thomas Tibbit,	51 E.	8
John Dearn,	24 E.	2
John Wright.	1 E.	5
DECKER'S WARD.		
DIGBY TYTHING.	No.	E.
John Clark,	34 E.	5
William Gough,	36 W.	2
William Mackay,	97 W.	
Thomas Ellis,	35 E.	9
Edward Johnson,	36 E.	1
Isaac Nunez Henriquez,	33 W.	7
William Mears,	23 E.	6
Moses le Desma.	41 W.	10
CARPENTER TYTHING.		F.
Noble Jones,	29 E.	6
Paul Cheeswright,	40 E.	5
Samuel Nunez Ribiero,	63 W.	3
John Musgrove,	45 E.	9
Noble Wimberly Jones,	25 E.	8
Daniel Ribiero,	43 W.	2
Charles Philip Rogers,	47 E.	10
Moses Nunez Ribiero,	64 W.	4
Robert Gilbert.	2 E.	1
TOWER TYTHING.		G.
Edward Jenkins, Sen^{r},	40 W.	2
Jacob Lopez d'Olivero,	30 W.	7
William Savory,	33 W.	3
Edward Jenkins, Jun^{r},	68 W.	9
Isaac de Val.	70 W.	
HEATHCOTE TYTHING.		H.
David Cohen del Monte,	61 W.	30
Benjamin Shaftell,	72 W.	6
Bearsley Gough,		
Robert Hows,	23 E.	5
—— Hows,	44 E.	
Abraham Nunez Monte Santo,	34 W.	
Peter Tondee.		

After the surrender of their charter by the trustees, and upon the establishment of a royal government for Georgia, the early cessions of lots within the corporate limits of Savannah, although

signed by the colonial governor, were made in the name of the king of England, of his "special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion." The grantee took in free and common socage, with a rent reservation of one pepper-corn payable yearly, if demanded. He also covenanted to erect a house upon the lot within two years from the date of the grant. Should he fail to build within the two years, he further stipulated, upon the expiration of that period, to pay annually to the Crown the sum of £1. Should no building be placed upon the lot within ten years from the date of the grant, it then reverted to the Crown.

During the administration of the affairs of the colony by the trustees, grants for tracts containing more than fifty acres were, upon application and approval, sealed by the common council and transmitted; or some one was selected in the colony and empowered, in the name of the trust, to make the desired conveyance. These alienations at first were all in tail male, and upon conditions which will hereafter be fully considered.

Upon the erection of the royal government these larger tracts were held of the Crown in free and common socage; the grantee covenanting to pay within three years from the date of the grant, on the 25th of March in each year, two shillings for every hundred acres granted, to clear and work at least three acres in every fifty acres "of plantable land," and also to keep a specified amount of stock on grazing lands.

On the 12th of August, 1755, the Lords of the Regency issued instructions requiring the grantees to cultivate three acres in every fifty which might be granted, and for every fifty acres conveyed to place and maintain at least three head of neat cattle, or six sheep or goats.

CHAPTER XI.

OGLETHORPE MAKES A RECONNOISSANCE OF THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER OF THE PROVINCE. — HE INSPECTS FORT ARGYLE. — INDUCEMENTS OFFERED TO THE SALZBURGERS TO EMIGRATE TO GEORGIA. — THEIR SETTLEMENT AT EBENEZER. — VON RECK'S DESCRIPTION OF SAVANNAH. — HIS TRIBUTE TO OGLETHORPE. — PALACHOCOLAS. — RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES ON BEHALF OF THE TRUST. — OGLETHORPE DEPARTS FOR ENGLAND.

THE colonists at Savannah and in its vicinity having been accommodated in an orderly manner, and the business of the plantation proceeding in a satisfactory way, Mr. Oglethorpe, desiring to acquaint himself with the southern boundary of the province and to ascertain its capabilities for defense against the Spaniards, on the morning of the 23d of January, 1734, accompanied by Captain Ferguson and sixteen attendants, among whom were two Indian guides, set out in a large row-boat on a tour of observation. He was followed by a yawl laden with provisions and ammunition. Having navigated the interior waters which separate the main from the outer islands looking upon the Atlantic, and having taken general note of the intermediate headlands, rivers, and sounds, he reached the "first Albany bluff" of St. Simon's Island on the evening of the 27th and there landed. Although the rain fell in torrents, the party, sheltered by the dense foliage of a large live-oak, passed the night in comparative comfort. The next day Oglethorpe proceeded to the sea-point of St. Simon's, and subsequently examined an island which, in honor of his friend, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, he named *Jekyll*. A somewhat careful inspection of the mouths of the Alatamaha River and of the adjacent region convinced him it was expedient for the proper defense of the colony that a military station and settlement should, at the earliest practicable moment, be formed on the main near the embouchure of that river; and that, as an outpost, and protection of its entrance from the sea, a strong fort should be constructed on St. Simon's Island. During this reconnoissance he selected those sites which subsequently were peopled and known as New Inverness and Frederica.

On his return he ascended the Great Ogeechee River to examine

into the condition of Fort Argyle. Here, for the first time since his departure from Thunderbolt, he "lay in a house and upon a bed." He was pleased with the activity and intelligent labors of Captain McPherson. Fort Argyle was already finished and was pronounced in a defensible condition. It was "well flanked," and several guns were in position. This fort was designed to command the passage of the river, and lay across the trail by which the Indians from the south were accustomed to advance against South Carolina. That trail led to the Savannah River at a point just opposite the old Indian village of Palachocolas.

The funds collected by the trustees had been well-nigh exhausted by expenditures in behalf of the colonization when their treasury was handsomely replenished through the munificence of the general government. Of the moneys realized from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher, the sum of ten thousand pounds was, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Commons adopted on motion of Sir Charles Turner, paid over to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, to be by them applied "towards defraying the charges of carrying over and settling foreign and other Protestants in said colony." This timely relief enabled the trustees to accomplish a purpose from the execution of which they had been prevented by a want of money. Rightly had they, in the administration of the trust, given a preference to English Protestants desirous of seeking homes in the New World. Now, however, they were justified in enlarging the scope of their charity because the resolution, in obedience to which this liberal benefaction was made, contemplated in terms the colonization of foreign Protestants.

During the four years commencing in 1729 and ending in 1732, more than thirty thousand Salzburgers, impelled by the fierce persecutions of Leopold, abandoned their homes in the broad valley of the Salza and sought refuge in Prussia, Holland, and England, where their past sufferings and present wants enlisted the profound sympathy of Protestant communities. In the public indignation engendered by their unjustifiable and inhuman treatment, and in the general desire to alleviate their sufferings, Oglethorpe and the trustees fully shared. An asylum in Georgia was offered. The suggestion commended itself to the approval of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and a correspondence was opened with a view to ascertaining whether any of these oppressed and exiled people would consent to become British subjects and embark for Georgia. In

proof of their readiness to render substantial encouragement and aid to such as desired to go under the auspices of the trust, the common council, on the 15th of December, 1733, passed the following resolutions: —

"Resolved, That the Trustees for establishing a Colony in Georgia, in America, do greatly approve the proposal of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge for defraying the expence of settling certain of the poor Saltzburghers in Georgia in America, and will readily join and concur in sending and settling so many of them as by the contributions which the said Society shall transmit to the Trustees, and what other money the Trustees shall for that purpose receive, shall be enabled to send and settle in the said Colony.

"Resolved, That the said Society be desired to inquire, by their Correspondents in Germany, in the name of the said Trustees, whether any of the said Saltzburghers will be willing to become British subjects and to settle in the said Colony of Georgia on the terms to be offered by the said Trustees.

"Resolved, That the said Society be desired to publish such further Accounts of the deplorable state of the poor Saltzburghers as they shall think proper, and at the same time to make publick the design of the said Society jointly with the said Trustees to apply such contributions as shall be received for the relief of the said poor Saltzburghers to the settling as many of them as they shall be able as British Subjects in Georgia in America.

"Agreed to the following Articles for the poor Saltzburghers to go to Georgia, viz: —

"1st. The Trustees will defray, as far as their contributions will enable them, the charges of passage and provisions for the voyage to Georgia in America of such Emigrants, Girnberghers, or Exiles from Bertoldsgoden as are persecuted for the Protestant Religion.

"2nd. To all those who want it, some allowance will be made for tools.

"3rd. On their arrival in Georgia each family will have provisions given them, gratis, till they can take in their harvest, and also seed will be there given them sufficient to sow the lands they shall in the first year make ready for sowing.

"4th. Every man shall be entitled to three lots, viz: a Lot for house and yard within the Town, a Lot for Garden plots near the Town, and a Lot for tillage at a small distance from the Town

sufficient in the whole to give a comfortable subsistence to themselves and families: and that they shall have the said lands freehold to themselves and their heirs male forever.

"5th. That they shall obey such orders and regulations for the maintenance of property, peace, and good government, as the Trustees shall think necessary from time to time to establish; and on their arrival shall assist each other in clearing their Lands, building houses, and such other works as shall be necessary for their mutual safety, in common with his Majesty's other subjects there.

"6th. That they, upon their settling in Georgia, shall become Denizens, and have all the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

"7th. That they shall be protected in the free exercise of their Religion and in the full enjoyment of all the civil and religious rights of the free subjects of Great Britain."

To a communication addressed to the Reverend Samuel Urlsperger, the venerable Elder of the Salzburgers, inquiring whether any members of his congregation would be disposed to join the colonists in Georgia if measures were adopted for their comfortable transportation to and proper settlement in the province, a favorable response was returned. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge engaged to transport from Rotterdam to Dover such as should present themselves, and chartered a vessel for that purpose. At Dover they were to be received by the trustees and forwarded at their charge to Georgia. Advised of these arrangements, forty-two men with their families, numbering in all seventy-eight souls, set out on foot for Rotterdam. They came from the town of Berchtolsgaden and its vicinity. Arriving at Augsburg, they were the recipients of many kindnesses not only from Lutheran congregations, but also from all classes of society. Three carts were presented to them: one to transport their luggage, and the other two to convey their feeble women and children. Departing thence on the 21st of October, 1733, under the conduct of Baron Philip George Frederick Von Reck, by slow stages, in which they were in turn subjected to insult and blessings, they made their way to Frankfort. There embarking upon the Main, and sailing down the Rhine, they reached Rotterdam on the 27th of November. At this city they were joined by their chosen religious teachers, the Reverend John Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau. On the 2d of December they embarked for England. So contrary were the winds and so tempestuous was the voyage that the ship in which they

were conveyed did not come to anchor at Dover until the 21st of that month. There they were visited by the trustees, who administered to them the oath of loyalty to the British Crown and supplied them with many comforts.

On the 8th of January, 1734 (O. S.), having a favorable wind, they departed in the ship Purisburg for Savannah. "A universal joy appeared among the Saltzburgers who praised God that he had heard their prayers." After a protracted and stormy passage these pious, industrious, and honest emigrants, at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th of March, 1734, reached Charlestown, South Carolina. Mr. Oglethorpe, who chanced to be there at the time, "sent on board our ship," says the Baron Von Reck in his entertaining journal, "by the Pilot's Sloop, a large Quantity of fresh Beef, two Butts of Wine, two Tunn of Spring Water, Cabbage, Turnips, Radishes, Fruit, &c. as a present from the Trustees to refresh the Saltzburghers after their long Voyage."

Arrangements were made for conducting the Purisburg without delay to Savannah, and that river was entered three days afterwards. It was *Reminiscere* Sunday, according to the Lutheran calendar, — the gospel of the day being "Our Blessed Saviour came to the Borders of the Heathen after He had been persecuted in His own Country." "Lying in fine and calm weather, under the Shore of our beloved *Georgia*, where we heard the Birds sing melodiously, every Body in the ship was joyful." So wrote the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, the faithful attendant and spiritual guide of this Protestant band. He tells us also that two days subsequently, when the ship arrived at the place of landing, "almost all the Inhabitants of the Town of *Savannah* were gather'd together; they fired off some Cannons, and cried Huzzah! which was answer'd by our Sailors and other *English* People in our Ship in the same manner. Some of us were immediately fetch'd on Shore in a Boat, and carried about the City, into the woods, and the new Garden belonging to the Trustees. In the meantime a very good Dinner was prepared for us: And the *Saltzburgers*, who had yet fresh Meat in the Ship, when they came on shore, they got very good and wholesome *English* strong Beer. And besides the Inhabitants shewing them a great deal of Kindness, and the Country pleasing them, they were full of Joy and praised God for it."[1]

Leaving his people comfortably located in tents, and in the

[1] *Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck*, etc., p. 132. London. 1734.

hospitable care of the colonists at Savannah, Mr. Von Reck set out on horseback with Mr. Oglethorpe to take a view of the country and select a spot where the Salzburgers might form their settlement. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th of March they reached the place designated as the future home of the emigrants. It was about four miles below the present town of Springfield, in Effingham County, sterile and unattractive. To the eye of the commissary, however, tired of the sea and weary of persecutions, it appeared a blessed spot, redolent of sweet hope, bright promise, and charming repose. Hear his description: "The Lands are inclosed between two Rivers which fall into the *Savannah*. The *Saltzburg* Town is to be built near the largest, which is called *Ebenezer*,[1] in Remembrance that God has brought us hither; and is navigable, being twelve Foot deep. A little Rivulet, whose Water is as clear as Crystal, glides by the Town; another runs through it, and both fall into the *Ebenezer*. The Woods here are not so thick as in other Places. The sweet Zephyrs preserve a delicious coolness notwithstanding the scorching Beams of the Sun. There are very fine Meadows, in which a great Quantity of Hay might be made with very little Pains: there are also Hillocks, very fit for Vines. The Cedar, Wálnut, Pine, Cypress and Oak make the greatest part of the Woods. There is found in them a great Quantity of Myrtle Trees out of which they extract, by boiling the Berries, a green Wax, very proper to make Candles with. There is much Sassafras, and a great Quantity of those Herbs of which Indigo is made, and Abundance of *China* Roots. The Earth is so fertile that it will bring forth anything that can be sown or planted in it; whether Fruits, Herbs, or Trees. There are wild Vines, which run up to the Tops of the tallest Trees; and the Country is so good that one may ride full gallop 20 or 30 miles an end. As to Game, here are Eagles, Wild-Turkies, Roe-Bucks, Wild-Goats, Stags, Wild-Cows, Horses, Hares, Partridges, and Buffaloes."[2]

Upon the return of Mr. Oglethorpe and the commissary to Savannah, nine able-bodied Salzburgers were dispatched, by the way of Abercorn, to Ebenezer, to cut down trees and erect shelters for the colonists. On the 7th of April the rest of the emigrants arrived, and, with the blessing of the good Mr. Bolzius, entered at once upon the task of clearing land, constructing

[1] The Stone of Help.

[2] *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck*, etc., pp. 16, 18. London. 1734.

idges, building shanties, and preparing a road-way to Aber-
rn. Wild honey found in a hollow tree greatly refreshed them,
ıd parrots and partridges made them "a very good dish." Upon
e sandy soil they fixed their hopes for a generous yield of peas
ıd potatoes. To the "black, fat, and heavy" land they looked
r all sorts of corn. From the clayey soil they purposed man-
acturing bricks and earthenware. On the 1st of May lots
ere drawn upon which houses were to be erected in the town of
benezer. The day following, the hearts of the people were re-
ıiced by the coming of ten cows and calves, — sent as a pres-
ıt from the magistrates of Savannah in obedience to Mr. Ogle-
ıorpe's order. Ten casks "full of all Sorts of Seeds" arriving
om Savannah set these pious peoples to praising God for all
is loving kindnesses. Commiserating their poverty, the In-
ians gave them deer, and their English neighbors taught them
ow to brew a sort of beer made of molasses, sassafras, and pine
ops. Poor Lackner dying, by common consent the little money
ıe left was made the "Beginning of a Box for the Poor." The
epeated thunder-storms and hard rains penetrated the rude huts
ınd greatly incommoded the settlers. The water disagreed with
hem, causing serious affections of the bowels, until they found a
ɔrook springing from a little hill, which proved both palatable
ınd wholesome. By appointment, Monday, the 13th of May,
was observed by the congregation as a season of thanksgiving.

Depending entirely upon the charity of the trustees for sup-
ɔlies of all sorts, and having but few mechanics among them,
hese Salzburgers labored under many disadvantages in building
heir little town in the depths of the woods, and in surrounding
themselves with fields and gardens. Patient of toil, however,
ınd accustomed to labor, they cut and delved away day by day,
rejoicing in their freedom, blessing the Giver of all good for his
mercies, and observing the rules of honesty, morality, and piety,
for which their sect had so long been distinguished.

Communication with Savannah was maintained by way of
Abercorn, to which place supplies were transported by water.

Early in 1735 the settlement was strengthened and encouraged
by the arrival of fifty-seven persons. They were Salzburgers
ıll, and had been sent over by the trustees in the ship Prince of
Wales. Among the new-comers were several mechanics, whose
ndustry and skill were at once applied to hewing timber, split-
ing shingles, and sawing boards to the improvement and mul-
iplication of the dwellings in Ebenezer. A large wooden tent

was erected for church purposes, and therein dwelt the ministers. Here, in the wilds of Georgia, far from the influence of civilization, and upon the borders of an Indian tribe, was springing up a thrifty town peopled by a Christian community acknowledging the pure doctrines of the gospel, and worshiping with all the simplicity and sincerity which characterized the early ages of the church.[1]

Of the town of Savannah the Baron Von Reck favors us with the following impressions: "I went to view this rising Town, *Savannah*, seated upon the Banks of a River of the same Name. The Town is regularly laid out, divided into four Wards, in each of which is left a spacious Square for holding of Markets and other publick Uses. The Streets are all straight, and the Houses are all of the same Model and Dimensions, and well contrived for Conveniency. For the Time it has been built it is very populous, and its Inhabitants are all White People. And indeed the Blessing of God seems to have gone along with this Undertaking; for here we see Industry honored and Justice strictly executed, and Luxury and Idleness banished from this happy Place where Plenty and Brotherly Love seem to make their Abode, and where the good Order of a Nightly Watch restrains the Disorderly and makes the Inhabitants sleep secure in the midst of a Wilderness. There is laid out near the Town, by Order of the Trustees, a Garden for making Experiments for the Improving Botany and Agriculture; it contains 10 Acres and lies upon the River; and it is cleared and brought into such Order that there is already a fine Nursery of Oranges, Olives, white Mulberries, Figs, Peaches, and many curious Herbs: besides which there are Cabbages, Peas, and other European Pulse and Plants which all thrive. Within the Garden there is an artificial Hill, said by the Indians to be raised over the Body of one of their ancient Emperors. I had like to have forgot one of the best Regulations made by the Trustees for the Government of the Town of *Savannah*. I mean the utter Prohibition of the Use of Rum, that flattering but deceitful Liquor which has been found equally pernicious to the Natives and new Comers, which seldom fails by Sickness or Death to draw after it its own Punishment."[2]

Of Mr. Oglethorpe the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, reflecting the sen-

[1] See Strobel's *Salzburgers and their Descendants*, p. 71. Baltimore. 1855.

[2] *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck and of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius*, pp. 12–15. London. 1734

timents of the Salzburgers, says: "From what Knowledge we have of Him we conclude that He hath a great Esteem for God's holy Word and Sacraments and a great Love for God's Servants and Children, and wishes to see the Name of Christ glorified everywhere. God hath also blessed his Presence and Undertakings in these Countries. And the People being well persuaded of his Fatherly Mind and indefatigable Labour for their Welfare, his Departure [1] was very sorrowful to them. God bless Him and bring Him well home and hear all our Prayers for Him. He hath taken all possible Care of us."

To this unstudied tribute of the exile may be appended the poet's glowing lines: —

> "Lo! swarming southward, on rejoicing suns,
> Gay colonies extend; the calm retreat
> Of undeserved distress, the better home
> Of those whom Bigots chase from foreign lands.
> Not built on Rapine, Servitude, and Woe,
> And in their turn some petty tyrant's prey;
> But, bound by social Freedom, firm they rise;
> Such as of late an Oglethorpe has formed,
> And, crowding round, the charmed Savannah sees.[2]

Having assigned a location to the Salzburgers, Mr. Oglethorpe, who was on the eve of his departure for England, attended by Paul Jenys, Esq., speaker of the South Carolina House of Assembly, proceeded on the 18th of March to Purrysburgh, whence he purposed rowing up the Savannah to visit the Palachocolas Indians. The floods from the Cherokee mountains, however, had so swollen the river as to render its ascent tedious and difficult. He therefore returned to Abercorn where, parting company with his friend, he proceeded with some Indians and accomplished his excursion to Palachocolas. A fort had been there erected at the lowest passage of the river. This visit accomplished, he repaired to Ebenezer where he found eight able-bodied men, with their minister the Rev. Mr. Gronau, engaged in constructing booths and tents in anticipation of the early arrival of their families. Pausing, he laid out their town for them, and ordered six carpenters, who had come up from Savannah, to assist in building six houses. He then continued his journey to Savannah, where he arrived on the 22d.

The trustees' yearly account — to be exhibited to the Lord

[1] Mr. Oglethorpe was about to leave the province on a visit to England. Wright's *Memoir of General Oglethorpe*, p. 79. London. 1867.

[2] Thomson's *Liberty*, Part V. 638–646.

Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in obedience to the requirements of the Charter — was duly submitted. From that return, made on the 9th of June, 1733, it appears that one hundred and fifty-two persons had been sent to Georgia during the first year, on the trust's account. Of this number one hundred and forty-one were Britons, and eleven were foreign Protestants. The lands ceded by the trustees, to be granted out in smaller parcels to colonists transported by the charity, aggregated five thousand acres. In addition, four thousand four hundred and sixty acres had been conveyed to parties going at their own expense. The moneys received from private subscriptions amounted to £3,723 13*s.* 7*d.*, and of this sum £2,254 17*s.* 9*d.* had been disbursed. During the year ending the 9th of June, 1734, the persons transported by the charity number three hundred and forty-one, of whom two hundred and thirty-seven were British subjects and one hundred and four were foreign Protestants.

Eight thousand one hundred acres were granted to be conveyed in smaller tracts; and, to parties settling at their own charge, additional grants had been made aggregating five thousand seven hundred and twenty-five acres.

Including the amount received pursuant to the act of Parliament, the total contributions in aid of the colonization during this twelvemonth amounted to £11,502 19*s.* 3*d.*, whereof £6,863 0*s.* 10*d.* had been applied by the trustees.[1]

With the progress of the colonization the trustees certainly had good cause to be pleased. Never was a trust more honestly administered. Among all the English plantations we search in vain for a colony the scheme of whose settlement was conceived and executed upon like exalted, disinterested, and charitable principles, whose colonists were selected with like care, whose affairs were conducted with equal regularity, and whose supervisors and agents could be matched in respectability, culture, and benevolence. By judicious treatment the red men had been won over to peace and amity. By treaty stipulations these sons of the forest had surrendered to the Europeans their title to wide domains. The pine-covered bluff at Yamacraw was transmuted into a town, well ordered, regularly laid out, and possessing forty completed houses and many others in process of construction. A battery of cannon and a palisade proclaimed its power for self-

[1] *An Account shewing the Progress of the first Establishment*, pp. 14, 16. London. *Colony of Georgia in America from its* MDCCXLI.

protection. An organized town court was open for the enforcement of rights and the redress of wrongs. From a tall flagstaff floated the royal colors, and a substantial crane on the bluff facilitated the unburthening of vessels in the river below. A public garden and private farms evidenced the thrift of the community, and gave promise of a liberal harvest. An ample storehouse sheltered supplies against a season of want. This little mother town — miniature metropolis of the province — had already sent out her sons; some of them to dwell along the line of the Savannah, others to watch by the Ogeechee, others to build homes upon the islands and guard the approaches from the sea, others to warn the mariner as he entered the mouth of the Savannah, and others still to convert the neighboring forests into pleasant fields. Planters, too, at their own charge, and bringing articled servants with them, were already seeking out and subduing fertile tracts. Thus the colony enlarged its domains and multiplied its settlements.

After an absence of some fifteen months from home, Oglethorpe resolved to visit England. The general conduct of the affairs of the plantation was entrusted to Thomas Causton, the trustees' store-keeper and a bailiff. In cases of doubt and difficulty he was to take counsel of Mr. James St. Julian, of South Carolina, and of Mr. Francis Scott, gentleman, of Georgia. Sad were the colonists as they contemplated the departure of him upon whom above all others they leaned for guidance and protection. As he bade adieu to his people, who attended him to the boat which was to convey him to Charlestown, they were all so concerned that, in the language of Mr. Commissary Von Reck, "they could not refrain their tears when they saw Him go who was their Benefactor and their Father; who had carefully watched over them as a good Shepherd does over his Flock, and who had had so tender a Care of them both by Day and by Night."

CHAPTER XII.

TOMO-CHI-CHI AND RETINUE ACCOMPANY OGLETHORPE TO ENGLAND. — ODE TO THE MICO. — ENTERTAINMENT OF THE INDIANS IN LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS. — RETURN TO GEORGIA. — HAPPY INFLUENCES EXERTED BY THIS VISIT.

"IF you plant where Savages are," says Lord Bacon, "do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss: and send oft of them over to the country that plants that they may see a better condition than their own and commend it when they return."[1]

Rightly judging that the advantage and security of the province would be materially promoted by taking with him some of the most intelligent of his Indian neighbors, in order that they might, by personal observation, acquire a definite conception of the greatness and the resources of the British empire, and, moved by the kindnesses and attentions which he was quite sure would be extended to them on every hand while in England, bring back with them memories which would surely tend to cement the alliances and perpetuate the amicable relations which had been already so auspiciously inaugurated, Mr. Oglethorpe invited Tomo-chi-chi and some of the leading members of his tribe to accompany him on his intended visit. The old mico gladly accepted the invitation, and resolved to take with him his wife Scenawki and Toonahowi, his adopted son and nephew. Hillispilli, the war-chief of the Lower Creeks, four other chiefs of that nation, to wit, Apakowtski, Stimalchi, Sintouchi, and Hinguithi, and Umphichi, a Uchee chief from Palachocolas, with their attendants and an interpreter, constituted the retinue. Leaving Savannah, they reached Charlestown on the 27th of March, and sailed from that port for England on board his majesty's ship Aldborough on the 7th of April, 1734. After a voyage of seventy days that vessel arrived safely at St. Helens in the Isle of Wight.

[1] *Essays*, etc., p. 77. London: John W. Parker & Son. MDCCCLIII.

In announcing his arrival in a letter addressed to Sir John Phillips, Baronet, Mr. Oglethorpe says, "An aged chief named Tomo-chi-chi, the mico or king of Yamacraw, a man of an excellent understanding, is so desirous of having the young people taught the English language and religion, that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he has come over with me to obtain means and assistant teachers. He has brought with him a young man whom he calls his nephew and next heir, and who has already learned the Lord's prayer in the English and Indian language. I shall leave the Indians at my estate till I go to the city, where I shall have the happiness to wait upon you, and to relate all things to you more fully: over which you will rejoice and wonder."

On the evening of the 21st of June, a grand entertainment was given in honor of Mr. Oglethorpe, who presented to the trustees a narrative of the progress and a statement of the status of the colony of Georgia.

His reception was cordial and appropriate. Every mark of distinguished consideration was bestowed, and the trustees, — at a special meeting convened for that purpose, — by a unanimous vote, thanked him for the ability, zeal, activity, and perseverance with which he had conducted the affairs of the province. They assured him that they would hold his services in lively and grateful remembrance. The return of this philanthropist was heralded throughout the kingdom. His Roman virtues were glowingly recounted in prose and verse.

The visit of Tomo-chi-chi was also commemorated in the following lines: —

TOMO-CHA-CHI.

AN ODE.

"Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
Hanc Remus et frater: sic fortis Hetruria crevit,
Silicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.

"What Stranger this? and from what Region far?
This wond'rous Form, majestic to behold?
Uncloath'd, but arm'd offensive for the War,
In hoary Age and wise Experience old?
His Limbs, inur'd to Hardiness and Toil,
His strong large Limbs what mighty Sinews brace!
Whilst Truth sincere and artless Virtue smile
In the expressive Features of his Face.
His bold free Aspect speaks the inward Mind,
Aw'd by no slavish Fear, from no vile Passion blind.

"Erst in our Isle, with such an Air and Mien,
Whilst Britain's Glory stood in Times of Yore,
Might some redoubted Chief of her's be seen,
In all his painted Pride, upon the Shore.
Or He, who graceful from the Chariot's Height,
When conqu'ring *Julius* landed from the Main,
Urg'd his confederated Tribes to fight
For gen'rous Freedom, — fierce *Cassibelan;*
Or He, whose Fame, in Roman Annals told,
Must live thro' ev'ry Age, — *Caractacus* the Bold.

"From the wide Western Continent of Land,
Where yet uncultivated Nature reigns,
Where the huge Forests undiminished stand,
Nor Towns, nor Castles grace the naked Plains;
From that new World undaunted he pursues
To our fam'd Nation his advent'rous Way;
His Soul elated high with glorious Views,
Our Strength, our Arts, our Manners to survey;
The boasted *European* skill to find,
And bear triumphant home, and civilize his kind.

"And O! the idle impotent Disdain
Of vulgar Error, partial to decide!
Must he be stil'd by Us a Savage Man?
O! the blind Folly of conceited Pride!
Ever by Reason's equal Dictates sway'd,
Conscious of each great Impulse in the Soul,
And all his Words and all his Actions weigh'd
By unaffected Wisdom's just Controul,
Must he be rank'd in an inferiour Place,
In our inglorious Times, to our degenerate Race!

"Alas! brave *Indian*, good old England's Fame
Thou sees't sunk down from its Meridian Height;
The noblest Ardors now no more inflame,
Of conscious Worth and Honor's dear Delight;
As then, when welcom'd to your happy Shore,
Our Fleets first landed from the wat'ry way,
And each strange Region studious to explore,
Pass'd the long Gulf, and vast Pacific Sea;
And round emerging to the Eastern main,
Maintain'd from Sun to Sun their *Gloriana's* Reign.

"Wealth without End, from such Exploits as These,
Crown'd our large Commerce, and extended Sway;
And hence, dissolv'd in soft luxurious Ease,
Our ancient Virtue vanish'd soon away.
Rare to be found is the old gen'rous Strain
So fam'd amongst us once for Patriot Zeal,
Of try'd Good Faith, and Manners stanch and plain,
And bold and active for their Country's weal;
Clear from all Stain, superior to all Fear;
Alas! few such as These, few OGLETHORPES are here.

"Oft hast thou seen His gallant Spirit prov'd,
His noble Scorn of Danger oft hast known,
Admir'd his Wisdom, and his Candor lov'd,
And Openness of Heart, so like thy own;
What time, at home before long lov'd and blest,
He to Thy Country brought his Godlike Aim,
Born as he is, to succor the Distrest,
The Prey from proud Oppression to reclaim,
Of lawless Might to curbe the impious Rage,
And strike with conscious shame the prostituted Age.

"Oft hast thou seen with what assiduous Care
His own young Infant Colony he rears;
Like a fond Parent, anxious to prepare
His tender Offspring for maturer years,
To love of Labor he subdues their Minds,
And forms their Morals with instructive Laws,
By Principle their solid union binds,
And Zeal that only heeds the Public Cause;
Still with Example strengthening Reason's Call,
Still by superior Toil distinguish'd from them all.

"Whate'er of Empire underneath the Sun
Time thro' revolving Ages has survey'd,
First from such manly Discipline begun,
And Merit summon'd Fortune to its Aid.
And hence, when Op'ning scenes of Fate make known
The long determin'd Purpose of the Skies,
Shall GEORGIA, to a mighty Nation grown,
In Arts and Arms and Glorious Actions rise,
And stand renown'd upon the Western Shore,
Ev'n then, when *Europe's* Fame shall cease and be no more.

"Renown'd shall GEORGIA stand it's own short Hour,
For soon must all that 's Human pass away;
Fix'd are the gradual Dates of Earthly Pow'r,
To rise, to grow, to flourish, and decay;
Still the Effect must follow from the Cause,
And every Work of mortal Men must fall,
And kingdoms change by Nature's stated Laws,
Forever round the habitable Ball:
All must, in turn, the self-same Tenor run;
All raised by honest Toil, by License all undone.

"But sacred Virtue, ever self-sustain'd,
Whilst all things fleeting round her she surveys,
Alone to Time shall unobnoxious stand,
And live and flourish in perpetual Praise.
Thine with thy OGLETHORPE'S fair Fame shall last,
Together to Eternity consign'd,
In the immortal Roll of Heroes plac'd,
The mighty Benefactors of Mankind;

Those Heav'n-born Souls from whose high Worth we know
The Deity himself best imag'd Here below."[1]

Having for some days enjoyed the hospitalities of Mr. Oglethorpe, the Indians were transferred to the Georgia office where comfortable quarters had been intermediately provided for them. There they were suitably attired, and there they painted their faces according to the custom of their country. Crowds flocked to see them. Presents of various kinds were bestowed, and no effort was spared to interest, amuse, and instruct these strange visitors.

On the 1st of August Sir Clement Cotterell was sent to conduct the Indians to Kensington Palace where they were to be presented to the king. He found them all prepared for the important event, except one who was suffering severely from an attack of small-pox. They were conveyed in three of the king's coaches, each drawn by six horses. At the door of the palace they were received by the king's body-guard, and then by the Duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain, were presented to his majesty.

The following account of what transpired on this interesting occasion is borrowed from the "Gentleman's Magazine:"—

"THURSDAY, *August* 1, 1734.

"Tomo-cha-chi, the king, Senauki his wife, with Tooanakowki their son, Hillispilli the war-captain, and the other Cherokee Indians brought over by Mr. Oglethorpe from Georgia, were introduced to his Majesty at Kensington, who received them seated on his throne; when Tomo-cha-chi, micho, or king, made the following speech, at the same time presenting several eagle's feathers which are trophies of their country:

"'This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago had with the English. I am come over in my old days, although I cannot live to see any advantage to myself. I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and of the Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English.

[1] *Georgia a Poem, Tomo-cha-chi, an Ode.* A copy of verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage to Georgia.

Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen.

London, printed and sold by I. Roberts in Warwick Lane. MDCCXXXVI.

"'These are the feathers of the eagle which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great king! as a sign of everlasting peace.

"'O great king whatsoever words you shall say to me I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations.'

"To which his Majesty graciously answered, 'I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come, and am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very gratefully this present as an indication of their good disposition to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between them and my own subjects, and shall be glad of any occasion to show you a mark of my particular friendship and esteem.'

"Tomo-cha-chi afterwards made the following speech to her Majesty. 'I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your Majesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children.'

"And her Majesty returned a most gracious answer. The war-captain and other attendants of Tomo-cha-chi were very importunate to appear at court in the manner they go in their own country, — which is only with a proper covering round their waist, the rest of their body being naked, — but were dissuaded from it by Mr. Oglethorpe. But their faces were variously painted after their country manner, some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded arrows instead of whiskers.

"Tomo-cha-chi and Senauki, his wife, were dressed in scarlet trimmed with gold."

Three days after, the chief who had been prevented by illness from accompanying his companions when they were presented to the king died of small-pox. Although medical aid and kind attention had been invoked in his behalf, neither the skill of the physician nor the efforts of nurses could arrest the progress of the loathsome disease. His death weighed heavily upon the spirits of the other Indians, who were very averse to interring him in a strange land. His immediate sepulture, however, was a matter of absolute necessity. Here, so far as our information extends, occurs the first burial of an American chief on British soil. A grave was prepared in St. John's cemetery, Westminster.

Tomo-chi-chi, three of the chiefs, the upper church-warden, and the grave-digger were the only persons present on the lonely and melancholy occasion, — the fear of infection, in all probability, deterring many who otherwise would doubtless have been in attendance to witness the novel funeral rites.

The custom of the natives was observed as nearly as circumstances would permit. The corpse, sewed up in two blankets, with a deal-board over and another under lashed together with a cord, was carried to the grave on a bier. When the body was lowered in the earth, the clothes of the deceased, a quantity of glass beads, and some pieces of silver were thrown in the grave after the manner of the American Indians, whose custom it was to bury with the dead the effects of the deceased.

So depressed were the Indians by this bereavement that, in order to divert their attention and afford them an opportunity for quietly regaining their wonted composure, Mr. Oglethorpe very kindly took them out to his country-seat. There they remained for nearly two weeks. Having bewailed the dead according to the established usages of their nation, they recovered from the affliction which had so greatly distressed them. The deceased was a brother of the queen.

On Saturday, the 7th of August, Tomo-chi-chi and his companions were conveyed in the barge of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Putney, where they were hospitably entertained by Lady Dutry. After dinner, in taking leave of her, the aged mico expressed his regrets that he was unable in English to convey the thoughts of his heart and tell her how sensibly he was moved by the generous and noble reception she had given him, and how great was the gratification he experienced in being permitted to see and thank her in person for the assistance she had rendered the colony of Georgia.

The following day they waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth. His venerable Grace received them with the utmost kindness and tenderness, expressing a fatherly concern for their ignorance with respect to Christianity, his strong desire for their instruction, and his sincere satisfaction that a door was now opened for the education and evangelization of their race.

Although very weak, his Grace, when pressed to do so, declined to sit during the interview. Tomo-chi-chi perceiving this, with becoming propriety omitted the reply which he proposed to make; and, craving the blessing of the aged prelate, added that

he would not trespass further upon his weakness, but would communicate to his son-in-law, Dr. Lynch, what he desired to say. He then retired. Subsequently, at a collation given in his honor, he held an extended and cordial conference with Dr. Lynch, during which he expressed the satisfaction he experienced in his interview with the archbishop, and stated that he was deeply moved by the tender consideration which had been accorded to him. He urged upon the doctor's earnest consideration the necessity for sending teachers to Georgia "by whom his people might be educated and have their minds enlightened in the doctrines of Christianity." At parting he assured him of the joy which filled his heart in anticipation of the fact that good persons would soon be commissioned for the accomplishment of this important and desirable work.

Upon the occasion of their visit to Eton, the Indians were received with every mark of respect by the Rev. Dr. George, Dr. Berriman, and the rest of the Fellows. "On closing their visit to the schoolroom, Tomo-chi-chi begged that the lads might have a holiday when the doctor thought proper. This caused a general huzza." They were then shown the several apartments of the college, and took a respectful leave. Afterwards they went to Windsor, where they were graciously received; and thence to St. George's chapel, where the prebends present named Dr. Maynard to compliment the mico for the dean and chapter. The following day they visited Hampton Court, saw the royal apartments, and walked in the gardens, where a large concourse of people had assembled to greet them. To them were subsequently shown the Tower, the public buildings, Greenwich Hospital, and all the great and interesting spectacles in London. Nothing was neglected which might serve to awaken and gratify their curiosity, or inspire them with a true conception of the power and grandeur of the British nation.

Tomo-chi-chi was much impressed with the strength, riches, and magnificence of the English empire. The solidity of the London houses particularly attracted his attention. In the simplicity of his heart he expressed his surprise that short-lived men should erect such long-lived habitations. Nothing appeared to escape his observation. At times he seemed oppressed by the contrast, everywhere presented, between the ignorance, helplessness, and poverty of his own people and the intelligence, power, and wealth of London and its environs. On more than one occasion did he avow his belief that, without the aid and friendship

of the English, the Indian tribes would, in his opinion, be doomed to early annihilation. His sympathies were most earnest in their behalf, and his constant wish was that competent teachers should be sent over to counsel, educate, and christianize the youth of his nation. Every one who came in contact with him was impressed with the accuracy of his observations, the pertinency of his inquiries, the maturity of his judgment, the wisdom and liberality of his views, and the integrity of his professions. Recognizing the importance of confirming the friendship which he had formed for the infant colony, aware of the influence he was capable of exerting for good or for evil not only among the members of his immediate tribe but also within the limits of the Creek confederacy, and appreciating how largely they were already indebted for his good offices and kindly intervention in behalf of the early settlers, the trustees were peculiarly anxious that this visit of the aged mico should prove in all respects satisfactory and productive of future good. No pains therefore were spared, either on their part, or on that of all who were interested in the welfare of the province, in ministering to his constant entertainment and the enjoyment of his companions.

Nearly four months had elapsed since the arrival of the Aldborough, and Tomo-chi-chi felt it was time that he should return to his little village on the banks of the Savannah and tell his friends the incidents and lessons which were born of his sojourn in the home of the white man. In an interview with the trustees he remarked that although in his own country all travelers were entertained without expense, he was quite sensible that the stay of the Indians in England was a severe charge upon them; and, as cold weather was coming on, he desired to return home at an early convenient day. He requested that the weights, measures, prices, and qualities of all goods to be exchanged by the colonists for deer-skins and other peltry should be settled in accordance with established rules; that no person should be allowed to trade with the Indians without special licenses from the trustees, so that if at any time his people were defrauded by the traders they would at once know where to apply for redress; and further, that a storehouse might be established in every principal Indian village where the natives could be supplied at first cost with such articles as they desired to purchase. In justification of this application he referred to the exorbitant prices demanded by the traders for their goods, and the frauds practiced by them in weights and measures, in-

isting that to such impositions were to be chiefly ascribed the animosities and quarrels which had sprung up in adjacent settlements between the English and the Indians. From the trustees he received the assurance that this subject would receive the careful and immediate attention which its importance demanded.[1]

Although Tomo-chi-chi desired to leave the shores of England, it was not because there was any diminution in the attentions shown him, or that the visit of the Indians began to be regarded with indifference by a public keenly alive to its novelty and importance when the strange guests were first installed in the Georgia rooms. By the nobility, "curious to see them and observe their manners," princely entertainments were constantly given. Whenever they appeared in public, multitudes followed, shaking hands with these "rude warriors of the forest," making them many presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility. It is said that the presents received and carried home by the Indians amounted in value to at least £400. During their stay in London, the portraits of Tomo-chi-chi and his nephew Toonahowi were painted and hung up in the Georgia rooms.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1734, appears the following notice of the departure of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions: —

"WEDNESDAY, *October* 30, 1734.

"The Indian king, queen and prince, etc., set out from the Georgia office in the king's coaches for Gravesend, to embark on their return home. During their stay in England, which has been about four months, his majesty allowed them £20 a week for their subsistence, and they have been entertained in the most agreeable manner possible. Whatever is curious and worthy observation in and about the cities of London and Westminster, has been carefully shown them; and nothing has been wanting among all degrees of men to contribute to their diversion and amusement, and to give them a just idea of English politeness and our respect for them. In return they expressed themselves heartily attached to the British nation. They had about the value of £400 in presents. Prince William presented the young mico John Towanohowi with a gold watch, with an admonition to call upon Jesus Christ every morning when he looked on it: which he promised. They appeared particularly delighted with seeing his highness perform his exercise of riding the managed

[1] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 46. Savannah. 1811.

horse, — the Horse Guards pass in review, and the agreeable appearance of barges, etc., on the Thames on Lord Mayor's day.

"In the same ship embark several relations of the English already in Georgia, who were allowed the preference of going; also Sir Francis Parkhurst, his son, three daughters, and servants, together with fifty-six Saltzburghers newly arrived from Rotterdam. These people were at the German church in Trinity Lane, where £47 were collected for them."

The vessel in which Tomo-chi-chi returned was the transport-ship, Prince of Wales, George Dunbar, captain. She arrived in Savannah on the 27th of December, 1734.

In communicating to the trustees the intelligence of his remarkably quick and prosperous voyage across the Atlantic, Captain Dunbar writes: "We arrived here [Savannah] all cheerful and in good health. The Indians behaved with their accustomed modesty, as did also the Saltzburgers, who are a sober and pious people, and gave much less trouble than I expected; nor do I think any of them were dissatisfied while on board." He adds in conclusion, "Tomo-chi-chi, Toonahowi, Hillispilli and Umpechi were so kind as to come on board on the morning of our intended departure, to see me. They have a very grateful remembrance of the many civilities which they received in England, and desire me to inform your honors that Santechi has gone to the Upper and Middle Creeks, who are at present extremely well disposed to the British interest, and their deputies are expected down in two months."[1]

Upon his return we are told that Tomo-chi-chi freely imparted to his tribe and nation the impressions he had formed, during his recent visit, of the power of the British empire, and assured them of the marked courtesies, kindness, and hospitality with which he and his companions had been everywhere entertained during their sojourn in England. He exhorted them to continue in friendship with their neighbors the colonists, and sacredly to observe the obligations of the existing treaties. Says McCall, "He acknowledged that the governor of the world, or Great Spirit, had given the English great wisdom, power and riches, so that they wanted nothing. To the Indians he had given great extent of territories, yet they wanted everything. Therefore he exerted his influence in prevailing on the Creeks to resign to the English such lands as were of no use to themselves, and allow them to settle amongst them, that they might be thus

[1] *London Magazine* for March, 1735.

supplied with useful articles for the cultivation of the soil, and with the necessaries of life. He told them also that the English were a generous nation, and would trade with them on the most honorable and advantageous terms; that they were brethren and friends, and that they would protect them against danger, and go with them to war against their enemies."[1]

The beautiful and novel presents which Tomo-chi-chi and his companions brought home with them went very far toward a positive confirmation of his praises of the liberality of the English, and produced a profound impression upon the natives. To many of them did the generous mico freely give, from his treasures, articles of value and ornament.

This visit of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions, and the interest awakened by their personal presence in London, materially assisted Mr. Oglethorpe and the trustees in enlisting the renewed and earnest sympathies of the public, and in securing substantial aid not only for the colonists, but also for the education of the natives and their instruction in religious knowledge. Application was made to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, to prepare a manual for their more facile indoctrination in the principles of Christianity. With this request he complied, and the results of his labors in this behalf are embodied in "The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the Meanest Capacity, or an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians," a work which was printed at the expense of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and passed through several editions. It does not appear, however, that it was ever extensively used among the Indians, or that any marked progress was achieved in the contemplated labor of their evangelization.

A letter was composed by a Cherokee chief and sent to the trustees. It was drawn and curiously marked in red and black figures on the neatly dressed skin of a young buffalo. A translation was prepared by an Indian interpreter when it was first delivered at Savannah in the presence of fifty chiefs and many prominent citizens for the purpose of transmission to England. This unique epistle contained the grateful acknowledgments of the Indians for the honors and civilities which had been extended to Tomo-chi-chi and his companions, their admiration of the grandeur of the British court and kingdom, and a declaration of their strong attachment to Oglethorpe. Upon its receipt by the

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 46.

trustees this hieroglyphic painting was framed and suspended in the Georgia office in Westminster.[1]

Widely disseminated among the Indian nations was the knowledge of this sojourn of the mico of the Yamacraws in the home of the white men, and faithful the report of his hospitable reception and gracious treatment by the English. Grateful were the Creeks for the kindness and consideration extended to one of their race. The beneficial results flowing from, and the sentiments of good-will engendered by, this visit tended most decidedly to perpetuate the amicable relations existing between the colonists and the natives.

[1] *American Gazetteer*, London, 1762; article "Georgia."

CHAPTER XIII.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE COLONISTS AND THE INDIANS. — FREDERICA NAMED, AND ITS SETTLEMENT AUTHORIZED BY THE TRUSTEES. — OGLETHORPE RESUMES TEMPORARILY HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT. — INTRODUCTION OF RUM AND SLAVES INTO GEORGIA PROHIBITED BY SPECIAL ENACTMENT. — CAUSTON IN CHARGE OF THE COLONY. — SILK CULTURE. — STALWART COLONISTS SELECTED FOR THE SOUTHERN FRONTIERS. — RULES OF THE TRUSTEES FOR THE YEAR 1735. — ARRIVAL OF THE MORAVIANS. — THEIR HISTORY IN GEORGIA. — SCOTCH EMIGRATION FROM INVERNESS. — THE DARIEN SETTLEMENT FORMED ON THE ALATAMAHA.

THIS visit of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions to England was turned to good account by Mr. Oglethorpe, who sought by their personal introduction to the British public not only to impress the natives with a proper conception of the power and superiority of the white race, but also to enlist in behalf of their social, moral, and religious amelioration the intelligent and substantial sympathies of the English people. The employment of missionaries to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity was urged upon the immediate and favorable consideration of the trustees, and Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, moved by Oglethorpe's appeal, promised to prepare a manual for their religious edification. "The Knowledge and Practise of Christianity made easy to the Meanest Capacity, or an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians" was, as has been stated, written and published in fulfillment of this engagement. In his preface the author mentions that his little book was undertaken in consequence of a conversation which he and some others had with the "honorable and worthy General Oglethorpe" concerning the condition, temper, and genius of the Indians in Georgia. "And indeed," he adds, "that most worthy gentleman's great and generous concern for both the present and future interests of these natives, and his earnest endeavours to civilize them first, and make them capable of instruction in the ways of religion and civil government, and his hearty wishes that something might be done to forward such good purposes prevailed with the author, however indifferently qualified for such a work, to set about the following essay."

The practical results anticipated were not realized. But little good was accomplished by the missionaries. The proposed translation of this essay into the language of the Creek confederacy was never made, and the Indians, with few exceptions, continued, after their fashion, to observe the religious rites and to entertain the superstitions which had been handed down by the sun-worshiping priests of former generations.

The trustees never lost sight of the fact that Georgia was a Protestant colony. In all their deliberations and arrangements the encouragement of religious thought and observance among the settlers was a matter of constant solicitude. To keep them supplied with spiritual advisers and religious publications was ever their aim. The public, too, sympathized in this sentiment and effort. Benefactions in support of a minister, and contributions of catechisms, devotional exercises, and Christian guides are frequently acknowledged in the proceedings of the common council. As early as the 18th of April, 1733, the trustees received from an unknown benefactor, at the hands of the Reverend Samuel Wesley, a silver chalice and patine for the use of the church in the town of Savannah; and from time to time sums of money were paid over to them, to be applied to the erection of that house of worship. Of the character of the religious literature provided for the guidance and edification of the colonists some idea may be formed from the following entry in the journal of the trustees: —

"PALACE COURT,
Wednesday, May the 30th, 1733.

"Received by the hands of Mr. Hales, from an unknown person, for the use of the Colony of Georgia, the following books: viz: Two hundred of D^r^. Thomas Gouch's *Shewing how to walk with God;* two hundred *Help and Guide to Christian Families*, by William Burkitt; two hundred Gibson's *Family Devotion;* two hundred *Common Prayer Books:* minion, 12 mo; two hundred *Horn Books;* two hundred *Primmers;* one hundred *Testaments;* one hundred *Psalters;* two hundred *A. B. C. with the Church Catechism;* one hundred Lewis's *Catechism;* one hundred of *The Young Man instructed;* two hundred *Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Brandy;* the whole to the value of fifty-four pounds, ten shillings." With such solemn publications and rudimentary books was it proposed to beguile the leisure hours, entertain the rising generation, and comfort the hearts of the dwellers by the Savannah.

Oglethorpe's reception by the trustees, as we have seen, was most cordial. After he had submitted to them a report of the condition of the province, he was complimented by a unanimous expression of their "great satisfaction with the eminent services he had rendered to the colony." His scheme for building a new town near the mouth of the Alatamaha River and constructing fortifications for the protection of the southern confines of the province found favor in the eyes of the common council, who resolved to name the new town *Frederica*. The seal of the corporation was also affixed on the 26th of September, 1735, to a deed erecting therein "a Court of Judicature for trying causes, as well criminal as civil, by the name and style of the Town Court."

Resuming his seat in Parliament, Mr. Oglethorpe was instrumental in procuring the passage of two bills for the conjectured benefit of the province. One of these was an act to prohibit the importation and sale of rum, brandy, and other distilled liquors within the limits of Georgia. In August, 1733, several persons had died at Savannah, as was suggested, from the too free use of rum. Mr. Oglethorpe so notified the common council, who, on the 21st of November following, "Resolved that the drinking of Rum in Georgia be absolutely prohibited, and that all which shall be brought there be staved." Although the founder of the colony endeavored to enforce the observance of this regulation, traders from Carolina supplied both the settlers and the Indians with smuggled spirits which, as was alleged, "produced disease among the former and disorderly conduct on the part of some of the latter." In South Carolina no prohibition existed, and the importation of rum, both from New England and from the West Indies, was constant and heavy. Upon the moderate use of English beer and the wines of Madeira the Georgia authorities placed no restriction. With these the trustees' store at Savannah was regularly supplied, and the magistrates there were empowered to grant licenses for retailing beer both of foreign manufacture and of home brewing.

The other act forbade the introduction of slavery, and was entitled "An act for rendering the Province of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the importation of black slaves or negroes into the same." If suffered to rely upon the aid of negroes the trustees feared that the colonists would fail to acquire "habits of labour, industry, economy, and thrift by personal application." Both these statutes received royal sanction. In

commenting upon this legislation Burke sagely remarked that while these regulations and restrictions were designed to bring about wholesome results, they were promulgated without a sufficient appreciation of the nature of the country and the disposition of the people to be affected by them. Long and earnestly did many of the colonists petition for the removal of these prohibitions, which placed the province at a disadvantage, when its privileges were contrasted with those of sister settlements, and, beyond doubt, so far at least as the employment of slave labor was concerned, retarded its development.

During Mr. Oglethorpe's absence the charge of the colony devolved upon Thomas Causton, storekeeper and chief bailiff, assisted by the other bailiffs and by the recorder of Savannah. He was cautioned by the trustees to keep them fully advised of everything of moment which transpired within the province; to have a care that no one traded with the Indians without special license; to draw all bills for account of the colony upon the trustees at thirty days' sight; to see to it that the sick and indigent, incapable of supporting themselves, and orphans of an age so tender that they could not be articled as apprentices, should, as occasion required, be assisted at the expense of the trust; to have the glebe land in Savannah inclosed by a substantial fence; to be zealous in the rigid enforcement of the laws against tippling; to lose no opportunity in encouraging the people to fence and cultivate their lands, as, upon the products thence derived, depended their subsistence; to forward an estimate of the cost of constructing a church in Savannah, of brick or timber, sixty feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty feet high within; to promote settlements on Vernon River; to favor "the setting up of Brew-Houses," thus leading the people away from the use of distilled liquors; to allow the Salzburgers another year's full allowance from the public store; to urge on to completion the lighthouse which was being built on Tybee Island; and to compel the town court in Savannah to hold a session once in every six weeks for the trial of civil causes, and to convene for the disposal of criminal cases as often as occasion demanded. No fees were to be exacted by officers issuing warrants.

The encouragement extended by the trustees and the Board of Trade to the production of raw silk in Georgia was not without some palpable results. From time to time samples were received. In May, 1735, the trustees, accompanied by Sir Thomas Lombe, exhibited a specimen to the queen, who desired that it

should be wrought into a fabric. This was done, and her majesty was so much pleased with the manufactured silk that she ordered it to be made up into a costume in which she appeared at Court on her birthday.[1]

A memorial addressed to his majesty by the governor and assembly of South Carolina, dated the 9th of April, 1734, produced a profound impression upon the minds of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and confirmed them in their intention to strengthen the southern part of the province. After thanking his majesty for "his favour and protection," and especially for his benign care in erecting a province to the south of Carolina so conducive to the safety of that colony; after alluding to the effort of the French to enlarge their possessions and to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English settlements; and after referring to the threatening attitude maintained by the Spaniards in Florida, these memorialists invited the attention of the Crown to the necessity of guarding the harbors and ports of Carolina and Georgia, and of establishing military posts to the south, so as to defend the territory adjacent to the Spaniards and protect the British trade with the Gulf.[2]

As might have been reasonably anticipated, some of the earliest emigrants proved as inefficient members of society in the New World as they had shown themselves to be unfortunate in the Old. Relying upon the assistance extended by the trust, they neglected to put forth such efforts as were demanded by the emergency of their situation. The trustees, although they had exercised caution in the selection of colonists, resolved to be more careful than ever in inquiring into the character and antecedents of all applicants, and to make it known by published proposals that for the population of the southern confines of the province they desired men of strength and courage, accustomed to labor, of frugal habits, and capable of enduring hardships. In their interviews with those who sought to be enrolled as colonists they distinctly advised them of the fact that in the beginning they must expect to encounter privations and exposures, and resolve to labor industriously in order to acquire a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families. While a year's provisions and lands were promised, they were informed that those lands were clothed with forests, and that new-comers must lie in temporary

[1] *Political State of Great Britain*, vol. i. pp. 242, 469.

[2] See a copy of this memorial in *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, pp. 50–56. London. MDCCXLI.

shelters until they could build comfortable houses. They were further told that they must subsist principally upon salt meat, meal, and water; that they would be compelled to "work hard, keep guard for fear of enemies," and clear and cultivate the ground before a harvest could be reaped; that the climate was warm in summer and that the insects were troublesome; that thunderstorms in season were frequent and violent; that those who drank distilled liquors were liable to contract dangerous sicknesses; and that temperance was necessary not only for the preservation of their substance but also for the maintenance of health. Those who were temperate and industrious were encouraged in the hope that by God's assistance they could soon establish themselves in comfort upon their own lands. Such, however, as mistrusted their ability to undergo this probationary period of toil and exposure were warned not to undertake the voyage. Not a few of the faint-hearted withdrew their applications, but their places were speedily filled by others.[1]

The trustees deemed it proper also to prepare and publish rules for the information and guidance both of those who should be "sent on the Charity," and of such as should "go at their own expence." Here they are: —

"RULES FOR THE YEAR 1735.

"The Trustees intend this year to lay out a County and build a new Town in *Georgia*.

"They will give to such Persons as they send upon the Charity; viz to every Man a Watch-coat, a Musquet and Bayonet; to those who have them not of their own, an Hatchet, an Hammer, an Handsaw, a shod Shovel or Spade, a broad Hoe, a narrow Hoe, a Gimlet, a drawing Knife, and there will be a publick Grindstone to each Ward or Village. He will also have an Iron Pot, and a Pair of Pot hooks, and a Frying-pan.

"And for his Maintenance in the Colony for one Year he will have, to be delivered in such Proportions and at such Times as the Trust shall think proper, 300 Pounds of Beef or Pork, 114 Pounds of Rice, 114 Pounds of Pease, 114 Pounds of Flour, 44 Gallons of Strong Beer, 64 Quarts of Molasses for brewing of Beer, 18 Pounds of Cheese, 9 Pounds of Butter, 9 Ounces of Spice, 9 Pounds of Sugar, 5 Gallons of Vinegar, 30 Pounds of Salt, 12 Quarts of Lamp Oil, and a Pound of Spun Cotton, and 12 Pounds of Soap.

[1] See *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the year 1735 by Francis Moore*, pp. 10, 11. London. 1744.

"And to the Mothers, Wives, Sisters, or Children of such Men, Provision will be given in the Colony for one Year in the following Manner, viz: to be delivered as above, 300 Pounds of Beef or Pork, 114 Pounds of Rice, 114 Pounds of Pease, 114 Pounds of Flour, 64 Quarts of Melasses for Brewing of Beer, 18 Pounds of Cheese, 9 Pounds of Butter, 9 Ounces of Spice, 9 Pounds of Sugar, 5 Gallons of Vinegar, 30 Pounds of Salt, 6 Quarts of Lamp Oil, and half a Pound of Spun Cotton, and 12 Pounds of Soap.

"And for every Person above the Age of Seven, and under the Age of Twelve, half the said Allowance; — being esteemed half an Head.

"And for every Person above the age of Two and under the age of Seven, one third of the said Allowance; — being esteemed one third of an Head.

"The Trustees pay their Passage from England to *Georgia*, and in the Voyage they will have the following Provisions, viz, in every Week four *Beef* Days, two *Pork* Days, and one *Fish* Day; and their Allowance served out daily as follows; that is to say:

"On the four Beef Days four Pounds of Beef for every Mess of five Heads, and two Pounds and a half of Flour, and half a Pound of Suet or Plums.

"On the two Pork Days, five Pounds of Pork and two Pints and a half of Peas for every five Heads.

"And on the Fish Day two Pounds and a half of Fish and half a Pound of Butter for every five Heads.

"The whole at sixteen Ounces to the Pound.

"And allow each Head seven Pounds of Bread of fourteen Ounces to the Pound, by the Week.

"And three Pints of Beer and two Quarts of Water (whereof one of the Quarts for Drinking and the other for boiling Victuals) each Head by the Day for the Space of a Month; and a Gallon of Water (whereof two Quarts for Drinking and the other two for boiling Victuals) each Head by the Day after during their being on their Passage.

"The Heads to be accounted in this Manner: Every Person above the Age of Twelve Years to be accounted a whole Head; all Persons of the age of Seven Years and under the Age of Twelve Years, to be accounted Two for One; all Persons above the Age of Two Years and under the Age of Seven Years, to be accounted Three for One; and any Person under the Age of Two Years is not to be accounted.

"And the said Persons are to enter into the following Covenants before their Embarkation: viz.: —

"That they will repair on Board such Ship as shall be provided for carrying them to the Province of *Georgia;* and during the Voyage, will quietly, soberly, and obediently demean themselves; and go to such Place in the said Province of *Georgia* and there obey all such Orders as shall be given for the better settling, establishing, and governing the said Colony.

"And that for the first Twelve Months from landing in the said Province of *Georgia* they will work and labour in clearing their Lands, making Habitations, and necessary Defences, and in all other Works for the common Good and publick Weal of the said Colony, at such Times, in such Manner, and according to such Plan and Directions as shall be given.

"And that they, from and after the Expiration of the said last mentioned Twelve Months will, during the two next succeeding Years, abide, settle, and inhabit in the said Province of *Georgia* and cultivate the Lands which shall be to them and their Heirs Male severally allotted and given, by all such Ways and Means as, according to their several Abilities and Skills they shall be best able and capable.

"And such Persons are to be settled in the said Colony either in new Towns or new Villages.

"Those in the Towns will have each of them a Lot sixty Feet in Front and ninety Feet in Depth whereon they are to build a House; and as much Land in the Country as in the whole shall make up Fifty Acres.

"Those in the Villages will each of them have a Lot of Fifty Acres which is to lie all together, and they are to build their House upon it.

"All Lots are granted in Tail Male and descend to the Heirs Male of their Bodies for ever; and in case of Failure of Heirs Male, revert to the Trust to be granted again to such Persons as the Common Council of the Trustees shall think most for the Advantage of the Colony. And they will have a special Regard to the Daughters of Freeholders who have made Improvements on their Lots, not already provided for by having married, or marrying Persons in Possession, or intitled to Lands in the Province of *Georgia* in Possession or Remainder.

"All Lots are to be preserved separate and undivided, and cannot be united, in order to keep up a Number of Men equal to the Number of Lots for the better Defence and Support of the Colony.

"No person can lease out his House or Lot to another without Licence for that Purpose, that the Colony may not be ruined by Absentees receiving and spending their Rents elsewhere. Therefore each Man must cultivate the same by himself or Servants.

"And no person can alienate his Land or any Part, or any Term, Estate, or Interest therein, to any other Person or Persons, without special Licence for that Purpose, to prevent the uniting or dividing the Lots.

"If any of the Land so granted shall not be cultivated, planted, cleared, improved, or fenced with a Worm-fence or Pales six Feet high during the Space of Ten Years from the Date of the Grant, then every Part thereof not cultivated, planted, cleared, improved, or fenced as aforesaid, shall belong to the Trust; and the Grant, as to such Parts, shall be void.

"There is reserved, for the Support of the Colony, a Rent charge for ever of Two Shillings Sterling Money for each Fifty Acres, the Payment of which is not to commence until Ten Years after the Grant.

"And the Reversion or Remainder expectant on the Demise of such Persons without Issue Male shall remain to the Trust.

"But the Wives of the Freeholders, in case they should survive their Husbands, are, during their Lives, intitled to the Mansion-house and One Half of the Lands improved by their Husbands; that is to say, inclosed with a Fence of Six Feet high.

"All Forfeitures for Non-residence, High-Treason, Felonies, &c., are to the Trustees for the Use and Benefit of the Colony.

"Negroes and Rum are prohibited to be used in the said Colony; and Trade with the *Indians*, unless licensed.

"None are to have the Benefit of being sent upon the Charity in the manner above mentioned but

"1st. Such as are in decayed Circumstances and thereby disabled from following any Business in *England;* and who, if in Debt, must have Leave from their Creditors to go.

"2nd. Such as have numerous Families of Children, if assisted by their respective Parishes, and recommended by the Minister, Church-Wardens, and Overseers thereof.

"The Trustees do expect to have a good Character of the said Persons given, because no Drunkards or other notoriously vicious Persons will be taken.

"And for the better to enable the said Persons to build the new Town, and clear their Lands, the Trustees will give Leave to every Freeholder to take over with him One Male Servant, or

Apprentice, of the Age of Eighteen Years, and upwards, to be bound for not less than Four Years; and will, by way of Loan to such Freeholder, advance the charges of Passage for such Servant or Apprentice, and of furnishing him with Cloathing and Provision hereafter mentioned, to be delivered in such Proportions, and at such Times as the Trust shall think proper: viz.: With a Pallias and Bolster and Blanket for Bedding: A Frock and Trowsers of Lintsey Wolsey, a Shirt, and Frock, and Trowsers of Osnabrigs, a Pair of Shoes from *England*, and two Pair of Country Shoes for Cloathing: and 200 Pounds of Meat and 342 Pounds of Rice, Pease, or *Indian* Corn for Food for a Year.

"The Expence of which Passage, Cloathing and Provision is to be repaid the Trustees by the Master within the Third Year from their Embarkation from *England*.

"And to each Man Servant and the Heirs Male of his Body forever, after the Expiration of his Service, upon a Certificate from his Master of his having served well, will be granted Twenty Acres of Land under such Rents and Agreements as shall have been then last granted to any others, Men Servants, in like circumstances.

"Sign'd by Order of the Common Council of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, this Second Day of July, 1735. BENJ. MARTIN, *Secretary*."

"To such Persons who can carry Ten Men Servants, and settle with them in Georgia at their own Expence, and whose Characters the Trustees, upon Inquiry, shall approve of, will be granted Five hundred Acres of Land in Tail Male, and descend to the Heirs Male of their Bodies forever, under the Yearly Rent of Twenty Shillings Sterling Money for every Hundred Acres, for the Support of the Colony; the payment of which is not to commence until Ten Years after the Grant.

"And the Land is so granted upon the following Conditions and Covenants.

"That such Persons do pay the Rent reserved as the same shall become due; and no part to be unpaid for Six Months after due.

"That they, within a Month from the Grant, shall register the same, or a Memorial thereof, with the Auditor of the Plantations.

"That they, within Twelve Months from the Grant, shall go to and arrive in *Georgia* with ten able bodied Men Servants, being each of the age of Twenty Years and upwards.

"That they shall abide in *Georgia* with such Men Servants Three Years from the Registering the Grant there, building their Houses, and cultivating their Lands.

"That they shall clear and cultivate within Ten Years from the Grant, Two hundred Acres of Land, Part of the said Five hundred Acres, and plant Two thousand White Mulberry-trees or Plants thereon; and on every Hundred of the other Three hundred Acres One thousand White Mulberry-trees or Plants, when cleared, and preserve the same Quantity from time to time thereupon, the Trustees obliging themselves to furnish the plants.

"That they do not alienate the said Five Hundred Acres of Land or any Part for any Term of Years, or any Estate or Interest in the same to any Person or Persons without special Leave.

"That they do not make Pot-ash in Partnership without Leave; but may make it themselves not in Partnership.

"On the determination of the Estate in Tail Male the Land to revert to the Trust.

"That they shall not depart the said Province without License.

"All forfeitures for Non-Residence, High Treason, Felonies, &c are to the Trustees for the Use and Benefit of the Colony.

"If any Part of the said Five hundred Acres of Land shall not be cultivated, planted, cleared, and fenced round with a Worm Fence, or Pales Six Feet high, within Eighteen Years from the Grant, all and every such Part shall revert to the Trust; and the Grant as to such Part, to be void.

"And the Common Council of the Trust, at the Expirations of the Terms such Men Servants shall be severally bound for, (being not less than Four Years) when requested by the Grantee, will grant to each of such Men Servants Twenty Acres of Land in Tail Male, under such Rents, Conditions, Limitations, and Agreements as shall have been then last granted to any others, Men Servants, in like Circumstances.

"When the Land reverts to the Trust on the Determination of the Estate in Tail Male it is to be granted again to such Persons as the Common Council of the Trust shall think most for the Advantage of the Colony. And the Trust will have a Special Regard to the Daughters of those who have made Improvements on their Lots, not already provided for, by having married, or marrying Persons in Possession, or intitled to Lands in the Province of *Georgia* in Possession or Remainder.

"And the Wives of such Persons, in case they should survive their Husbands, are, during their Lives, intitled to the Mansion-house and one half of the Lands improved by their Husbands; that is to say, inclosed with a Fence Six feet high.

"Negroes and Rum are prohibited to be used in the said Province, and Trade with the *Indians*, unless licensed."[1]

Compared with the regulations established by the trustees when they formulated their earliest plans for the conduct of the colony, these rules indicate no material departure from the inducements then offered and the resolutions originally formed.

In 1735 another Protestant sect found a home in Georgia. Among the solicitors whose intervention had been secured to influence foreign Protestants to escape the poverty and the persecutions of their own lands by seeking freedom of religious thought and worship and new abodes in the province of Georgia, was Nicolaus Ludovicus, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, who, in his efforts to shape a Christian community "on the model of the primitive Apostolic congregations," organized on his estate of Berthelsdorf a colony of Moravian brethren who, impelled by religious persecutions, had emigrated from Bohemia. In their articles of faith sympathizing generally with the doctrines embraced in the Augsburg Confession, and yet possessing denominational peculiarities, the adherents of this persuasion were pious in their lives, guarded in their walk and conversation, industrious in their habits, grave in deportment, and upright in all their dealings. The town of Herrnhut which they builded was noted for sobriety, activity, and good order. In January, 1735, responding to his request, the trustees granted five hundred acres of land in Georgia to Count Zinzendorf, with permission to absent himself from the colony on condition that he sent over ten male servants to cultivate those lands. This was the earliest aid extended by the common council to the Moravians, and it was supplemented by other benefactions as applications multiplied. Accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Gottleib Spangenberg, the first emigrants of this religious persuasion arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735, and settled along the line of the Savannah River between the Salzburgers and the town of Savannah.

The history of the Moravians in Georgia may be quickly told. Under the auspices of Count Zinzendorf, seconded by the good offices of the trustees, additions were made from time to time

[1] *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., pp. 43–49. London. MDCCXLI.

to this settlement. A school-house called *Irene*, was builded near Tomo-chi-chi's village, for the accommodation and instruction of Indian children. In its conduct and prosperity the aged mico manifested a lively interest. With the Salzburgers the Moravians associated on terms of the closest friendship. In subduing the forests and in the erection of comfortable homes they manifested the most commendable zeal. Above all others were they successful in tilling the ground and in the accumulation of provisions which sufficed not only for their own wants but also for the relief of their less provident neighbors. Their abodes were remarkable for thrift, sobriety, and honesty. In the education and religious instruction of the Indians did they manifest the liveliest interest, and the school at *Irene* was organized and conducted for their special benefit. They were in all respects useful colonists. When summoned, however, to bear arms in defense of the province against the Spaniards, they refused to do so, alleging that not being freeholders there was no civil obligation resting upon them to perform military service. They further insisted that their religious convictions prevented them from becoming soldiers, and stated that before emigrating to Georgia it had been expressly stipulated that they should be exempt from the performance of military duties. In January, 1737, Count Zinzendorf had a personal interview with Oglethorpe and the trustees in London. After mature consideration, it was resolved, in view of their peculiar religious tenets and of the facts connected with their settlement in Georgia, that the Moravians should be excused from all military service. This exemption embittered the minds of the other colonists against them and rendered a further residence in the province unpleasant. Accordingly, in 1738, some of them, having first refunded to the authorities all moneys which had been disbursed in defrayal of the expenses connected with their passage from England and their location in the province, abandoned their farms in Georgia, — already so comfortable and exhibiting such tokens of thrift and remuneration, — and removed to Pennsylvania. Others remained in Georgia until, upon a renewal of hostilities between the Spaniards and the colonists, they were again summoned to the field. A second time did they refuse to take up arms; and many, bidding farewell to their homes on the Savannah, joined their brethren in Pennsylvania, where the settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth preserve to this day some of the distinguishing features of this peculiar people.

Persuaded of the importance of strengthening the southern frontiers of Georgia, and moved to speedy action by the memorial of the General Assembly of South Carolina and by the earnest petition of the trustees, Parliament was induced to grant a further sum of £26,000 "for the settling, fortifying, and defending of that colony." Their treasury being thus replenished, and anxious to enlist colonists of acknowledged reputation and valor, the trustees commissioned Lieutenant Hugh Mackay to recruit among the Highlands of Scotland. So successful was he, and so satisfactory did the proposals of the common council prove, that one hundred and thirty Highlanders, with fifty women and children, were accepted and enrolled at Inverness. These, together with several grantees going at their own charge and taking servants with them, sailed from that city on the 18th of October, 1735, on board the Prince of Wales, commanded by Captain George Dunbar. The Savannah River was safely entered in the following January. This proved a most valuable and efficient accession to the colony. "These," says Dr. Stevens, relying upon the researches of Prof. Wm. Mackenzie, of the University of Edinburgh, "were not reckless adventurers or reduced emigrants volunteering through necessity, or exiled by insolvency and want. They were men of good character, and were carefully selected for their military qualities. In fact, they were picked men, numbers of them coming from the Glen of Stralbdean, about nine miles distant. They were commanded by officers most respectably connected in the Highlands. Some of their descendants have held and still hold high offices of honor and trust in the United Kingdom." The trustees were rejoiced to find so valuable and hardy a company to people and guard the southern confines of the province.

The town council of Inverness, grateful for the kind offers of Oglethorpe to the Highlanders and anxious to express their regard for his philanthropy, conferred on him the honor of a burgess of the town.

Besides this military band, others among the Mackays, the Dunbars, the Bailies, and the Cuthberts applied for large tracts of land in Georgia, which they occupied with their own servants. Many of them went over in person and settled in the province.[1]

These Highlanders were accompanied by a minister of their own selection, the Rev. John McLeod, a native of the Isle of Skye.

[1] Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 126, 127. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

A few days after their arrival at Savannah they were transported in periaguas to the southward. Ascending the Alatamaha River to a point on the left bank of that stream about sixteen miles above St. Simon's Island, they there landed and formed a permanent settlement which they named New Inverness. Here they erected a fort, mounted four pieces of cannon, built a guard-house, a store, and a chapel, and constructed huts for temporary accommodation preparatory to putting up more substantial structures. These Scots were a brave, hardy race, — just the men to occupy this advanced post. In their plaids, and with their broadswords, targets, and fire-arms, they presented "a most manly appearance." To the district which they were to hold and cultivate they gave the name of Darien.

Previous to their departure from Savannah some Carolinians endeavored to dissuade them from going to the South by telling them that the Spaniards, from the houses in their fort, would shoot them upon the spot selected by the trustees for their future home. Nothing daunted, these doughty countrymen of Bruce and Wallace responded, "Why, then, we will beat them out of their fort, and shall have houses ready built to live in." [1]

This valiant spirit found subsequent expression in the efficient military service rendered by these Highlanders during the wars between the colonists and the Spaniards, and by their descendants in the American Revolution. To John Moore McIntosh, Captain Hugh Mackay, Ensign Charles Mackay, Colonel John McIntosh, General Lachlan McIntosh, and their gallant comrades and followers, Georgia, both as a colony and a State, owes a large debt of gratitude. This settlement was subsequently augmented from time to time by fresh arrivals from Scotland. Although located in a malarial region, it maintained its integrity and increased in wealth and influence. Its men were prompt and efficient in arms, and when the war cloud descended upon the southern confines of the province no defenders were more alert or capable than those found in the ranks of these Highlanders.

At an early date a passable road, located by Captain Hugh Mackay, was constructed to connect New Inverness with Savannah. For the preliminary survey Indian guides were furnished by Tomo-chi-chi. This route is followed to this day by the highway leading from Savannah to Darien.

[1] See letter of General Oglethorpe to the trustees under date February 27, 1735, *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 15. Savannah. 1873.

CHAPTER XIV.

REVEREND JOHN WESLEY ENGAGED AS A MISSIONARY. — DR. BURTON'S ADVICE TO HIM. — THE GREAT EMBARKATION. — ANECDOTES OF OGLETHORPE DURING HIS RETURN VOYAGE TO GEORGIA. — ARRIVAL OF THE SYMOND AND THE LONDON MERCHANT AT TYBEE ROADS. — ACCESSIONS TO THE POPULATIONS OF EBENEZER AND IRENE. — THE SALZBURGERS DESIRE A CHANGE OF LOCATION. — THEIR REMOVAL TO NEW EBENEZER ON THE SAVANNAH RIVER. — MARTYN'S ACCOUNT OF THE NEW SETTLEMENT.

DURING this sojourn in England Oglethorpe was busily engaged in preparing for what was subsequently known as the "grand embarkation." Much of his time was spent in the selection of colonists, in unfolding the special wants of the province, and in the accumulation of necessary supplies. In many details he was greatly assisted by Mr. Francis Moore, who, at his suggestion, was appointed by the trustees *keeper of the stores*. Widely extended now was the fame of Mr. Oglethorpe, and exalted the position he occupied in the esteem of the British nation. His broad philanthropy, his executive ability, his courage, his prudence, his self abnegation, his intelligence, and his success in planting and fostering the colony of Georgia attracted the admiration of all. Everywhere was he honored and praised. The general sentiment was reflected by Mr. Cave, the proprietor of the "Gentleman's Magazine," when, among the prizes offered by him for the four best poems to be composed upon "The Christian Hero," he named as the first a gold medal bearing on one side the head of the Rt. Hon. Lady Elizabeth Hastings, and on the other a portrait of Oglethorpe, with the motto "England may challenge the World."

In their desire to enlist the services of competent ministers to preach the Gospel both to the colonists and to the Indians, the attention of the trustees was attracted toward the Rev. John Wesley, a young gentleman whose ancestors had been distinguished for their learning and piety, himself a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, a fine classical scholar, and an earnest student of divinity. These qualifications, supplemented by a regularity

of behavior, an abstemious manner of life, and a readiness to endure hardships, commended him as one, seemingly at least, admirably fitted to assume the office of an evangelist in Georgia. On the 29th of August, 1735, he was introduced, by the Rev. Dr. Burton, to Mr. Oglethorpe, who urged him to go to Savannah in the capacity of a religious teacher. After some reflection Mr. Wesley consented to do so. With the conduct of the Rev. Samuel Quincey as resident minister in Georgia the trustees were not pleased. They therefore, on the 10th of October, 1735, revoked his appointment, and nominated in his stead the Rev. John Wesley with a salary of £50.[1] Charles Wesley, wishing to accompany his brother, was accepted by Mr. Oglethorpe as his private secretary. He was also designated as secretary of Indian affairs in the province of Georgia.

To his young friend fresh from the benches of the University, deeply imbued with religious sentiments yet unused to the practical affairs of life, single in purpose and still little acquainted with experimental piety, firm in his belief yet intolerant of all which coincided not with his convictions, unaccustomed to deal with men and emergencies, proclaiming the power of godliness yet ignorant of those modes of persuasion by which the unrighteous are led to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, the Rev. Dr. Burton addressed a communication eminently wise and appropriate. Among other observations he indulged in the following: "Under the influence of Mr. Oglethorpe, giving weight to your endeavours, much may be effected under the present circumstances. The Apostolical manner of preaching from house to house will, through God's grace, be effectual to turn many to righteousness. The people are babes in the progress of their Christian life, to be fed with milk instead of strong meat; and the wise householder will bring out of his stores food proportioned to the necessities of his family. The circumstances of your present Christian pilgrimage will furnish the most affecting subjects of discourse; and what arises *pro re nata* will have greater influence than a laboured discourse on a subject in which men think themselves not so immediately concerned.

"With regard to your behaviour and manner of address, that must be determined according to the different circumstances of persons, etc. But you will always, in the use of means, consider the great end, and therefore your applications will of course vary. You will keep in view the pattern of that Gospel preacher,

[1] *Journal of the Trustees*, vol. i. p. 291.

St. Paul, who became all things to all men that he might gain some. Here is a nice trial of Christian prudence. Accordingly, in every case you would distinguish between what is essential and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is of Divine and what is of human authority. I mention this because men are apt to deceive themselves in such cases, and we see the traditions and ordinances of men frequently insisted on with more rigour than the commandments of God to which they are subordinate. Singularities of less importance are often espoused with more zeal than the weighty matters of God's law. As in all points we love ourselves, so especially in our hypotheses. Where a man has, as it were, a property in a notion, he is most industrious to improve it, and that in proportion to the labour of thought he has bestowed upon it; and as its value rises in imagination, we are in proportion more unwilling to give it up, and dwell upon it more pertinaciously than upon considerations of general necessity and use. This is a flattering mistake against which we should guard ourselves." Had these sage counsels been observed, the Rev. Mr. John Wesley would have been spared no little annoyance and mortification during his residence in Georgia, and the community in Savannah would have escaped much which engendered ill-will and distraction.

On Tuesday, the 14th of October, 1735, Mr. Oglethorpe, accompanied by the brothers John and Charles Wesley, the Rev. Mr. Ingham, and by Charles Delamotte, the son of a London merchant and a friend of the Wesleys, set out from Westminster for Gravesend, where they were to embark for Georgia. Two vessels had been chartered by the trustees: the Symond, Captain Joseph Cornish, of 220 tons, and the London Merchant, of like burthen, Captain John Thomas. Among the stores on board were large quantities of provisions, small arms, cannon, ammunition, agricultural tools, and articles for family use. As a convoy, H. M. sloop of war Hawk, commanded by Captain Gascoigne, was detailed. On board the Symond and the London Merchant two hundred and two persons were assembled to be conveyed on the trust's account.[1] Among these were many English people, a number of German Lutherans under the conduct of Mr. Von Reck and Captain Hermsdorf, and twenty-five Moravians with their bishop, the Rev. David Nitschman. Departing at their

[1] *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the Year* 1735, p. 11. By Francis Moore. London. 1744.

own charge were Sir Francis Bathurst, his son, three daughters, servants, and some relatives of Planters already located in the province.

Although it was intended that Mr. Oglethorpe should take passage in the Hawk, he denied himself the comforts of the apartments there fitted up for his accommodation, and took a cabin in the Symond, where he could at all times exercise a watchful care over the emigrants.

Contrary winds delayed for several weeks the departure of these vessels. It was not until the 10th of December that, with "a moderate gale, they stood out for Sea." The voyage was protracted and tempestuous. At times the ships barely escaped destruction, so violent were the storms and so unruly the waves. Amid these perils the composure of the foreign Protestants was remarkable. The missionaries were the guests of Oglethorpe and ate at his table. Prayers were read twice a day, and they expounded the Scriptures, catechised the children, and on every Lord's Day administered the Sacrament. Although he had, on his own account, laid in a large supply of live-stock and dainties, Mr. Oglethorpe distributed them freely among the sick and the feeble, often contenting himself with the ordinary ship's fare. When the weather permitted, he repaired on board the London Merchant and personally inspected the condition of the emigrants conveyed in that vessel, prescribing and enforcing such regulations as were conducive to their health and comfort.

With the calm religious conduct of the Lutherans and the Moravians Mr. John Wesley was much impressed, and he entered upon the earnest study of the German language that he might acquire a more intimate acquaintance with their peculiar views and rules of conduct. During the voyage these Christians "sung psalms and served God in their own way." Turnips, carrots, potatoes, and onions, issued with the salt provisions, prevented scurvy. To promote comfort and good order, the ships had been divided into cabins, with gangways between them, in which the emigrants were disposed according to families. The single men were located by themselves. Weather permitting, the vessels were cleaned between decks, and washed with vinegar to keep them sweet. Constables were appointed "to prevent any disorders," and so admirably was discipline preserved that there was no occasion for punishment except in the case of a boy, "who was whipped for stealing of turnips." The men were exercised with small arms and instructed by Mr. Oglethorpe in the duties

which would devolve upon them as land-holders in the new settlement. To the women were given thread, worsted, and knitting needles. They were required to employ "their leisure time in making Stockings and Caps for their Family, or in mending their Cloaths and Linnen."[1] In this sensible way were matters conducted on these emigrant ships, and the colonists, during a protracted voyage, prepared for lives of industry in their new homes.

The missionaries were, as we have observed, the constant guests of Mr. Oglethorpe. By him were they treated with marked consideration; and, although the emigrants differed in their religious persuasions, he "showed no discountenance to any."

On one occasion the officers and certain gentlemen who had been invited to dine with him, not relishing the grave demeanor of the clergymen, took some liberty with them. This conduct excited the indignation of Mr. Oglethorpe, who exclaimed, "What do you mean, Sirs? Do you take these gentlemen for tithe-pig parsons? They are gentlemen of learning and respectability. They are my friends, and whoever offers any affront to them insults me." This rebuke secured for the missionaries entire respect from all on board.

The Rev. Henry Moore relates another anecdote: "Mr. Wesley hearing an unusual noise in the cabin of General Oglethorpe stepped in to inquire the cause: on which the General immediately addressed him, 'Mr. Wesley you must excuse me, I have met with a provocation too great for man to bear. You know the only wine I drink is Cyprus wine, as it agrees with me the best of any. I therefore provided myself with several dozens of it, and this villian Grimaldi, (his Italian servant who was present and almost dead with fear) has drunk nearly the whole of it. But I will be revenged. He shall be tied hand and foot and carried to the man of war. (He alluded to a ship of war which sailed with them.) The rascal should have taken care how he used me so, for I never forgive.' 'Then I hope, sir, (said Mr. Wesley, looking calmly at him,) you never sin.' The General was quite confounded at the reproof; and, after a pause, putting his hand into his pocket, he took out a bunch of keys which he threw at Grimaldi, saying 'There villain, take my keys and behave better for the future.'"

The criticism of Mr. Wright is not without force. In commenting upon this circumstance, as thus narrated by Mr. Moore,

[1] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 15. London. 1744.

he says: The foregoing anecdote is so circumstantially told that one might fancy the narrator to have been a by-stander. But he was not born at the time, and only professes to have heard it from Wesley some fifty years afterwards. Wesley's memory then failed him; for otherwise he would have remembered that the sloop of war was separated from her consorts by a violent gale on the day after they sailed, and did not join them again during the whole voyage. The Cyprus wine must have been very tempting indeed if Grimaldi had consumed several dozens of it by that time. But, evidently, the biographer's object was to magnify Wesley, and by putting the words "I never forgive" into Oglethorpe's mouth — words which it is by no means probable he ever uttered — to give a handle for the young missionary's sanctimonious rebuke.[1]

Impeded by rough seas and adverse winds, the Symond and the London Merchant did not arrive in sight of Tybee Island until the evening of the 4th of February, 1736. The next morning, with the first of the flood, they passed over the bar and came to anchor within Tybee Roads.

Without delay Mr. Oglethorpe went ashore to ascertain what progress had been made in the erection of the light-house on the upper end of that island, intended for the guidance of vessels entering the Savannah River. This beacon was to be twenty-five feet square at the base, ninety feet high, and ten feet each way at the top. It was to be constructed of "the best pine, strongly timber'd, raised upon Cedar Piles, and Brickwork round the Bottom." When finished it would prove "of great service to all shipping, not only to those bound to this port, but also to Carolina, for the land of all the Coast for some hundred miles is so alike, being all low and woody, that a distinguishing Mark is of great consequence."[2] To Mr. Oglethorpe's surprise and annoyance the most unpardonable delay had occurred in the erection of this important structure. Although the materials had been prepared in Savannah and brought to the spot, Blythman, the carpenter in charge, and his ten assistants, had only piled the foundation. Even the brickwork was not laid. When called to account for his "scandalous neglect," Blythman could offer no excuse save that he had used his men in clearing away the trees so that the beacon might be rendered more conspicuous; that much time had been consumed in piling the foundation and in

[1] *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 102. London. 1867.

[2] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 18. London. 1744.

transporting the materials; and that more braces were found necessary than he had at first imagined. The chief explanation of the delay was found in the fact that the workmen were frequently intoxicated, idle, and disobedient. Rum was so cheap in Carolina that they experienced no difficulty in supplying themselves with it. A day's pay would purchase liquor sufficient to keep them drunk for a week. "I heard Mr. Oglethorpe," writes Mr. Moore in his journal, "after he return'd to the Ship say that he was in doubt whether he should prosecute the Man who is the only one here able to finish the Work, and thereby leave the Work undone, and lose the Materials which were already; or else forgive what was past, and have the Beacon finish'd. He took the latter counsel, and agreed with him for a Time certain and a Price certain, appointing Mr. *Vanderplank* to see that the work advanced according to the Agreement; and not to pay but proportionably to what should be done."

Having carried the colonists on shore upon Peeper Island where they could dig a well and refresh themselves, Mr. Oglethorpe, early on the morning of the 6th, departed for Savannah. He had previously sent a dispatch to Lieutenant Delegal, commanding the king's independent company at Port Royal, ordering him to repair at once with his command to St. Simon's Island that he might protect the projected settlement at Frederica. Upon his arrival in Savannah Mr. Oglethorpe was welcomed by all the freeholders under arms, and was saluted by twenty-one discharges from the battery of cannon. Sincere and universal was the delight of the citizens at the return of their leader and best friend. The clergymen and gentlemen who accompanied him having been introduced, and Savannah congratulated upon this intelligent addition to the population of the colony, orders were issued for supplying the newly arrived on Peeper Island with fresh meat and vegetables. They were promptly obeyed, and in a generous and satisfactory manner. The articles distributed consisted of "fresh beef, fresh pork, venison, wild turkeys, soft bread, strong beer, small-beer, turnips, and garden greens, and this in such plenty that there was enough for the whole Colony for some days. This was doubly agreeable to the Colony both because they found the comfort of fresh food after a long voyage, and also that a Town, begun within these three years by people in their own circumstances, could produce such plenty."[1]

It was Mr. Oglethorpe's intention to locate all the emigrants

[1] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 21. London. 1744.

transported on the trust's account in the Symond and the London Merchant at Frederica, that they might assist in the rapid development of that town and in the construction of its fortifications. The Moravians, desiring the benefit of their ministers, not wishing to divide their congregation, and being reluctant to go to the southward where "they apprehended blows,"—fighting being "against their religion,"—persuaded Mr. Oglethorpe to permit them to join the settlement of their countrymen near Irene school-house. Thither they went some days afterwards and were heartily welcomed. Several of the Lutherans also craved permission to dwell among their brethren at Ebenezer, and this privilege was accorded to them. Captain Hermsdorf, however, with a little company, assured Mr. Oglethorpe that he would "never forsake him, but serve with the English to the last." His offer was accepted, and he subsequently accompanied Mr. Oglethorpe when he set out to establish his new town and fort at the mouth of the Alatamaha.

By this and other accessions, the population of Ebenezer had increased so that it now numbered two hundred souls. Nevertheless, contentment and prosperity did not obtain in the town. In the anticipated fertility of the soil the inhabitants were disappointed. Much sickness prevailed, and they were oppressed by the isolated nature of their location. The creek upon which the town was situated was uncertain in volume, serpentine, and difficult of navigation. Although Ebenezer was distant by land from the Savannah River only six miles, in following the creek which furnished the sole outlet by water, twenty-five miles must be traversed before its confluence with the Savannah could be reached.

Moved by these and other depressing considerations, the Rev. Messrs. Bolzius and Gronau visited Savannah, at the instance of their flock, and conferred with Mr. Oglethorpe as to the propriety of changing the location of the town. Moore says the Salzburgers at Ebenezer were so discontented that they "demanded to leave their old Town, and to settle upon the Lands which the *Indians* had reserved for their own Use."[1]

Having patiently listened to the request, Mr. Oglethorpe, on the 9th of February, 1736, set out with the Salzburger ministers and several gentlemen for Ebenezer to make a personal inspection of the situation and satisfy himself with regard to the expediency of the removal. He was received with every mark of

[1] *Voyage to Georgia*, etc., p. 23. London. 1744.

consideration, and proceeded at once to examine the causes whi induced the inhabitants to desire a change. Admitting that t existing "dissatisfaction was not groundless, and that there we many embarrassments connected with their situation," he nev theless endeavored to dissuade them from their purpose by minding them that the labor already expended in clearing th lands, building houses, and constructing roads would, upon moval, be almost wholly lost. The hardships incident up forming an entirely new settlement were urged upon their se ous consideration. He also assured them that in felling t forests, and in bringing the lands on the bank of the Savann River under cultivation, they would contract the same disea which afflicted them in their present location. He conclude however, by saying to them that if they were resolved up making the change he would not forbid it, but would assi them, as far as practicable, in compassing their design.[1]

After this conference, and upon Mr. Oglethorpe's return Savannah, the question of a change of location was again consi ered by the Salzburgers, who resolved among themselves that removal was essential to the prosperity of their colony. Acti upon this determination the community, without delay, set abo migrating to the site selected for the new town. This was on high ridge, near the Savannah River, called "Red Bluff" fro the peculiar color of the soil. It received the name of Ne Ebenezer; and, to the simple-minded Germans, oppressed b poverty and saddened by the disappointments of the past, seeme to offer future happiness and much-coveted prosperity. Th labor of removal appears to have been compassed within le than two years. In June, 1738, Old Ebenezer[2] had degenerated

[1] In reporting this change of location to the trustees, Mr. Oglethorpe, on the 13th of February, wrote as follows: "The people at Ebenezer are very discontented and Mr. Von Reck, and they that come with him, refuse to settle to the Southward. I was forced to go to Ebenezer to quiet things there and have taken all the proceedings in writing. Finding the people were only ignorant and obstinate, but without any ill intention, I consented to the changing of their Town. They leave a sweet place where they had made great improvements, to go into a wood." See *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 13. Savannah. 1873. Compare Harris' *Biographical Memorial of Oglethorpe*, pp. 130, 132. Boston. 1841 Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 113 London. 1867. Strobel's *Salzburger and their Descendants*, p. 89. Baltimore 1855.

[2] Rev. Mr. John Wesley, writing i 1737, records in his Journal the following description of this abandoned settlement: "*Old Ebenezer*, where the *Saltzburgher* settled at first, lies twenty-five miles west of *Savannah*. A small Creek runs by the Town, down to the River, and many Brooks run between the little Hills: But the soil is a hungry, barren sand; and upon any sudden Shower, the Brooks rise

into a cow-pen, where Joseph Barker resided and "had the care of the Trust's Cattle." William Stephens gives us a pitiable view of the abandoned spot when he visited it on the 26th of that month: Indian traders, returning from Savannah, lodging for the night with Barker, who was unable to give due account of the cattle under his charge, and a servant, Sommers, moving about with "the Small-Pox out full upon him."[1] Thus early did "Old Ebenezer" take its silent place among the lost towns of Georgia. Its life of trials and sorrow, of ill-founded hope and sure disappointment, was measured by scarcely more than two years, and its frail memories were speedily lost amid the sighs and the shadows of the monotonous pines which environed the place.

The situation of the new town was quite romantic. "On the east lay the Savannah with its broad, smooth surface and its ever varying and beautiful scenery. On the south was a stream, then called Little Creek, but now known as Lockner's Creek, and a large lake called 'Neidlinger's Sea;' while to the north, not very distant from the town, was to be seen their old acquaintance, Ebenezer Creek, sluggishly winding its way to mingle with the waters of the Savannah. The surrounding country was gently undulating and covered with a fine growth of forest trees, while the jessamine, the woodbine, and the beautiful azalea, with its variety of gaudy colors, added a peculiar richness to the picturesque scene. But, unfortunately for the permanent prosperity of the town, it was surrounded on three sides by low swamps which were subject to periodical inundation, and consequently generated a poisonous miasma prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants."[2]

several Feet perpendicular, and overflow whatever is near them. Since the *Saltzburghers* remov'd, two *English* Families have been placed there; but these too say, *That the Land is good for nothing; and that the Creek is of little Use; it being by Water twenty miles to the River; and the Water generally so low in Summer-time, that a Boat cannot come within six or seven miles of the Town.*" See *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, etc., pp. 59, 60. Bristol, n. d.

[1] *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 226, 227. London. 1742. In 1740 this cow-pen was still in existence as Old Ebenezer, the trustees having a great number of cattle there. "But," continues the narrative, "they were much neglected, there not being Horses or Men sufficient to drive up the young and outlying cattle." See *A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November* 10, 1740, p. 9. London. 1742. Compare *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, p. 48. London. 1741. Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, etc., vol. ii. p. 337. London. 1748.

[2] Strobel's *Salzburgers and their Descendants*, p. 91. Baltimore. 1855.

The plan adopted in laying out the town was prescribed b General Oglethorpe, and closely resembles that of Savannal the size of the lots and the width of the streets and lanes bein in each case quite similar. To John Gerar, William DeBrahn his majesty's Surveyor-General for the Southern District North America, who in 1757 erected a fort at Ebenezer, are v indebted for an accurate plan of that town.[1] As the village i creased, this plan was extended. Its distinctive characteristi were retained. From contemporaneous notices we learn th New Ebenezer, within a short time after its settlement, ga manifest token of substantial growth and prosperity. The hous there erected were larger and more comfortable than those whi had been built in the old town. Gardens and farms were cleare inclosed, and brought under creditable cultivation, and the s date, religious inhabitants enjoyed the fruits of their indust and economy.

Funds received from Germany for that purpose were employ in the erection of an orphan house, in which, for lack of a churc the community worshiped for several years.

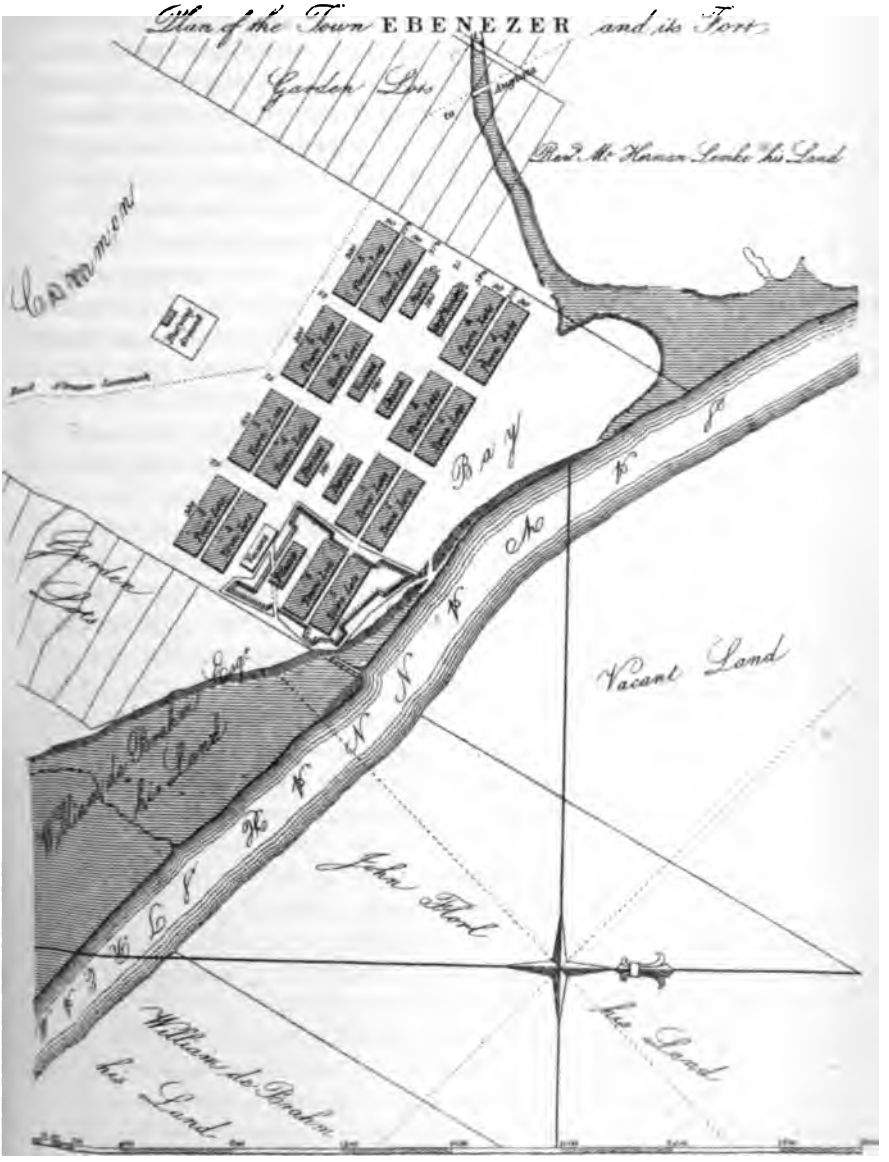
We presume the account of the condition of Ebenezer i 1738–39, furnished by Benjamin Martyn,[2] is as interesting an reliable as any that can be suggested. It is as follows: "Fiftee miles from *Purysburg* on the *Georgia* side, is *Ebenezer*, whe the *Saltzburghers* are situated; their Houses are neat, and reg larly set out in Streets, and the whole Œconomy of their tow under the Influence of their Ministers, Mess. *Bolzius* and *Grona* is very exemplary.[3] For the Benefit of their Milch Cattle, Herdsman is appointed to attend them in the Woods all the Da and bring them Home in the Evening. Their Stock of out-lyi

[1] *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc., plan facing p. 24. Wormsloe. 1849.

[2] *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, p. 47. London. 1741.

[3] Another contemporaneous account is almost identical: "On the *Georgia* side [of the Savannah River], twelve miles from *Purysburg*, is the Town of *Ebenezer*, which thrives very much; there are very good Houses built for each of the Ministers, and an Orphan House; and they have partly framed Houses and partly Huts, neatly built, and formed into regular streets; they have a great deal of Cattle and Corn-Ground, so that they sell Provisions at *Savannah*; for th raise much more than they can c sume." See *A State of the Province Georgia attested upon Oath in the Court Savannah, November* 10, 1740, p. 5. L don, 1742. See also *idem*, pp. 29, *An Impartial Enquiry into the State a Utility of the Province of Georgia*, p. London, 1741. Compare Harris' *Co plete Collection of Voyages and Trav* etc., vol. ii. p. 337. London. 1748.

The Rev. Mr. John Wesley's descri tion is as follows: "*New Ebenezer*, which the *Saltzburghers* removed in *Mar* 1736, lies six Miles Eastward from t *Old*, on a high bluff, near the *Savann*



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ttle is also under the Care of two other Herdsmen, who attend ɜm in their Feeding in the Day, and drive them into Cowɲs at night. This secures the Owners from any Loss, and the ɛrdsmen are paid by a small Contribution among the People. ɪese are very industrious, and subsist comfortably by their Laɯr. Though there is no regular Court of Justice, as they live Sobriety, they maintain great Order and Decency. In case any Differences, the Minister calls three or four of the most ɾudent Elders together, who in a summary Way hear and deɾrmine as they think just, and the Parties always acquiesce ith Content in their Judgment. They are very regular in their ıblic Worship, which is on Week-Days in the Evening after ɛir Work; and in the Forenoon and Evening on Sundays. hey have built a large and convenient House for the Reception Orphans, and other poor Children, who are maintained by enefactions among the People, are well taken Care of and ught to work according as their Age and Ability will permit. he Number computed by Mr. *Bolzius* in *June*, 1738, whereof s Congregation consisted, was one hundred forty-six, and some ɔre have since been settled among them. They are all in genal so well pleased with their condition, that not one of their ɔople has abandoned the Settlement."

General Oglethorpe received a letter, dated Ebenezer, March , 1739, signed by forty-nine men of the Salzburgers and veri- d by their ministers, in which they assured him that they were ıll settled, and pleased with the climate and condition of the untry; that although the season was hotter than that of their tive land, having become accustomed to it, they found it tolerle and convenient for working people; and that their custom ıs to commence their out-door labor early in the morning and ntinue it until ten o'clock, resuming it again from three in the ɛrnoon until sunset. During the heated term of midday, matɾs within their houses engaged their attention. The general ıs also informed that they had practically demonstrated the falɣ of the tale, told them on their arrival, that rice could be culɾated only by negroes. "We laugh at such a Talking," — so

ɾer. Here are some Tracts of Fruitful nd, tho' the greatest Part of that adɹing to the Town, is Pine-barren. The ts, 60 in number, are neatly and regɾly built; the little Piece of Ground ɴted to each for a Garden, is everyɛre put to the best Use, no spot being left unplanted. Nay, even one of the main Streets, being one more than was as yet wanted, bore them this year a crop of *Indian Corn*." — *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, etc., p. 60. Bristol, n. d.

they wrote, — "seeing that several People of us have had, in la[illegible] Harvest, a greater Crop of Rice than they wanted for their ow[illegible] Consumption. Of Corn, Pease, Potatoes, Pumpkins, Cabba[illegible] &c., we had such a good Quantity that many bushels are so[illegible] and much was spent in feeding Cows, Calves and Hogs." The letter concludes with an earnest petition that negroes should be excluded from their town and neighborhood, alleging as a reason that their houses and gardens would be robbed by them, and that, "besides other great inconveniences, white people were in danger of life from them." [1]

Of humble origin, primitive in their habits, accustomed to labor, free from covetousness and ambition, temperate, industrious, frugal, and orderly, solicitous for the education of their children and the maintenance of the needy and the orphan, meddling not in the affairs of their neighbors, acknowledging allegiance to the trustees and the king of England, maintaining direct connection with the parent church in Germany, and submitting without question to the decisions of their ministers and elders in all matters, whether of a civil or ecclesiastical nature, engaging in no pursuits save of an agricultural or a mechanical character, and little given either to excitement or wandering, these Salzburgers for years preserved the integrity of their community and their religion, and secured for themselves a comfortable existence. As early as 1738 the Salzburgers at Ebenezer made some limited experiment in growing cotton and were much encouraged, the yield being abundant and of an excellent quality. The trustees, however, having fixed their hopes upon silk and wine, the cultivation of that plant was not countenanced.[2]

It was estimated by Mr. Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the trustees, that up to the year 1741 not less than twelve hundred German Protestants had arrived in the colony. Their principal settlements were at New Ebenezer, Bethany, Savannah, Frederica, Goshen, and along the road leading from Savannah to Ebenezer. They were all characterized by industry, sobriety, and thrift.

[1] *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, pp. 69, 72. London. 1741. Compare *A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath*, etc., pp. 5, 29, 30, 32. London. 1742. *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., pp. 66, 69. London. 1741.

[2] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 199. Savannah. 1811.

CHAPTER XV.

ANECDOTE OF TOMO-CHI-CHI. — OGLETHORPE ACCOMMODATES DISPUTES BETWEEN THE INDIANS AND CERTAIN TRESPASSERS FROM CAROLINA. — AUGUSTA LOCATED AND SETTLED. — FRANCIS MOORE'S DESCRIPTION OF SAVANNAH. — OGLETHORPE PROCEEDS TO ST. SIMON'S ISLAND AND DESIGNATES A PLAN FOR FREDERICA. — HE VISITS NEW INVERNESS, AND THEN, RETURNING TO TYBEE ROADS, CONDUCTS THE NEWLY ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS TO ST. SIMON'S ISLAND. — DESCRIPTION OF FREDERICA, FORTS ST. ANDREW, ST. SIMON, AND GEORGE. — OGLETHORPE ASCERTAINS THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN GEORGIA AND FLORIDA. — INDIAN DANCE.

RETURNING from our visit to the Salzburgers, during which we have traced the development of the German settlements beyond the stage of colonization claiming present notice, we find Mr. Oglethorpe in Savannah engaged in arranging for his contemplated departure to St. Simon's Island. Fifty rangers, one hundred workmen, and Captain McPherson and his company have been ordered overland to Darien that they might support the Highlanders on the Alatamaha, and assist in founding the town of Frederica. The road leading from Savannah to the Alatamaha River is being definitely located. A deputation from Purrysburgh, consisting of the honorable Hector Berenger de Beaufain, M. Tisley Dechillon, a patrician of Berne, and several other Swiss gentlemen, waits upon Mr. Oglethorpe to congratulate him on his return, and to acquaint him with the condition of their settlement. A military review is had, and before the parade is dismissed Mr. Oglethorpe addresses the assembled multitude in an animated speech full of commendation, sage counsels, and good wishes.

On the 12th of February he returned to the ships which were still riding at anchor in Tybee Roads. While there, on board the Symond, he received a formal visit from Tomo-chi-chi, Scenauki his wife, Toonahowi his nephew, and several attendants. They expressed their joy at his return, and offered presents of venison and other refreshments. When introduced to the missionaries, the old mico remarked to Mr. John Wesley, "I am glad you are come. When I was in England I desired that some would speak

the *great word* to me. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation, and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians: we would be taught before we are baptized." Scenauki then presented the missionaries with two large jars, one containing honey and the other milk, and invited them to come to Yamacraw and instruct the Indian children, saying that the milk and honey represented their kindly inclinations.

Tomo-chi-chi informed Mr. Oglethorpe that he had been for two months anxiously awaiting his coming, and that, during this time, he had retained two Indian runners in order that the intelligence of his arrival might be communicated at the earliest moment to the Lower and Upper Creeks. Those runners had been dispatched to convey the tidings. He further advised him that he had a party of his warriors at Darien assisting the Highlanders in building their town. He also told him of a complaint made by the Uchees that, contrary to the terms of the existing treaty, cattle had been brought into their territory; and that, in opposition to their wishes, planters from Carolina, with their negroes, had formed settlements within their reserved limits. Orders were thereupon issued by Mr. Oglethorpe directing Captain Æneas McIntosh to notify these trespassers to withdraw their cattle and negroes within three days. If within the designated period they were not sent away, they were then to be arrested, brought to Savannah, and turned over to the magistrates, by whom proceedings for their punishment would be forthwith instituted. At the same time he forwarded to Savannah Town, a copy of the act entitled "An Act for maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of Georgia," prepared by the honorable the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, and approved by his majesty George II. in council on the 3d of April, 1735, with directions to acquaint every Indian trader with its provisions, and to enjoin upon all strict compliance with its requirements. This prompt action on the part of Oglethorpe illustrates alike his decision of character, the sedulity with which he guarded the rights of the Indians and maintained the good faith which should be observed between them and the colonists, and the confidence he reposed in the veracity of Tomo-chi-chi.

As illustrating another trait in the character of the founder of the colony of Georgia, — which may be properly designated his delicate appreciation of honor and propriety, — we mention this

circumstance. Mr. Spangenberg, the Moravian minister, and a great friend of the Wesleys, wishing to ingratiate himself with Oglethorpe and render a service to the colony, informed him that several Germans, over whom he wielded influence, had gone to Pennsylvania. He offered to journey thither and bring them to Georgia that they might increase and strengthen the province. To this suggestion Oglethorpe responded that he would not be instrumental in enticing any one from another colony, but that if Mr. Penn consented to their coming he would receive them.[1]

Although his thoughts had been for some time largely occupied in maturing plans and accumulating stores for the population and protection of the southern frontier of Georgia, Mr. Oglethorpe did not neglect the establishment and maintenance of necessary posts in other quarters. In 1735 the town of Augusta[2] was marked out, and the next year a garrison was detailed for its defense. Warehouses were built and furnished with goods suitable for the Indian trade. Boats, each capable of conveying about ten thousand weight of peltry, soon navigated the Savannah River, conducting lucrative commerce with Charlestown and Savannah. This point became a general resort in the spring of the year for Indian traders. Here they annually purchased from the Indians some two thousand pack-horse loads of skins and other articles offered by the natives in the way of barter. Including residents of the town, pack-horse men, boat-hands, and servants, it is estimated that at an early date not less than six hundred white persons were here engaged in commerce.

[1] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 38. London. 1744.

[2] As early as 1716 *Savannah Town*, better known as *Fort Moore*, had been located on the left bank of the Savannah River, not a great distance below the site occupied by the more modern village of Hamburg. Its establishment was suggested by the Carolina authorities to facilitate the trade with the Upper Creeks and the Cherokees. To this point goods were transported from Charlestown both by land and water. The first agent in charge of the storehouse at Savannah Town was Captain Theophilus Hastings. He was assisted by John Sharp and Samuel Mackleroy. This settlement received its name from the Sawannos or Savannahs, a native tribe dwelling upon the banks of the river. So rapidly did the traffic with the aborigines increase that before the close of 1716 Hastings applied for three additional assistants to aid him in its conduct. At Savannah Town a laced hat readily commanded eight buck-skins; a calico petticoat could not be purchased for less than twelve; and so great was the demand for salt, gunpowder, kettles, rum, looking-glasses, and other articles of European manufacture that the traders were allowed by the commissioners to exact as much as the savages could be persuaded to give in exchange for them.

Upon the settlement of Augusta and the opening of stores at that point, Savannah Town lost its vantage ground as a trading post, and soon fell into decay. Its fort, however, was long garrisoned by the Carolinians, and maintained as a valuable outpost.

Multitudes of Indians flocked hither at certain seasons. So advantageous was its situation for traffic with the savage nations that the town soon became a mart for Indian trade superior to any other within the limits of either South Carolina or Georgia. A road capable of being traveled on horseback was opened to Savannah.[1] O'Bryan began the settlement of the town of Augusta at his own expense, and there erected a well-furnished storehouse. As a reward for his energy and enterprise Oglethorpe, on the 8th of March, 1739, recommended the trustees "to sign in his favor a grant of five hundred acres of land." Roger de Lacey, a noted Indian trader, was another of the early settlers of Augusta, and the garrison there supported by the trustees was for some time commanded by Captain Kent.[2] Before the name of the royal princess was here perpetuated, a trading post, in contravention of treaty stipulations, had been established on the right bank of the Savannah, hard by the junction of what is now known as Rae's Creek with that river.

Before departing with Mr. Oglethorpe for Frederica, let us, in company with Mr. Francis Moore, view the attractions of the metropolis of the province, and note the development which has occurred during the past three years: —

"Savannah is about a mile and a quarter in Circumference; it stands upon the flat of a Hill; the Bank of the River (which they in barbarous *English* call a Bluff) is steep, and about 45 Foot perpendicular, so that all heavy Goods are brought up by a Crane, an Inconvenience designed to be remedied by a bridged Wharf, and an easy Ascent, which in laying out the Town, care was taken to allow room for, there being a very wide Strand between the first Row of Houses and the River. From this Strand there is a very pleasant Prospect; you see the River wash the Foot of the Hill which is a hard, clear, sandy Beach a mile in Length; the Water is fresh, and the River 1000 Foot wide. Eastward you see the River increased by the Northern Branch which runs round *Hutchinson's Island*, and the *Carolina* Shore beyond it, and the *Woody Islands* at the Sea, which close the Prospect at 10 or 12 Miles Distance. Over against it is *Hutchinson's Island*, great part of which is open Ground, where they mow Hay for the Trust's Horses and Cattle. The rest is Woods,

[1] *Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*, etc., p. 22. London. MDCCXLI. *A State of the Province of Georgia, attested upon Oath*, etc., p. 6. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 50. Savannah. 1811.

[2] Compare Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 137. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

in which there are many Bay-trees 80 Foot high. Westward you see the River winding between the Woods, with little Islands in it for many Miles, and *Toma-chi-chi's Indian* Town standing upon the Southern Banks, between 3 and 4 Miles distance.

"The town of *Savannah* is built of Wood; all the Houses of the first 40 Freeholders are of the same Size with that Mr. *Oglethorpe* lives in, but there are great Numbers built since, I believe 100 or 150, many of these are much larger, some of 2 or 3 Stories high, the Boards plained and painted. The Houses stand on large Lotts, 60 Foot in Front, by 90 Foot in Depth; each Lott has a fore and back Street to it; the Lotts are fenced in with split Pales; some few People have Pallisades of turned Wood before their Doors, but the Generality have been wise enough not to throw away their Money which, in this Country, laid out in Husbandry, is capable of great Improvements, though there are several People of good Substance in the Town who came at their own Expence, and also, several of those who came over on the Charity, are in a very thriving way; but this is observed that the most substantial People are the most frugal, and make the least Shew, and live at the least Expence. There are some also who have made but little or bad Use of the Benefits they received, idling away their Times, whilst they had their Provisions from the publick Store, or else working for Hire, earning from 2 Shillings, the Price of a Labourer, to 4 or 5 Shillings, the Price of a Carpenter, *per diem*, and spending that Money in Rum and good Living, thereby neglecting to improve their Lands, so that when their Time of receiving their Provisions from the Publick ceased, they were in no Forwardness to maintain themselves out of their own Lands. As they chose to be Hirelings when they might have improved for themselves, the Consequence of that Folly forces them now to work for their daily Bread. These are generally discontented with the Country; and if they have run themselves in Debt, their Creditors will not let them go away till they have paid. Considering the Number of People there are but very few of these. The Industrious ones have throve beyond Expectation; most of them that have been there three Years, and many others, have Houses in the Town, which those that Let have, for the worst, 10£ *per annum*, and the best let for 30£.

"Those who have cleared their 5 Acre Lotts have made a very great Profit out of them by Greens, Roots, and Corn. Several have improv'd the Cattle they had at first, and have now 5 or 6 tame Cows; others, who to save the Trouble of Feeding them,

let them go into the Woods, can rarely find them, and when the are brought up, one of them will not give half the Quantity o Milk which another Cow fed near Home will give.

"Their Houses are built at a pretty large Distance from on another for fear of Fire; the Streets are very wide, and there ar great Squares left at proper Distances for Markets and other Co veniences. Near the Riverside there is a Guard-house inclose with Palisades a Foot thick, where there are 19 or 20 Cannor mounted, and a continual Guard kept by the Free-holders. Th Town is governed by 3 Bailiffs, and has a Recorder, Register, an a Town Court which is holden every six weeks, where all Matte Civil and Criminal are decided by grand and petty Juries as i *England;* but there are no Lawyers allowed to plead for Hir nor no Attornies to take Money, but (as in old times in *England* every man pleads his own Cause. In case it should be an Or phan, or one that cannot speak for themselves, there are Person of the best Substance in the Town appointed by the Trustees t take care of the Orphans, and to defend the Helpless, and tha without Fee or Reward, it being a Service that each that is capa ble must perform in his turn.

"They have some Laws and Customs peculiar to Georgia; on is that all Brandies and distilled Liquors are prohibited unde severe Penalties; another is that no Slavery is allowed, nor Ne groes; a Third, that all Persons who go among the *Indians* mus give Security for their good Behaviour; because the *Indians*, i any Injury is done to them and they cannot kill the man wh does it, expect Satisfaction from the Government, which, if no procured, they break out into War by killing the first white Ma they conveniently can.

"No Victualler or Ale-house Keeper can give any Credit, a consequently cannot recover any Debt.

"The Free-holds are all entailed which has been very fortunat for the Place. If People could have sold, the greatest part, befor they knew the Value of their Lotts, would have parted with then for a trifling Condition, and there were not wanting rich Me who employed Agents to Monopolize the whole Town: And i they had got Numbers of Lotts into their own Hands, the othe Free-holders would have had no Benefit by letting their Houses and hardly of Trade, since the Rich, by means of a large Capital would underlet and undersell, and the Town must have been al most without Inhabitants as *Port Royal* in *Carolina* is, by th best Lotts being got into a few Hands.

"The mentioning the *Laws* and *Customs* leads me to take notice that *Georgia* is founded upon Maxims different from those on which other Colonies have been begun. The Intention of that Colony was an *Asylum* to receive the distressed. This was the charitable Design, and the governmental View besides that was with Numbers of free white People, well settled, to strengthen the southern Part of the *English* Settlements on the Continent of *America*, of which this is the Frontier. It is necessary therefore not to permit Slaves in such a Country, for Slaves starve the poor Labourer. For, if the Gentleman can have his Work done by a Slave who is a Carpenter or a Bricklayer, the Carpenters, or Bricklayers of that country must starve for want of Employment, and so of other Trades.

"In order to maintain many People it was proper that the Land should be divided into small Portions, and to prevent the uniting them by Marriage or Purchase. For every Time that two Lotts are united, the Town loses a Family, and the Inconvenience of this shews itself at *Savannah*, notwithstanding the Care of the Trustees to prevent it. They suffered the Moiety of the Lotts to descend to the Widows during their Lives: Those who remarried to Men who had Lotts of their own, by uniting two Lotts made one to be neglected; for the strength of Hands who could take care of one, was not sufficient to look to and improve two. These uncleared Lotts are a Nusance to their neighbours. The Trees which grow upon them shade the Lotts, the Beasts take shelter in them, and for want of clearing the Brooks which pass thro' them, the Lands above are often prejudiced by Floods. To prevent all these Inconveniences the first Regulation of the Trustees was a strict *Agrarian* Law, by which all the Lands near Towns should be divided, 50 Acres to each Free-holder. The Quantity of Land by Experience seems rather too much, since it is impossible that one poor Family can tend so much Land. If this Alottment is too much, how much more inconvenient would the uniting of two be? To prevent it, the Trustees grant the Lands in Tail Male, that on the expiring of a Male-Line they may regrant it to such Man, having no other Lott, as shall be married to the next Female Heir of the Deceased, as is of good Character. This manner of Dividing prevents also the Sale of Lands, and the Rich thereby monopolizing the Country.

"Each Freeholder has a Lott in Town 60 Foot by 90 Foot, besides which he has a Lott, beyond the Common, of 5 Acres for a Garden. Every ten Houses make a Tything, and to every Tyth-

ing there is a Mile Square, which is divided into 12 Lotts, besides Roads; Each Free-holder of the Tything has a Lott or Farm of 45 Acres there, and two Lotts are reserved by the Trustees in order to defray the Charge of the Publick. The Town is laid out for two hundred and forty Freeholds; the Quantity of Lands necessary for that Number is 24 Square Miles; every 40 Houses in Town make a Ward to which 4 Square Miles in the Country belong; each Ward has a Constable, and under him 4 Tything Men. Where the Town-Lands end, the Villages begin; four Villages make a Ward without, which depends upon one of the Wards within the Town. The Use of this is, in case a War should happen that the Villages without may have Places in the Town, to bring their Cattle and Families into for Refuge, and to that Purpose there is a Square left in every Ward big enough for the Out-Wards to encamp in. There is Ground also kept round about the Town ungranted, in order for the Fortifications whenever Occasion shall require. Beyond the Villages commence Lotts of 500 Acres; these are granted upon Terms of keeping 10 Servants, &c. Several Gentlemen who have settled on such Grants have succeeded very well, and have been of great Service to the Colony. Above the Town is a Parcel of Land called *Indian Lands;* these are those reserved by King Tomachichi for his People. There is near the Town to the East, a Garden belonging to the Trustees, consisting of 10 Acres; the situation is delightful, one half of it is upon the Top of a Hill, the Foot of which the River *Savannah* washes, and from it you see the *Woody Islands* in the Sea. The Remainder of the Garden is the Side and some plain low Ground at the Foot of the Hill where several fine Springs break out. In the Garden is variety of Soils; the Top is sandy and dry, the Sides of the Hill are Clay, and the Bottom is a black rich Garden Mould, well watered. On the North-part of the Garden is left standing a Grove of Part of the old Wood as it was before the arrival of the Colony there. The Trees in the Grove are mostly Bay, Sassafras, Evergreen Oak, Pellitory, Hickary, *American* Ash, and the Laurel Tulip.[1] This last is looked upon as one of the most beautiful Trees in the World; it grows straight-bodied to 40 or 50 Foot high; the Bark smooth and whitish, the Top spreads regular like an Orange-tree in *English* Gardens, only larger; the Leaf is like that of a common Laurel, but bigger, and the under-side of a greenish Brown: It blooms about the Month of *June;* the Flowers are

[1] *Magnolia grandiflora*, the queen of the Southern forests.

white, fragrant like the Orange, and perfume all the Air around it; the Flower is round, 8 or 10 Inches diameter, thick like the Orange-Flower, and a little yellow near the Heart: As the Flowers drop, the Fruit, which is a Cone with red Berries, succeeds them. There are also some Bay-trees that have Flowers like the Laurel, only less.

"The Garden is laid out with Cross-walks planted with Orange-trees, but the last Winter a good deal of Snow having fallen, had killed those upon the Top of the Hill down to their Roots, but they being cut down, sprouted again, as I saw when I returned to *Savannah*. In the Squares between the Walks were vast Quantities of Mulberry-trees, this being a Nursery for all the Province, and every Planter that desires it, has young Trees given him *gratis* from this Nursery. These white Mulberry-trees were planted in order to raise Silk, for which Purpose several *Italians* were brought, at the Trustees' Expence, from *Piedmont* by M^r^ *Amatis;* they have fed Worms and wound Silk to as great Perfection as any that ever came out of *Italy;* but the *Italians* falling out, one of them stole away the Machines for winding, broke the Coppers, and spoiled all the Eggs which he could not steal and fled to *South Carolina*. The others, who continued faithful, had saved but a few Eggs, when M^r^ Oglethorpe arrived, therefore he forbade any Silk should be wound, but that all the Worms should be suffered to eat through their Balls in order to have more Eggs against next Year. The Italian Women are obliged to take *English* Girls Apprentices, whom they teach to wind and feed; and the Men have taught our *English* Gardeners to tend the Mulberry-trees, and our Joyners have learned how to make the Machines for winding. As the Mulberry-trees increase, there will be a great Quantity of Silk made here.

"Beside the Mulberry-trees there are in some of the Quarters in the coldest part of the Garden, all kinds of Fruit-trees usual in *England* such as Apples, Pears, &c. In another Quarter are Olives, Figs, Vines, Pomegranates and such Fruits as are natural to the warmest Parts of *Europe*. At the bottom of the Hill, well-sheltered from the North-wind, and in the warmest part of the Garden, there was a Collection of *West-India* Plants and Trees, some Coffee, some Cocoa-Nuts, Cotton, Palma-Christi, and several *West Indian* physical Plants, some sent up by M^r^ *Eveliegh* a public-spirited Merchant at Charles-Town, and some by D^r^ Houstoun from the Spanish West Indies, where he was sent at the Ex-

pence of a Collection raised by that curious Physician, Sir Hans Sloan, for to collect and send them to *Georgia* where the Climate was capable of making a Garden which might contain all kinds of Plants; to which Design his Grace the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Peters*, and the Apothecary's Company contributed very generously, as did Sir *Hans* himself.[1] The Quarrels among the *Italians* proved fatal to most of these Plants, and they were labouring to repair that loss when I was there, Mr. *Miller* being employ'd in the room of D^r^ *Houstoun* who died in *Jamaica*. We heard he had wrote an Account of his having obtain'd the Plant from whence the true *Balsamum Capivi* is drawn; and that he was in hopes of getting that from whence the *Jesuit's Bark* is taken, he designing for that Purpose to send to the *Spanish West Indies*.

"There is a plant of Bamboo Cane brought from the East Indies, and sent over by Mr. *Towers*, which thrives well. There was also some Tea seeds which came from the same Place; but the latter, though great Care was taken, did not grow.

"There were no publick Buildings in the Town, besides a Storehouse; for the Courts were held in a Hut 36 Foot long and 12 Foot wide, made of split Boards, and erected on M^r^ *Oglethorpe's* first Arrival in the Colony. In this Hut also Divine Service was perform'd; but upon his Arrival this time, M^r^ *Oglethorpe* order'd a House to be erected in the Upper Square, which might serve for a Court House and for Divine Service till a Church could be built, and a Work-house over against it; for as yet there was no Prison here."[2]

Having perfected his arrangements to promote the best interests of that portion of the colony located upon and near the Savannah River, having ordered Mr. Walter Augustine and Mr. Tolme[3] to complete the survey of the country lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers with a view to the location and construction of a highway connecting the towns of Savannah and Darien, having "raised fifty Rangers and one hundred workmen" to assist in his contemplated labors on St. Simon's Island, and having sent Captain McPherson "with a Parcel of his Ran-

[1] On the 20th of February, 1734, the death of William Houstoun was reported to the trustees, whereupon, on the recommendation of Sir Hans Sloane, Robert Millar was appointed to succeed him as Botanist to the Colony of Georgia, at a salary of £150 per annum.

[2] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, pp. 23–33. London. 1744.

[3] Mr. Hugh Mackay, Junior, with ten rangers was detailed as an escort, and two pack-horses carried the provisions. Tomochi-chi furnished some Indian guides.

gers" overland to support the Highlanders[1] on the Alatamaha, Mr. Oglethorpe, on the 12th of February, 1736, returned to the Symond and the London Merchant, lying at anchor in Tybee Roads.

Finding their captains unwilling to risk their ships without having previously acquired a knowledge of the entrance into Jekyll Sound, he bought the cargo of the sloop Midnight, which had just arrived, on condition that it should be at once delivered at Frederica, and with the understanding that Captains Cornish and Thomas should go on board of her, acquaint themselves with the coast and entrance, and then return and conduct their vessels to that place. During their absence these ships, — the Symond and the London Merchant, — their cargoes still on board, were to remain at anchor at Tybee Roads, in charge of Francis Moore, keeper of the stores. Mr. Horton and Mr. Tanner, with thirty single men of the colony, and cannon, arms, ammunition, and intrenching tools, were ordered to proceed to the southward in the sloop Midnight. The workmen who had been engaged at Savannah and Tomo-chi-chi's Indians were directed to rendezvous at convenient points whence they might be transported as occasion required. The sloop sailed for St. Simon's Island on the morning of the 16th, and in the evening of the same day Mr. Oglethorpe set out in the scout-boat[2] to meet that vessel at Jekyll Sound.

Captain Hermsdorf, two of the colonists, some Indians, and Captain Dunbar with his boat accompanied him. Passing through channels, separating the islands from the main, varying in width from two hundred yards to more than a mile, the voyagers now

[1] These Highlanders, under the command of Captain Hugh Mackay, were then posted on the Alatamaha River, within one mile and a half of the point where Fort *King George* formerly stood, and where his majesty's Independent Company had been stationed for several years. The want of supplies and the lack of facile communication with *Carolina* had obliged that troop to abandon its camp and destroy the fort. Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 34. London. 1744.

[2] Of one of these scout-boats Mr. Francis Moore furnishes the following description: "This was a strong-built, swift Boat, with three swivel Guns and ten Oars, kept for the visiting the River-Passages and Islands, and for preventing the Incursions of Enemies, or Runaways, from whence it is called Scout-boat. The Crew is composed of Men bred in *America*, bold and hardy, who lie out in the Woods, and upon the Water, Months together, without a House or Covering. Most of them are good Hunters or Fishers. By Killing Deer and other Game they can subsist themselves in case their Provisions should fail; but indeed, on these Sea Islands no one can starve, since, if at the worst a Man was lost, there are Oysters and Shell-fish enough to subsist him."— *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 20. London. 1744.

skirted along bluffs clothed with pines, cedars, live-oaks, and vines even to the water's edge, all mirrored in the placid surface of the sea-green estuaries, and again pursued their southward course across bold sounds and through creeks permeating low-lying and wide-extended marshes. Rowing between Wilmington Island and the main, Mr. Oglethorpe paused to inspect the settlement of Mr. Lacy. He and five gentlemen had there located their five hundred acre grants, and built their houses near together for mutual protection. These they had palisaded and defended with cannon. Masters and servants composed the garrison, and a guard was mounted every night. Above one hundred acres of land had been cleared in the vicinity of the fort. "Milk, cattle, hogs, garden-stuff and poultry" abounded. This fort commanded the water passage between the islands to Savannah. Mr. Lacy had here experimented in making potash, but finding its production unprofitable he was then sawing timber for the Sugar Islands, and splitting staves for Madeira. At the "Northward-most point" of Skidoway Island the party again stopped and visited the village, guard-house, and battery of cannon there situated. The free-holders of the island performed guard-duty at the battery, and about thirty acres of rich land in the neighborhood had been cleared and cultivated. Leaving Skidoway on the left, and the mouths of Vernon and Ogeechee rivers on the right, and conducted by the master, Captain Ferguson, who was "perfectly acquainted with all the water passages and in the darkest night never missed the way" although there were so many channels as "to make a perfect labyrinth," the scout-boat and her consort pressed forward toward their destination. "Mr. Oglethorpe being in haste," says one of the party, "the men rowed night and day and had no other rest than what they got when a snatch of wind favoured us. They were all very willing, though we met with very boisterous weather. The men vied with each other who should be forwardest to please Mr. Oglethorpe. Indeed, he lightened their fatigue by giving them refreshments which he rather spared from himself than let them want. The Indians, seeing the men hard laboured, desired to take the oars, and rowed as well as any I ever saw, only differing from the others by taking a short and long stroke alternately, which they call the Yamassee stroke."

On the morning of the 18th the island of St. Simon was reached. The sloop Midnight had come in ahead of, and was waiting for, Mr. Oglethorpe. He immediately set all hands to

work. The tall grass growing upon the bluff at Frederica was burnt off, a booth was marked out "to hold the stores, — digging the ground three Foot deep, and throwing up the Earth on each Side by way of Bank, — and a Roof raised upon Crutches with Ridge-pole and Rafters, nailing small Poles across, and thatching the whole with Palmetto-Leaves. Mr. Oglethorpe afterwards laid out several Booths without digging under Ground, which were also covered with Palmetto-Leaves, to lodge the Families of the Colony in when they should come up; each of these Booths was between thirty and forty Foot long, and upwards of twenty Foot wide. . . . We all made merry that Evening, having a plentiful Meal of Game brought in by the Indians.

"On the 19th, in the Morning, Mr. Oglethorpe began to mark out a Fort with four Bastions, and taught the Men how to dig the Ditch, and raise and turf the Rampart. This Day and the following Day were spent in finishing the Houses, and tracing out the Fort."[1]

Such was the simple beginning of Frederica.[2] Near this town Mr. Oglethorpe fixed the only home he ever owned in the province. In its defense were enlisted his best energies, military skill, and valor. Brave are the memories of St. Simon's Island. None prouder belong to the colonial history of Georgia.

Three days afterwards arrived from Savannah a periagua with workmen, provisions, and cannon, for the new settlement. Captains Cornish and Thomas returned from the southward to Tybee Roads on the 26th and, although persuaded of the fact that there was ample water for the conveyance of their vessels to Frederica, still refused to conduct the Symond and the London Merchant to the southward. Mr. Oglethorpe was compelled, against his will, to order that their cargoes should be unloaded into the Peter and James, which could not carry above one hundred tons, and that the remainder be transferred in sloops to Savannah for safe storage until opportunity offered for conveying it to its original destination. He was also forced to the great inconvenience and expense of collecting periaguas[3] sufficient for the transportation of the colonists from Tybee Roads to St. Simon's Island.

These preliminary labors having been inaugurated at Frederica,

[1] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, etc., p. 44. London. 1744.

[2] Named by Oglethorpe and the trustees after *Frederick*, Prince of Wales.

[3] "Long, flat-bottomed boats carrying from 20 to 35 tons. They have a Kind of a Forecastle and a Cabbin: but the rest open, and no Deck. They have two Masts which they can strike, and Sails like Schooners. They row generally with two Oars only." — Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 49. London. 1744.

Mr. Oglethorpe set out on his return to the mouth of the Savannah to superintend the transfer of passengers and stores. Deflecting from his direct course that he might see the Highlanders at Darien, so soon as his boat came in sight he was saluted by all the men "under arms." These Highlanders were not a little rejoiced to welcome Mr. Oglethorpe, to learn that a town was to be settled so near them, and to be assured that direct communication by land would soon be established between that point and Savannah. Although invited by Captain Hugh Mackay, the commander of the settlement, "to lie in his Tent where there was a Bed and Sheets (a Rarity as yet in this Part of the World) Mr. Oglethorpe excused himself, chusing to lie at the Guard Fire, wrapt in his Plad, for he wore the *Highland* Habit. Capt. MacKay and the other Gentlemen did the same, tho' the Night was cold." With the condition of affairs at New Inverness he was well pleased, and congratulated the Scotchmen upon their industry, progress, and soldierly appearance.

Arrived again in Tybee Roads, Mr. Oglethorpe assembled the colonists and stated to them that he found it impossible to prevail upon the captains of the Symond and the London Merchant to go to St. Simon's Island with their ships, passengers, and cargoes. He also acquainted them with the difficulties and hardships which must be endured in making the passage thither in open boats, and offered to suffer them, if they so desired, to settle at Savannah and upon the adjacent territory. Two hours' time was granted them for consideration, and for consultation with their families. At the expiration of this period the freeholders came together again and, in a manly way, assured him that they were resolved not to leave one another, but to carry out the original intention of building the new town of Frederica. They further declared themselves ready to undertake the inland passage. With this brave conclusion Mr. Oglethorpe was highly gratified.

Much incensed at the reprehensible behavior of the captains of the transports, and inconvenienced by the demurrage consequent upon their timidity, he was also indignant at the delay thus caused in the consummation of his plans, annoyed at the additional charges for transfer of passengers and cargo, and solicitous for the health of the colonists who would be exposed in open boats, at an inclement season, during the passage from Tybee Roads to Jekyll Sound.

It was not until the 2d of March that the fleet of periaguas

and boats, with the families of the colonists on board, set out from the mouth of the Savannah River. Spare oars had been rigged for each boat. With their assistance, the men of the colony rowing with a will, the voyage to Frederica was accomplished in five days. Mr. Oglethorpe accompanied them in his scout-boat, keeping the fleet together, and taking the hindermost craft in tow. As an incentive to unity of movement, he placed all the strong beer on board a fast boat. The rest labored diligently to keep up; for, if they were not all at the place of rendezvous each night, the tardy crew lost its ration. Frederica was reached on the 8th, and there was general joy among the colonists.

So diligently did they labor in building the town and its fortifications that by the 23d of the month a battery of cannon, commanding the river, had been mounted, and the fort was almost finished. Its ditches had been dug, although not to the required depth or width, and a rampart raised and covered with sod. A storehouse, having a front of sixty feet, and intended to be three stories in height, was completed as to its cellar and first story. The necessary streets were all laid out. "The Main Street that went from the Front into the Country was 25 yards wide. Each Free-holder had 60 Foot in Front by 90 Foot in Depth, upon the high Street, for their House and Garden; but those which fronted the River had but 30 Foot in Front, by 60 Foot in Depth. Each Family had a Bower of Palmetto Leaves, finished upon the back Street in their own Lands: The Side towards the front Street was set out for their Houses: These Palmetto Bowers were very convenient Shelters, being tight in the hardest Rains; they were about 20 Foot long and 14 Foot wide, and, in regular Rows, looked very pretty, the Palmetto Leaves lying smooth and handsome, and of a good Colour. The whole appeared something like a Camp; for the Bowers looked liked Tents, only being larger and covered with Palmetto Leaves instead of Canvas. There were 3 large Tents, two belonging to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and one to Mr. *Horton*, pitched upon the Parade near the River."

Such is the description of the town in its infancy as furnished by Mr. Moore, whose "Voyage to Georgia" is one of the most interesting and valuable tracts we have descriptive of the colonization.

That there might be no confusion in their constructive labors, Mr. Oglethorpe divided the colonists into working parties. To

some was assigned the duty of cutting forks, poles, and laths for building the bowers. Others set them up. Others still gathered palmetto leaves, while "a fourth gang," under the superintendence of a Jew workman, bred in Brazil and skilled in the matter, thatched the roofs "nimbly and in a neat manner."

Men accustomed to the agriculture of the region instructed the colonists in hoeing and preparing the soil. Potatoes, Indian corn, flax, hemp-seed, barley, turnips, lucern-grass, pumpkins, and water-melons were planted. The labor was common and enured to the benefit of the entire community. As it was rather too late in the season to till the ground fully and get in such a crop as would promise a yield sufficient to subsist the settlement for the coming year, many of the men were put upon pay and set to work upon the fortifications and the public buildings.

Mr. Hugh Mackay, about this time, arrived in Frederica, and reported that, with the assistance of Messrs. Augustine and Tolme and the guides furnished by Tomo-chi-chi, he had surveyed and located a road, practicable for horses, between Savannah and Darien. This information was very gratifying to the colonists on St. Simon's Island, assuring them that their situation was not so isolated as they at first supposed.

Frederica was located in the midst of an Indian field[1] containing between thirty and forty acres of cleared land. The grass yielded an excellent turf which was freely used in sodding the parapet of the fort. The bluff upon which it stood rose about ten feet above high-water mark, was dry and sandy, and exhibited a level expanse of about a mile into the interior of the island. The position of the fort was such that it fully com-

[1] The aborigines cleared considerable spaces on the Sea Islands along the Georgia coast, planting them with maize, pumpkins, gourds, beans, melons, etc. These indications of early agriculture were not infrequent in various portions of Georgia. The richest localities were selected by the aborigines for cultivation; their principal towns and maize-fields being generally found in rich valleys where a generous soil yielded, with least labor, the most remunerative harvest. The trees were killed by girdling them by means of stone axes. So old were these Indian fields that in them no traces appeared of the roots and stumps even of the most durable trees. The occupancy of these islands by the red race was general and of long duration. Prominent bluffs are to this day marked by their refuse heaps, composed chiefly of the shells of oysters, conchs, and clams, and the bones of the animals, reptiles, birds, and fishes upon which they subsisted, intermingled with sherds of pottery, broken articles, and relics of various sorts. Many localities are hoary with ancient shell-mounds, while sepulchral tumuli of earth are not infrequent. Besides the primitive population permanently domiciled on these islands, at certain seasons of the year large numbers of Indians from the main here congregated and spent much time in hunting and fishing.

manded the reaches in the river both above and below. With their situation the colonists were delighted. The harbor was land-locked,[1] having a depth of twenty-two feet of water at the bar, and capable of affording safe anchorage to a large number of ships of considerable burden. Surrounded by beautiful forests of live-oaks, water-oaks, laurel, bay, cedar, sweet-gum, sassafras, and pines, festooned with luxuriant vines, [among which those bearing the Fox-grape and the Muscadine were peculiarly pleasing to the colonists,] and abounding in deer, rabbits, raccoons, squirrels, wild-turkeys, turtle-doves, redbirds, mocking birds, and rice birds,[2] with wide extended marshes frequented by wild geese, ducks, herons, curlews, cranes, plovers, and marsh-hens, — the adjacent waters teeming with fishes, crabs, shrimps, and oysters, and the island fanned by southeast breezes prevailing with the regularity of the trade winds, — the strangers were charmed with their new home. Within their fort were enclosed and preserved several of those grand old live-oaks which for centuries had crowned the bluff, and whose shade was refreshing beyond any shelter the hand of man could devise. The town sprang into being as a military post. It was ordered and grew day by day under the immediate supervision of Oglethorpe. The soil of the island was fertile, and its health unquestioned. Lieutenant George Dunbar, on the 20th of January, 1739, made oath before Francis Moore, recorder of the town of Frederica, that since his arrival with the first detachment of Colonel Oglethorpe's regiment the preceding June, all the carpenters and many of the soldiers had been continuously occupied in building clap-board huts, carrying lumber and bricks, unloading vessels, [often working up to their necks in water,] in clearing the parade, burning wood and rubbish, making lime, and in other out-door exercises, — the hours of labor being from daylight until eleven or twelve M. and from two or three o'clock in the afternoon until dark. Despite these exposures, continues the affiant, "All the time the men kept so healthy that often no man in the camp ailed in the least, and one died except one man who came sick on board and never worked at all; nor did I hear that any of the men ever made the least a pretence for not working."[3]

Beyond question Frederica was the healthiest of all the early settlements in Georgia, and St. Simon's Island has always enjoyed

[1] *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Provinces of Georgia*, p. 40, 41. London. 1741.

[2] Buffalo and quail were found on the main.

[3] *State of the Provinces of Georgia at-*

an enviable reputation for salubrity. Until marred by the desolations of the late war, this island was a favorite summer resort, and the homes of its planters were the abodes of beauty, comfort, and refinement. A mean temperature of about fifty degrees in winter and not above eighty-two degrees in summer; gardens adorned with choice flowers, and orchards enriched with plums, peaches, nectarines, figs, melons, pomegranates, dates, oranges, and limes; forests rendered majestic by the live-oak, the pine, and the magnolia grandiflora, and redolent with the perfumes of the bay, the cedar, and the myrtle; the air fresh and buoyant with the southeast breezes and vocal with the notes of song-birds; the adjacent sea, sound, and inlets replete with fishes; the shell roads and broad beach affording every facility for driving and riding; the woods and fields abounding with game, and the culture and generous hospitality of the inhabitants, impressed all visitors with the delights of this favored spot. Sir Charles Lyell, among others, alludes with marked satisfaction to the pleasures he there experienced.

Among the reptiles which not only attracted the notice of, bu to a considerable degree, upon first acquaintance, disquieted, th early colonists, the alligators were the most noted. Listen to thi description furnished by an eye-witness[1] in 1736: "They are terrible to look at, stretching open an horrible large Mouth, big enough to swallow a Man, with Rows of dreadful large sharp Teeth, and Feet like Draggons armed with great Claws, and a long Tail which they throw about with great Strength, and which seems their best Weapon, for their Claws are feebly set on, and the Stiffness of their Necks hinders them from turning nimbly to bite." In order that the public mind might be disabused of the terror which pervaded it with respect to these reptiles, Mr. Oglethorpe, having wounded and caught one, had it brought to Savannah, and "made the boys bait it with sticks and finally pelt and beat it to death." The rattlesnakes, too, were objects of special dread.

Leaving his people occupied with the labors assigned to them at Frederica, Mr. Oglethorpe set out on the 18th of March[2] for the frontiers, "to see where his Majesty's Dominions and the

tested upon Oath, etc., p. 25. London. 1742. Compare Affidavits of Lieut. Raymond Demare, Hugh Mackay, and John Cuthbert, to same effect. *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, pp. 61, 63, 64. London. 1741.

[1] Francis Moore, *Voyage to Georgia*, etc., p. 57. London. 1744.

[2] Moore says April. See *A Voyage to Georgia*, p. 63. London. 1744.

paniards joyn."[1] He was accompanied by "Toma-Chi-Chi, ico, and a Body of Indians, who tho' but few, being not forty, ere all chosen Warriors and good Hunters." They were con-yed in two scout-boats, and the next day were joined by the riagua, commanded by Captain Hugh Mackay, with thirty ighlanders, ten men of the Independent Company, and in-enching tools and provisions on board. Upon the northwestern int of Cumberland Island,[2] washed by the bay on the one side d on the other by the channel running to the southward, Ogle-orpe marked out a fort, called it St. Andrew, and left Captain ackay with his command to build it, and some Indians to hunt d shoot for them while thus employed.

Proceeding on his voyage, Mr. Oglethorpe named the next rge island to the south Amelia,[3] — "it being a beautiful Island, d the Sea-shore cover'd with Myrtle, Peach-Trees, Orange-rees, and Vines in the wild Woods." Tomo-chi-chi conducted m to the mouth of the St. John's, pointed out the advanced st occupied by the Spanish guard, and indicated the dividing ne. It was with difficulty that the old chief and his followers uld be restrained from making a night attack on the Spaniards, on whom they thirsted to take revenge "for the killing of me Indians" during the mico's absence in England. Stopping Fort St. Andrew on his way back, Oglethorpe was surprised find the work in such a state of "forwardness, — the Ditch ing dug, and the Parapet raised with Wood and Earth on the and-side, and the small Wood clear'd fifty yards round the ort." This seemed the more extraordinary, adds Francis oore, because Mr. Mackay had no engineer, or any assistance ther than the directions which Mr. Oglethorpe gave. The round consisting of loose sand, it was a difficult matter to con-ruct the parapets: "therefore they used the same Method to pport it as Cæsar mentions in the Wars of *Gaul*, laying Trees nd Earth alternately, the Trees preventing the Sand from fall-ng, and the Sand the Wood from Fire."

[1] Oglethorpe's letter to the lieutenant overnor of South Carolina. *Collections f the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. . 28. Savannah. 1873.

[2] This island was named *Wisso* by the ndians, signifying *Sassafras*. It was alled Cumberland in honor of his royal ighness the Duke of Cumberland, at he suggestion of Toonahowi, nephew of Tomo-chi-chi, to whom, during his visit to England, the duke had given a gold repeating watch that he "might know how the time went." "We will remember him at all times," said Toonahowi, "and therefore will give this Island this name."

[3] Called by the Spaniards *Santa Maria*.

Upon their return to Frederica the Indians encamped nea
town, and, on the 26th, favored Mr. Oglethorpe and all the
ple with a war dance. "They made a Ring, in the midd
which four sat down, having little Drums made of Kettles
er'd with Deer-skins, upon which they beat and sung: R
them the others danced, being naked to their Waists, and i
their Middles many Trinkets tied with Skins, and some wit
Tails of Beasts hanging down behind them. They painted
Faces and Bodies, and their Hair was stuck with Feathers: I
Hand they had a Rattle, in the other Hand the Feathers
Eagle, made up like the Caduceus of *Mercury:* They shook
Wings and the Rattle, and danced round the Ring with
Bounds and antick Postures, looking much like the Figu
the Satyrs.

"They shew'd great Activity, and kept just Time in
Motions; and at certain times answer'd, by way of Chor
those that sat in the Middle of the Ring. They stopt, and
stood out one of the chief Warriors, who sung what Wars h
been in, and described (by Actions as well as by Words) v
way he had vanquish'd the Enemies of his Country. Whe
had done, all the rest gave a Shout of Approbation, as knc
what he said to be true. The next Day Mr. Oglethorpe
Presents to Toma-chi-chi and his *Indians*, and dismiss'd
with Thanks for their Fidelity to the King." [1]

For the further protection of the approaches to Frederic
the inland passages, a battery, called Fort St. Simon,
erected at the south end of St. Simon's Island. It was des
to command the entrance to Jekyll Sound. Adjacent to i
laid out a camp containing barracks and huts for the sol
At the southern extremity of Cumberland Island Fort Wi
was afterwards built with a view to controlling Amelia S
and the inland passage to St. Augustine. Upon San Juan I
to the south, and near the entrance of the St. John's River,
thorpe observed the traces of an old fort. Thither he
Captain Hermsdorf and a detachment of Highlanders, wit
structions to repair and occupy it. Having ascertained tha
island was included in the cession of lands made by the In
to his majesty, he named it George, and called the fortific
Fort St. George. With the exception of one or two pos
observation, this constituted the most southern defense of
colony, and was regarded as an important position both for

[1] Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 71. London. 1744.

ing the Spaniards in check and for giving the earliest intelligence of any hostile demonstration on their part.[1] The energy and boldness displayed by the commander-in-chief in developing his line of occupation so far to the south, and in the very teeth of the Spaniards in Florida, are quite remarkable, and indicate on his part not only a daring bordering upon rashness, but also no little confidence in the courage and firmness of the small garrisons detailed to fortify and hold these advanced and isolated positions.

Returning to Frederica from this tour of observation, Mr. Oglethorpe found the workmen busily occupied in constructing the fort; the outer works were being "palisaded with Cedar Posts to prevent our Enemies turning up the green Sod." Upon the bastions platforms of two-inch plank were laid for the cannon. A piece of marsh lying below the fort was converted into a water battery, called "the Spur," the guns of which, being on a level with the water, were admirably located for direct and effective operation against all vessels either ascending or descending the river.

A well was dug within the fort which yielded an abundant supply of "tolerable good water." The people having no bread, and the store of biscuits being needed for the crews of the boats which were kept constantly moving from point to point, an oven was built, and an indented servant, a baker by trade, was detailed to bake bread for the colony. For the flour furnished by each individual an equal weight was returned in bread, "the difference made by the water and salt" being the baker's gain. This fresh bread, in the language of one who partook of it, was a great comfort to the people. Venison brought in by the Indians was frequently issued in lieu of salt provisions. Poultry, hogs, and sheep were occasionally killed for the sick. Such domestic animals, however, were, at that early period, so scarce in the settlement that they were "carefully guarded for the purpose of breeding." A little later, live-stock came forward in abundance by boats from Port Royal and Savannah.

Grave apprehensions were entertained of an attack from the Spaniards, and Mr. Oglethorpe was untiring in his efforts to place the southern frontier in the best possible state of defense. It is remarkable how much was accomplished under the circum-

[1] On the upper end of Cumberland Island, and upon a high neck of land commanding the water approaches each way, Fort St. Andrew was subsequently built. "Its walls were of wood, filled in with earth. Round about were a ditch and a palisade." *Wesley's Journal*, p. 61. Bristol, n. d.

stances. His energy was boundless, his watchfulness unceasing Scout-boats were constantly on duty observing the water ap proaches from the south as far as the mouth of the St. John Indian runners narrowly watched the walls of St. Augustine, an conveyed intelligence of every movement by the enemy. Look outs were maintained at all necessary points to give warning o threatened danger. Mr. Bryan and Mr. Barnwell promised, i case Frederica or its out-posts were attacked, to come to thei support with a strong body of volunteers from Carolina. Chief of the Cheehaws and the Creeks proffered their assistance.

Acting upon the belief that it was better to confront the Span iards upon the confines of the colony than to abide the event o their invasion, volunteers came in such numbers from Carolina and Georgia that General Oglethorpe was compelled to issu orders that all who had plantations should remain at home an cultivate them until actually summoned to arms.

Hearing a report that the Spaniards were intent upon dislodg ing the settlers from Frederica, Ensign Delegal, taking thirty men of the Independent Company under his command and row ing night and day, reached Frederica on the 10th of May an tendered his services. Without permitting them to land, Ogle thorpe ordered English strong beer and provisions on board sent a present of wine to Ensign Delegal, and, upon the sam tide, in his scout-boat conducted the party to the east point o St. Simon's Island where it is washed by Jekyll Sound and ther posted the company, locating a spot for constructing a fort, an commanding a well to be dug. By the 16th, Ensign Delega succeeded in casting up a considerable intrenchment and i mounting several cannon.

This post, strengthened on the 8th of June by the arrival o Lieutenant Delegal, with the rest of the Independent Company and thirteen pieces of cannon belonging to them, was subse quently known as Delegal's Fort at the Sea-point.

Workmen at Frederica were employed in building a powde magazine under one of the bastions of the fort. It was made o heavy timber covered with several feet of earth. The construc tion of a large storehouse, a smith's forge, a wheelwright's shop and a corn-house also engaged their attention. The men capab of bearing arms were trained in military exercises each day Mr. McIntosh. The colonists were in a state of constant alarm and everything was made subservient to the general defen Even the feeble avowed their willingness to sacrifice their li

in protecting their new homes. Inspired by the intrepidity and vigilance, the fearlessness and the activity, of Oglethorpe, who was constantly on the move, visiting the advanced works, pressing his reconnoissances even within the enemy's lines, and making every available disposition of men and munitions which could conduce to the common safety, soldiers and citizens kept brave hearts, labored incessantly and cheerfully, observed a sleepless watch upon the sea and its inlets, and stood prepared to offer stout resistance to the Spaniard. It was a manly sight, this little colony fearlessly planting itself upon island and headland, separated from all substantial support, and yet extending itself on land and water to the very verge of hostile lines held by an enemy greatly superior in men and warlike appliances.

CHAPTER XVI.

FREDERICA A MILITARY TOWN. — MISSION OF MR. DEMPSEY AND MAJOR RICHARDS. — AMICABLE RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN GEORGIA AND FLORIDA. — OGLETHORPE'S INTERVIEW WITH THE SPANISH OFFICIALS. — SUBSEQUENTLY THE SPANIARDS CALL UPON THE ENGLISH TO EVACUATE ALL TERRITORY LYING SOUTH OF ST. HELENA SOUND. — CONFERENCE WITH SOUTH CAROLINA COMMISSIONERS IN REGARD TO THE INDIAN TRADE. — OGLETHORPE DEPARTS A SECOND TIME FOR ENGLAND.

WITH their situation at Frederica, exposed as it was, the colonists expressed themselves entirely delighted. The magnificent forests of cedar, bay, laurel, and live-oak; the luxuriant vines drooping in graceful festoons even to the water's edge; the voices of song-birds filling the soft air with sounds sweeter far than they had ever heard in Europe; the vernal atmosphere redolent of jessamines, orange blossoms, and the thousand delightful flowers which lend their commingled fragrance and beauty to this charming spot; the presence of game and fish in great variety, and the generous appearance of the soil, all inspired the emigrants with a sense of satisfaction, happiness, and hope.

Situated on the west side of St. Simon's Island, on a bold bluff confronting a bay formed by one of the mouths of the Alatamaha River, Frederica was planned as a military town and constructed with a view to breasting the shock of hostile assaults. Its houses were to be substantially built, not of wood, as in Savannah, but of tabby. Its streets by their names proclaimed the presence of military officers. Its esplanade and parade-ground characterized it as a permanent camp.

Including the camp on the north, the parade on the east, and a small wood on the south which served as a blind in the event of an attack from ships coming up the river, the settlement was about a mile and a half in circumference. The town proper was to be protected by embankment and ditch, and places for two gates, called respectively the Town and Water posts, were indicated. The citadel was to be made of tabby and formidably armed. In front a water battery, mounting several eighteen-pounder guns, was designed to command the

ver. It was contemplated to guard the town on the land side
a formidable intrenchment, the exterior ditch of which could
filled with water.

As Savannah was the commercial metropolis of the colony, so
as Frederica its southern outpost and strong defense. St.
mon's Island was soon to become the Thermopylæ of the
uthern Anglo-American provinces. In the military history
the colony there is no brighter chapter, in the eventful life
Oglethorpe no more illustrious epoch than that which com-
emorates the protracted and successful struggle with the Span-
rds for the retention of this charming island.

While planning this new settlement to the south, the trustees
ere not unmindful that they were about to engage in an enter-
ise the execution of which would probably provoke the pro-
bitory intervention of Spain. Although peace conferences had
en held and concessions made, that nation, *ex imo corde*, re-
sed to abandon all claim to the territory lying between the
vannah and the Alatamaha rivers, and still viewed, with ill-
ncealed jealousy, any extension of British colonization in the
rection of the St. John.

To conciliate the Spanish authorities in Florida and compass, as
r as practicable, a pacification of slumbering disagreements, Mr.
harles Dempsey, with the sanction of the Spanish ambassador
en resident near the Court of St. James, was commissioned by
e British government to proceed to St. Augustine and there
range the terms of a convention between the governors of
eorgia and Florida with a view to the settlement of any dis-
ates touching the boundary line between those provinces. He
companied Mr. Oglethorpe to Georgia in the Symond.

Previous to his first departure from Tybee Roads to St. Simon's
land, Mr. Oglethorpe had instructed Major Richards of Purrys-
urgh to procure a suitable boat, and proceed with Mr. Dempsey
St. Augustine. On the 19th of February, 1736, those gentle-
en set out upon their mission; Mr. Dempsey, in addition to his
spatches from the home government, conveying a conciliatory
tter from Mr. Oglethorpe to the governor of Florida.

When on the 18th of March Mr. Oglethorpe left Frederica
pon his southern reconnoissance, no advices had been received
om Mr. Dempsey. Wishing to ascertain the cause of this si-
nce, and being solicitous for his safety, Mr. Oglethorpe gladly
stened the inception of the expedition, knowing that its course
ould lead to the Florida coast, where he hoped at an early day

to learn definitely of the movements and success of the commissioner. Another reason which induced Mr. Oglethorpe to go just at this time when his services on St. Simon's Island were greatly needed was the fear that the Indians, if unrestrained by his personal presence, might in their animosity feel themselves strong enough to attack some of the feeble advanced posts of the Spaniards, and by this means, in the unsettled state of feeling, precipitate general hostilities between the Spaniards and the colonists.

He also desired, as has been intimated, to ascertain from the Indians the boundary line, as they understood it, which separated Georgia from Florida. Having proceeded as far as the mouth of the St. John, he landed to make inquiry of the Spanish guard, there posted, concerning the fate of Mr. Dempsey and Major Richards. Unfortunately the post was deserted and he was unable to satisfy his anxieties. The next morning, however, he met Major Richards in a boat returning from St. Augustine, and from him received the following explanation of Mr. Dempsey's delay and continued absence. Before reaching St. Augustine the yawl in which they were proceeding was capsized. The entire party was compelled to scramble through the breakers to the shore, dragging the overturned boat with them. After walking several leagues through the sand, they were overtaken by Don Pedro Lamberto, a captain of horse, who conducted them to the Spanish governor, by whom they were received with great civility. Mr. Dempsey's return was postponed in consequence of repairs which it was necessary to put upon the boat. Major Richards brought letters to Mr. Oglethorpe from Don Francisco del Moral Sanchez, captain-general of Florida and governor of St. Augustine, in which, after profuse compliments and expressions of thanks for the letters received at the hands of Mr. Dempsey, he complained that the Creek Indians had fallen upon some of the Spaniards and defeated them, and that he was in daily apprehension of further hostilities which he desired Mr. Oglethorpe to prevent. Major Richards added that the Spanish authorities at Havana had been fully advised of what was transpiring on the coast, and that he had promised the governor of Florida to return within three weeks with the reply which Mr. Oglethorpe might desire to make to his communication.

From other sources Mr. Oglethorpe received information that, notwithstanding these professions of friendship and assurances of an earnest desire on his part to perpetuate the amicable relations

xisting between Georgia and Florida, the governor of St. Augustine had sent to Charlestown to purchase arms which he intended placing in the hands of the Florida Indians, and that by heir assistance, in conjunction with the Yemassees and a detachment from the garrison at St. Augustine, he purposed an early novement upon the colonists at Frederica, hoping to accomplish either their utter destruction, or total expulsion from the island of St. Simon. He was also advised that the alleged hostility on the part of the Creeks was simply a pretext for this covert movement, and designed to shift in advance the burden of a commencement of hostilities from the shoulders of the Spaniards to those of the English; that the garrison at St. Augustine consisted of five companies of infantry of sixty men each, and a company of horse numbering about forty men; and that reinforcements had been called for and were daily expected from Havana.[1] Regarding this information as entirely reliable, Mr. Oglethorpe dispatched a periagua with twenty oars and four swivel guns, accompanied by a scout-boat, well armed, to the mouth of the St. John's River, with orders to patrol that river and prevent any Indians from crossing, hoping thus to preclude the possibility of an attack by the Indians in this quarter. The fort located upon the St. George's Island passage was rapidly pressed to completion in order that its guns might assist the periagua in hindering the ascent of any hostile boats through the island channels. Two ships were posted in the river near Frederica to engage the Spanish vessels, should an entrance from the sea be attempted by them. The fortifications on St. Simon's island were strengthened by every means at command, and additional troops summoned for their defense. Through the aid of Tomo-chi-chi, parties of Indians were sent out with instructions to intercept the Creek hunters and dissuade them from attacking the Spanish outposts until a general conference could be held. Other warriors were stationed in the woods on the coast opposite Frederica, with orders to prevent any Spanish cavalry from advancing across the country upon the settlement of the Highlanders at Darien, and at all times to hold themselves in readiness to cross over and unite in the defense of Frederica should that place be threatened.

On the 13th of April Mr. Oglethorpe dispatched Major Richards and Mr. Horton with his reply to the captain-general of Florida. They went in the marine boat, accompanied by a peri-

[1] See Francis Moore's *Voyage*.

agua carrying a three months' supply of provisions. In his response Mr. Oglethorpe acquainted his excellency that in order to remove all cause of uneasiness and to prevent lawless persons from creating any disturbance between the subjects of the two Crowns, he had commissioned armed boats to patrol the waters separating the British and Spanish territories. He concluded by thanking him for his former civilities, and by commending Major Richards and his companions to his favorable consideration.

Upon reaching St. George's Fort, Major Richards sent over to the Spanish side of the river St. John to announce his arrival; but neither men nor horses were there, as had been promised, to conduct him to St. Augustine. As the major was anxious to keep his appointment, — which was that he would report at St. Augustine within three weeks from the time of his departure, — and as a voyage in open boat involved too much danger and exposure, Mr. Horton prevailed upon him to remain where he was. With two servants he set out on foot to visit the governor and advise him that Major Richards had arrived upon the confines of Florida bearing letters from Mr. Oglethorpe. A few days afterwards two smokes, which were the signal agreed upon, were perceived at the Spanish look-out. The marine boat was immediately sent over. It returned with the intelligence that a guard and horses were ready to conduct Major Richards to St. Augustine, but that the Spaniards behaved more like enemies than friends. The officers and men of the boat counseled Major Richards not to go with them unless the Spaniards left some one as security for his safety. The major resolved to venture, nevertheless, and having been taken in charge by the Spaniards on the other side set out at once upon his journey. Some days after this, another smoke appearing at the Spanish post, the boat again went over, when a dirty paper, containing a message in German, traced with a pencil, was handed to the officer in charge. The Spaniards said it had been written by Major Richards and was addressed to Captain Hermsdorf. It simply advised him that he had safely reached the quarters of the Spanish captain of horse. The Spaniards appearing in numbers more formidable than usual, Mr. Horton not returning, and Major Richards sending such a short dispatch, Captain Hermsdorf concluded that the latter was detained as a prisoner. His fort not being tenable, and "his men proving indifferent," that officer resolved to abandon his exposed position and retire to Amelia Sound whence, if repulsed, he could retire under the protection of the guns at St. Andrew. While

ıg at anchor near the south end of Cumberland Island, he was rtaken by Mr. Oglethorpe in Captain Gascoigne's six-oared rl-boat, attended by Rae's scout-boat, who ordered him to fol-. Leaving Captain Hermsdorf with the periagua and the ine-boat at St. George, Mr. Oglethorpe proceeded with the rl and the scout-boat, bearing a flag of truce, to the Spanish ı that he might ascertain what had become of Major Richards, . Horton, and their companions. The customary post was de-ed. After traversing the neighborhood for some time, and ing no one, Oglethorpe was about returning when one of his s, named Frazier, appeared driving before him a tall man with ıusket upon his shoulder, two pistols in his girdle, and a long l a short sword depending from his side. "Here, sir, I have ght a Spaniard for you," said the boy. Having treated the ıtive civilly, and having given him wine and victuals, Mr. lethorpe inquired concerning Major Richards and Mr. Horton; ereupon the fellow pulled out a letter which he said was from : Horton, whom, with Major Richards, he added, the governor St. Augustine had put under arrest. Mr. Oglethorpe rewarded ı, and designated noon of the next day for returning an an-ar. This information led Mr. Oglethorpe to anticipate an ly attack from the Spaniards. He withdrew at once to St. orge, which he placed in the best possible attitude of defense. ring the night fires were kindled at various points to light up ı adjacent waters and discover the enemy if he attempted to s. Returning to the Spanish look-out on the morrow, at the ointed hour, he was chagrined at finding that the Spaniard l not kept his engagement. Some horsemen were observed ealing themselves behind the sand-hills, and a launch, filled h men, was seen lying under the shelter of a sand-bank near mouth of the St. John's River. Upon rowing in the direc-ı of this launch, her crew started up and pulled out to sea. ally he succeeded in having a conference with a horseman, l mounted and dressed in blue, to whom he entrusted the let-ı intended for the Spaniard whom he had met on the previous . The horseman promised to attend to their proper delivery, also to return with replies. Having waited two days for a onse, and none being delivered, Mr. Oglethorpe, leaving all other boats at Fort St. George, repaired in the yawl to Fred-a.

ıdvices received from Florida induced Mr. Oglethorpe to ex-: an early demonstration against that town. Every precaution

was taken and all preparations were made which the utmost prudence, forethought, and military ingenuity could devise to place the colonists there and the garrisons in the dependent forts in the best practical attitude, both offensive and defensive. The more closely we scrutinize the efforts of the commander-in-chief at this important juncture, the more remarkable appear the results which he then achieved with the small numbers and scanty resources at command. His energy was untiring, and his watchfulness unceasing. No exposure proved too hazardous, no personal exertion too onerous. During this period of doubt and peril he was bravely seconded by his subalterns, and by the venerable Tomo-chi-chi, who remained ever near, accompanying him upon his scouts by land and water, assisting in the construction of forts and in the disposition of troops, by means of guides and runners giving information of the movements of the Spaniards and by his presence and influence inciting his warriors to the cheerful performance of continued and valuable services.

Beyond all question the Spaniards purposed an early attack upon Frederica. By the time, however, that they had consummated their arrangements, such reports were conveyed to them of the strength of the positions occupied by the colonists, of the obstacles to be overcome, and of the probable loss to be encountered, that the projected expedition was delayed. When, more than two years afterwards, it was launched against St. Simon Island, the Spanish arms encountered only disappointment, demoralization, and defeat. The history of this island and the heroic memories of its gallant defense are among the most memorable recollections of the colonial period of Georgia. They illustrate at once the ability, valor, and military skill of Mr. Oglethorpe, the patience, endurance, and bravery of the colonists, and the fidelity of the aged mico of the Yamacraws and his followers.

To the great relief of all Mr. Horton arrived at Frederica during the night of the 14th of June. He had met Mr. Oglethorpe *en route*. To Mr. Francis Moore he gave the following account of his adventures: After departing, with two servants, from the Spanish look-out, he walked along the sea-shore until he reached the river flowing near the castle of St. Augustine. Arriving there about four o'clock in the afternoon, he fired his gun several times as a signal for a boat to convey him across. At last one came. Having crossed the river he was conducted to the governor, who received him with much civility. Thence he went to Don Carlos Dempsey's house. The next day a detachment was

sent to escort Major Richards to St. Augustine, who arrived shortly afterwards. Both he and Mr. Horton were welcomed by the inhabitants, "who looked upon them as the Messengers of their Deliverance, for bringing them the news that the *English* boats patrole upon the River to hinder the barbarous *Indians* from passing and molesting them."

While waiting for the governor's answer to Mr. Oglethorpe's communication, they were one night invited to a dance at the residence of the governor's interpreter, where they remained until one o'clock in the morning and then returned to their lodgings at Mr. Dempsey's house. While they were still in bed, the town major, Diego Paulo, attended by a file of musketeers, waited upon Mr. Dempsey and informed him that Major Richards, Mr. Horton, and their servants were charged with having been engaged that very morning in "taking a plan of the town and castle," and that the governor, acting upon the accusation, had ordered a sergeant and twelve men to make prisoners of them.

About ten o'clock the same morning, the governor "came to Don Carlos's Lodging, accompany'd by some officers and the public Scrivener of the Garison, and having sat down, began a formal Information and Examination of Major Richards. The Governor ask'd him what brought him there; he answer'd that he was come pursuant to his promise to his Excellency of returning to him with Letters from Mr. *Oglethorpe*. He then asked where Mr. *Oglethorpe* was? He answered he could not tell where he then was, but he had left him at *Frederica*. Upon which he asked what Fortifications and number of Men were at *Frederica?* To which the Major answered he did not know. He then asked what Fortifications and number of Men were at *Jekyl Sound*, *Cumberland Island*, *Amelia Island*, and *St. John's?* To which the Major answered the same as before. Whereupon the Governor retired; and some time after sent for the Major to his House. He then examined Mr. Horton as to the Strength of *Georgia;* but he refus'd to give them any answer: Upon which they threaten'd to send him to the Mines. To which he answer'd that he was a Subject of *Great Britain*, and his Sovereign was powerful enough to do him Justice.

"The next Day, upon Don Carlos's application, the Guards were taken off, he undertaking for them, and promising upon Honour, that they should not walk about the Town, nor leave it without his Excellency's Permission. Some Days after, they sent out *Don Ignatio Rosso*,— Lieutenant Colonel of the Garrison,—

with a Detachment of it, in a large Boat called a Launch. He staid out about five Days, and returned extremely fatigu'd, — the Men having row'd the Skin off their Hands, — and reported that the Islands were all fortified and full of Men and arm'd Boats.

"After this Don Carlos spoke to the Governor, Bishop, and the rest of the Officers. A Council of War was call'd, and it was resolv'd to send back Major *Richards*, Mr. *Horton* and the other Men, and also letters of Civility to Mr. *Oglethorpe* with *Don Carlos Dempsey*, *Don Pedro Lamberto*, Captain of Horse, and *Don Manuel d' Arcy*, Adjutant of the Garrison, and to desire Friendship." Mr. *Horton* was accordingly released, and, while returning with his servants in a boat, met Mr. Oglethorpe, to whom he communicated the intelligence of the approach of the Spanish authorities and Mr. Dempsey in a launch. He was ordered by Mr. Oglethorpe to press on as rapidly as he could and to arrange for the reception of those gentlemen on board Captain Gascoigne's vessel, that they might acquire no information of the situation and strength of Frederica and its adjacent forts. That Mr. Dempsey, who, during his residence at St. Augustine, was handsomely supported by the trustees, labored honestly and effectually to maintain amicable relations between the Spaniards in Florida and the colonists in Georgia cannot be doubted. That he was largely instrumental in bringing about a pacification on more than one occasion will be admitted; but it is most certain that the energy and daring of Oglethorpe, coupled with a very respectable show of batteries, scout-boats, and armed men, were more potent than all else in restraining the Spaniards from the commission of hostilities.

The circumstances attendant upon the reception of the Spanish authorities and the confirmation of a treaty of friendship between the colonies may be summed up as follows: —

On the 12th of June, Oglethorpe, accompanied by Tomo-chi-chi and his Indians in their canoes, started with a large periagua and two ten-oared boats containing fifty men, cannon, and two months' provisions, to relieve Fort St. George which he feared might at that time be besieged. On his way he met a boat in which was Mr. Horton, who had been released and was at that time returning home, by whom he was informed that two Spanish officers were coming on a friendly mission to St. Simon. Not being able to postpone his visit to St. George, Mr. Oglethorpe sent orders to Captain Gascoigne to entertain the Spanish officers on his vessel, the Hawk, and to keep them on board until his return,

so that they might not be able by personal inspection to gain any definite knowledge of the strength or location of Frederica. When within a few miles of his destination, the launch hove in sight which conveyed the Spanish commissioners, — Don Pedro de Lamberto, colonel of horse, and Don Manuel D'Arcy, secretary to the governor, — and also Mr. Dempsey and Major Richards.[1] Wishing to avoid the ceremony which must ensue if he made himself known to them, and anxious to compass his visit to Fort St. George, Mr. Oglethorpe desired Mr. Mackay to communicate with the launch and advise the commissioners to come to an anchor until a safeguard could be furnished, because the country was full of Indians. They accordingly did so. It was with great difficulty that Tomo-chi-chi and his Indians could be restrained from attacking the launch and killing the Spanish commissioners, so intense was the desire for revenge which animated their breasts.

Having concluded his visit to Fort St. George, Mr. Oglethorpe set out on his return to Frederica that he might receive the commissioners with becoming state. He passed unobserved very near Captain Gascoigne's ship, where the commissioners were being handsomely entertained. As soon as he reached Frederica he detailed Ensign Mackay to bring from Darien "some of the genteelest Highlanders" that they might be present at the conference.[2] He "ordered two handsome tents lined with Chinese, with marquises and walls of canvas, to be sent down and pitched upon Jekyl island." He also forwarded some refreshments, and dispatched two gentlemen to the commissioners to acquaint them with the fact that he would wait upon them in person the next day.

On the 18th Mr. Oglethorpe, with seven mounted men (which were all he had), repaired to the Sea-point that the Spaniards might see there were men and horses there. "At his setting out a number of cannons were fired, which they also could hear at Jekyl island. When he arrived at the point, the independent company was under arms, being drawn up in one line at double distances, to make them appear a larger number to the Spaniards who lay upon Jekyl island; the independent company saluted him with their cannon, managing them so as to seem to have many more guns by reloading."[3]

Captain Gascoigne came over in his boat with two scout-boats,

[1] Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 159.
[2] Moore's *Voyage*.
[3] *Georgia Historical Society Collections*, i. 150.

and having taken Mr. Oglethorpe on board conveyed him to Jekyll Island, where he landed and welcomed the Spanish officers. An invitation for dinner the next day on board the Hawk, extended by Captain Gascoigne, was accepted by Mr. Oglethorpe and the commissioners, Mr. Oglethorpe saying that he would on that occasion formally receive any communication they desired to make.

The following day, the 19th, Ensign Mackay arrived on board the man-of-war, with the Highlanders, who, with their broadswords, targets, plaids, etc., were drawn up on one side of the ship, while a detachment of the independent company in regimentals lined the other side. The sailors manned the shrouds, and kept sentry with drawn cutlasses at the cabin door. The Spanish commissioners were handsomely entertained, and after dinner delivered their messages in writing. They drank the health of the king of Great Britain and the royal family; so did Mr. Oglethorpe that of the king and queen of Spain. The cannons of the ship fired, and were answered by such heavy guns as were within hearing. The next day they were entertained in like manner, and had long conferences with Mr. Oglethorpe.

"On the 21st he gave them their answer. They made him some presents of snuff, chocolate, etc., and he returned them very handsome ones. All the time they were there we sent down sheep, hogs and poultry, with garden stuff in plenty for all their men, as also butter, cheese, wine, beer and all other refreshments.

"Tomo-chi-chi, Hyllispilli, and near thirty of the chiefest Indians being returned from the southward, came on board painted and dressed as they are for war. Hyllispilli demanded justice for killing the Indians, and other outrages. The Spanish commissary, Don Pedro, knew some of the facts, but seemed to doubt the rest. Each party had an interpreter."

The Indians proved that a party of forty Spaniards and Indians had fallen upon some of their nation, who, depending upon the general peace between the Spaniards, the Indians, and the English, were lying without suspicion and consequently without guard. Thus surprised, several were killed and taken captive. The boys who were captured were murdered by having their brains dashed out, and the wounded were slain. Don Pedro, struck with horror at this cruelty, inquired how they knew these facts. A young Indian was produced who had been wounded upon the occasion. He exhibited the scar, and told how, in the confusion, he had escaped by concealing himself among some

bushes. He further stated that he had for two days followed the attacking party, hiding himself in thickets, seeing all that passed, and intending to revenge himself upon stragglers should there chance to be any. It was also proved that an Indian, who had formed one of the party, bragged of what had been done to one of the Creeks who went down to St. Marks to trade with the Spaniards, at the same time saying that the party had been sent out from St. Augustine.

Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe desired Don Pedro to represent these facts to the governor of St. Augustine, and to say to him that he should expect satisfaction in behalf of the Indians for this insult, they being subjects of the king of Great Britain. This being interpreted to the Indians, Hillispilli said he hoped Mr. Oglethorpe would go with them, and then he would see what they would do to the Spaniards; but that if he would not accompany them they would go by themselves and take revenge.

"When this happened," said he, "I was gone with you to England. Had I not been with you this would not have happened, for had I been with my men they should not have been so surprised. You will go with me, and you shall see how I will punish them, but if you will not help me I have friends enough who will go with me to revenge the murder." At this all the young Indians gave a shout. Don Pedro said that there was a party of Indians which he knew went from the neighborhood of St. Augustine, but that they were not Spaniards; that he himself at that time was in Mexico on a message from the governor; that such cruelty must be abhorred by every Christian; and that he would take it upon him to say that the people who had committed this outrage should be punished. Pohoia, king of the Floridas, was named as the party who commanded the expedition. Don Pedro gave his assurance that if ever he came into St. Augustine so that the Spaniards could secure him, the governor and council of war would punish him as his cruelty deserved; and that if he came not within their power they would banish him.

To this Hillispilli said, "We hear what you say. When we see it done, we will believe you." Tomo-chi-chi persuaded him to be content, and, during the stay of the commissioners, exerted his influence in restraining the violent passions of his people and preventing them from offering direct insult and personal violence to the Spaniards.

This conference resulted in a temporary restoration of appar-

ent good feeling, and brought about a practical pacification between Florida and Georgia which suffered no violent interruption for a period of more than two years. The Spaniards departed on the 22d, well pleased with their reception and professing amicable sentiments towards the colony of Georgia and its knightly governor.

Mr. Oglethorpe's account of this interview with the Spanish officials, as furnished in a letter to the trustees, is, in some respects, more circumstantial:[1] —

"After dinner we drank the king of Britain's and the king of Spain's health under a discharge of cannon from the ship; which was answered with fifteen pieces of cannon from Delegal's fort at the Sea-point. That again was followed by the cannon from the fort of St. Andrew's, and that by those of Frederica and Darien, as I had before ordered. The Spaniards seemed extremely surprised that there should be so many forts, and all within hearing of one another. Don Pedro smiled and said, 'No wonder Don Ignatio made more haste home than ou[illegible].' After the healths were done, a great number of Indians came on board, naked, painted, and their heads dressed with feathers. They demanded of me justice against the Spaniards for killing some of their men in time of peace.[2] . . .

"Don Pedro having asked several questions, acknowledged himself fully satisfied of the fact, excusing it by saying that he was then in Mexico, and that the Governor being newly come from Spain and not knowing the customs of the country, had sent out Indians under the command of the Pohoia, king of the Floridas, who had exceeded his orders which were not to molest the Creeks. But the Indians not being content with that answer, he undertook that, at his return to Augustine, he would have the Pohoia king put to death, if he could be taken, and if he could not, that the Spaniards would supply his people with neither powder, arms, nor anything else, but leave them to the Creeks. The Indians answered that he spake well, and if the Spaniards did what he said, all should be white between them; but if not, they would take revenge, from which, at my desire, they would abstain till a final answer came.

"The Indian matters being thus settled, we had a conference with the Spanish Commissioners. They thanked me first for my

[1] Wright's *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 160, *et seq.* London. 1867.

[2] Here follow details of revolting atrocities, with which it is unnecessary to shock the reader.

restraining the Indians who were in my power, and hoped I would extend that care to the upper Indians. They then, after having produced their credentials, presented a paper the contents whereof were to know by what title I settled upon St. Simon's, being lands belonging to the king of Spain. I took the paper, promising an answer next day. The substance was, that the lands belonged to the king of England by undoubted right: that I had proceeded with the utmost caution, having taken with me Indians, the natives and possessors of those lands; that I had examined every place to see if there were any Spanish possessions, and went forward till I found an outguard of theirs, over against which I settled the English without committing any hostilities or dislodging any. Therefore I did not extend the king's dominions, but only settled with regular garrisons that part of them which was before a shelter for Indians, pirates, and such sort of disorderly men.[1]

"The rest of the evening we spent in conversation, which chiefly turned upon the convenience it would be, both to the Spaniards and English, to have regular garrisons in sight of each other. Don Pedro smiled and said he readily agreed to that, and should like very well to have their Spanish guard upon the south side of Helena river, which is within five miles of Charlestown, and where the Spaniards had a garrison in King Charles the First's time. I replied I thought it was better as it was; for there were a great many people living between who could never be persuaded to come in to his sentiments. At last Don Pedro acquainted us that he thought the Spaniards would refer the settling of the limits to the Courts of Europe, for which purpose he should write to their Court, and in the meantime desired no hostilities might be committed, and that I would send up a commissary to sign with the government an agreement to this purpose. I thereupon appointed Mr. Dempsey to be my Commissary and to return with them. Don Pedro is the ruling man in Augustine and has more interest with the Council of War than the Governor. As he passed by St. George's Point, he sent a whole ox as a present to the garrison. He gave me some sweet-

[1] At the time of the peace of Utrecht, the territory as far south as the river St. John was in the possession of the Indian allies of Great Britain, and the Spaniards never attempted to settle within it. By the terms of that treaty all possessions in North America were declared to belong to the parties who then occupied them; and, as the Indians continued to hold the disputed district, and acknowledged themselves subject to the king of England, by their cession it had become the property of the British Crown.

meats and chocolate. I gave him a gold watch, a gun, and fresh provisions. To Don Manuel I gave a silver watch, and sent back a boat to escort them. If the Spaniards had committed any hostilities, I could, by the help of the Indians, have destroyed St. Augustine with great facility. But, God be praised, by His blessing, the diligence of Dempsey, and the prudence of Don Pedro, all bloodshed was avoided."

This protestation of friendship on the part of the Spaniards, and this qualified concession of the right of the Georgia colonists to plant their town and batteries south of the Alatamaha River were soon recalled. In the fall of the year a peremptory demand was made by the Spanish government for the evacuation by the English of all territory lying south of St. Helena's Sound.

Perceiving that vigorous measures and a stronger force were requisite for the preservation of the colony, and yielding to the solicitations of the trustees that he should be present at the approaching meeting of Parliament to influence larger supplies for Georgia, Mr. Oglethorpe, having arranged for the government and protection of the province during his absence, embarked for England on the 29th of November, 1736.[1]

During his absence in England, nothing of special moment transpired on the southern frontiers. Mr. Horton appears to have been left in general charge of the defenses in that quarter. He established himself at Frederica, whence he made frequent tours of inspection to its outposts and dependent works. Of a visit which he paid to the town early in February, 1737, Mr. Stephens, secretary of the colony, gives us rather a stupid account,[2] from which we gather that the inhabitants were living "in perfect Peace and Quiet, without Fear of any Disturbance from Abroad, and without any Strife or Contention at Law at Home, where they sometimes opened a Court, but very rarely had any Thing to do in it." Only slight improvements had been made during the preceding year in clearing and cultivating land, because of the constant apprehension of incursion by the Spaniards and the amount of military service the able-bodied men were obliged to perform.

Provision was made for the comfort of the colonists so far at least as the means at command would justify. The oven built at Frederica was in active use, and a baker, detailed for that purpose, supplied the community with fresh bread. Cattle, sheep, and

[1] See Wright's *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 167. London. 1867.

[2] See *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, etc., vol. i. p. 98. London. 1742.

poultry were sent from Carolina and from Savannah, and Indians were employed in supplying the garrisons with fresh venison.

Before departing for England Mr. Oglethorpe was called to Savannah to give general directions in regard to the administration of affairs in that town and vicinity, and especially to hold a conference with a committee from the General Assembly of South Carolina with regard to the Indian trade which they charged him with desiring to monopolize to the prejudice of the Carolina traders.

The merits of this controversy are thus intelligently stated by the Rev. Dr. Harris.[1] As the boundaries of Georgia separated the Indians on the west side of the Savannah River from the confines of South Carolina, it was claimed that they must be admitted as in affinity with the new colony. At any rate, Oglethorpe deemed it so expedient to obtain the consent of the natives to the settlement of his people, and regarded their good-will so essential to a secure and peaceful residence, that his earliest care had been to make treaties of alliance with them. That these treaties should include agreements for mutual intercourse and trade seemed to be not only a prudential but an indispensable provision, particularly as Tomo-chi-chi and the micos of the Creeks who accompanied him to England requested that some stipulations should be made in regard to the quantity, quality, and prices of goods, and the accuracy of the weights and measures used in determining the articles offered in purchase of their buffalo-hides, deer-skins, peltry, etc. The trustees thereupon established certain regulations designed to prevent in future the impositions of which the Indians complained. To carry these into effect it was thought right that none should be permitted to trade with the Indians except such as were licensed, and would agree to conduct the traffic according to prescribed rules and upon fair and equitable principles. The Carolina traders not being disposed to apply for permits, and declaring their unwillingness to subject themselves to the stipulations and restrictions indicated, were disallowed by the Georgia commissary who occupied a trading house among the Creeks. This action of the Georgia official proved very distasteful to them, and the complaints which they lodged with the Provincial Assembly of South Carolina led to the appointment of the committee just referred to whose conference with Oglethorpe was held at Savan-

[1] *Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe*, pp. 152 *et seq.* Boston. MDCCCXLI.

nah on the 2d of August, 1736.[1] In their printed report the members of that committee say: "The Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, and Catawba Indians, at the time of the discovery of this part of America, were the inhabitants of the lands which they now possess, and have ever since been deemed and esteemed the friends and allies of his Majesty's Subjects in this part of the Continent. They have been treated with as allies, but not as subjects of the Crown of Great Britain; they have maintained their own possessions and preserved their independency; nor does it appear that they have by conquest lost, nor by cession, compact, or otherwise, yielded up or parted with those rights to which, by the laws of nature and nations, they were and are entitled.

"The Committee cannot conceive that a charter from the Crown of Great Britain can give the grantees a right or power over a people who, to our knowledge, have never owed any allegiance, or acknowledged the sovereignty of the Crown of Great Britain or any Prince in Europe, but have indiscriminately visited and traded with the French, Spaniards, and English as they judged it most for their advantage; and it is as difficult to understand how the laws of Great Britain or of any Colony in America can take place, or be put in execution in a country where the people never accepted of, nor submitted to such laws; but have always maintained their freedom, and have adhered to their own customs and manners without variation or change."

Hence the committee inferred and insisted that the regulations adopted by the trustees could not be regarded as binding upon the Indians or serve to render exclusive any traffic with them. Oglethorpe acknowledged that the Indians were independent, but asserted that, in entire consistency with this fact, they had entered into a treaty of alliance with the colony of Georgia; that having themselves indicated certain terms and principles of trade, these were adopted and enjoined by the trustees; and that this was done not to claim authority over the Indians or to control their conduct, but simply to make manifest what was required of those who should go among them for the purpose of barter and sale.

In answer to the allegation that the Carolina traders had been excluded, he declared that in granting licenses to trade with the

[1] *Report of the Committee appointed to Examine into the Proceedings of the People of Georgia with Respect to the Province of South Carolina, and the Disputes subsisting between the two Colonies.* Charles-Town. 1736.

dians dwelling within the limits of Georgia he refused the plication of no one who promised to conform to the provisions the act. He also asserted that he had given, and should in ery instance continue to give, such instructions to the Georgia ders as had formerly been imparted by the province of Caro- a to her traders; that in case any new instructions, issued by e province of South Carolina to her traders, should be commu- icated and appear to him of equal benefit to the two provinces, would add them to the instructions of the Georgia traders; d finally that, pursuant to the desire of the committee, he ould direct all his officers and traders among the Indians in eir talks to make no distinction between the two provinces, t to speak in the name and behalf of his majesty's subjects.

It appears, however, that with the result of the interview the mmissioners were not satisfied. They still objected because rmits were required, and especially because they must come rough the hands of the governor of Georgia.

Returning to Frederica in the latter part of September, Mr. glethorpe renewed the commission of Mr. Dempsey, empower- g him, as the emergency arose, to agree with the governor of orida upon terms for a conventional adjustment of any mis- derstandings which might occur between the provinces. A eaty, quite conciliatory in its stipulations, was concluded by him the 27th of October following. Soon, however, was a message ceived from the governor making known the fact that a Span- h minister had arrived from Cuba charged with a communica- on which he desired to deliver in person. A conference ensued ring which that minister repudiated the concessions contained the existing treaty, and peremptorily demanded, in the name the Spanish Crown, that all the territory lying south of St. alena's Sound should be immediately evacuated by the English lonists. Asserting that the king of Spain was resolved to force his right to it, refusing to listen to any argument in sup- rt of British rights, and accompanying his demand with men- ce, the Spanish minister unceremoniously withdrew.

To assist in warding off this threatened blow, and to facilitate e rapid accumulation of men and munitions of war requisite the protection of the colony, the presence of Oglethorpe in gland was imperatively demanded, and he resolved to embark th all possible expedition.[1]

[1] See *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 48. London. MDCCLXXIX.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISPUTE BETWEEN GEORGIA AND CAROLINA WITH REGARD TO THE NAVIGATION OF THE SAVANNAH RIVER. — DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SALZBURGERS, SOME CAROLINIANS, AND THE UCHEE INDIANS. — THE HOME GOVERNMENT MEMORIALIZED BY THE TRUSTEES TO FURNISH TROOPS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR FOR THE PROTECTION OF GEORGIA AGAINST THE SPANIARDS. — OGLETHORPE EMPOWERED TO RAISE A REGIMENT, AND PROMOTED TO THE RANK OF COLONEL. — APPOINTED GENERAL, AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN CAROLINA AND GEORGIA. — RETURNS TO GEORGIA WITH HIS REGIMENT. — MILITARY OPERATIONS AT FREDERICA. — SPIES IN CAMP. — OGLETHORPE'S RESOLUTION AND ENERGY. — CONFERENCE AT SAVANNAH WITH THE INDIANS. — CAUSTON'S DEFALCATION AND REMOVAL. — WILLIAM STEPHENS. — DEPRESSED CONDITION OF THE FINANCES OF THE COLONY. — OGLETHORPE'S GENEROSITY.

BEFORE departing for England Mr. Oglethorpe intervened for the accommodation of certain matters which seriously threatened an interruption of the peace of the colony. Augusta being conveniently located for commerce with the Indian nations, some Carolina traders were induced to open stores at that place. Land carriage proving tedious and expensive, they resolved to transport their goods by water from Charlestown. As the boats were passing Savannah, the magistrates, mindful of the law prohibiting the introduction of distilled liquors into the province, and regarding the Savannah flowing between Hutchinson's Island and Yamacraw Bluff as a part of Georgia, ordered them to be stopped and searched. A considerable quantity of rum was found on board. The casks containing it were staved, and the persons in charge of the boats were arrested and confined. At this proceeding the Carolinians were greatly incensed, and demanded of the Georgia magistrates "by what authority they presumed to seize and destroy the effects of their traders, or to compel them to submit to their code of laws." Apprehending that they had acted precipitately, and that they had perhaps transcended their powers, the authorities at Savannah made immediate concessions to the deputies from Carolina. The confined were set at liberty, and the goods destroyed were returned as far as practicable in kind; the Carolinians engaging on their part

smuggle no more strong liquors within the limits of Geor-
a.[1]

The matter, however, did not end here, but was eventually
ought to the notice of the Board of Trade. After examining
to the facts and hearing argument, the commissioners con-
uded that while the navigation of the Savannah was open alike
the inhabitants of both colonies, and while it was incumbent
on the Georgians to render the Carolinians all friendly as-
stance in their power, it was not lawful for Carolina traders to
troduce ardent spirits among the settlers in Georgia.

Another difficulty arose in the following manner. A Salz-
urger had indiscreetly cleared and planted four acres of land be-
ond the boundary of Ebenezer, thus encroaching upon the re-
erved territory of the Uchees. Other Salzburgers permitted
heir cattle to stray away and eat up the growing corn of those
ndians at a point some twenty miles above that village. But
what vexed the Uchees most, as we are informed by Oglethorpe,
was that some people from Carolina swam a great herd of cattle
over the Savannah, and, bringing negroes with them, formed a
plantation near the Uchee town. Taking advantage of the irrita-
tion of the Indians, Captain Green advised them to fall upon the
Salzburgers, and to declare war against the English. So soon as
he was informed of these occurrences, Mr. Oglethorpe compelled
the Carolinians to recross the Savannah with their negroes and
cattle, and ordered the Salzburgers to confine themselves and
their cattle within the limits which had been prescribed for their
occupancy.

Instead of taking Green's advice, the Uchees sent their king
and twenty warriors to Mr. Oglethorpe to thank him for having
redressed their wrongs even before they had requested him to do
so. Such conduct on his part, they added, made them love him;
and that so far from entering upon a war against the English
they were now ready to "help them against the Spaniards."
They also offered Oglethorpe the services of one hundred warriors
for a year if he should require their aid.[2]

Yielding to the solicitations of the trustees, who desired his
presence in London that he might unite with them in securing
from Parliament further supplies for Georgia, Mr. Oglethorpe,

[1] *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 48. London. DCCLXXIX.

[2] See letter of Oglethorpe to the trustees, *Colonial Documents*, vol. i. p. 31.

on the 29th of November, 1736, set sail for England. Narr escaping shipwreck in the Bristol Channel, he reached Lo early in January, 1737, and, on the 19th, attended a sp meeting of the trustees. After reporting to them the pro of the colony, and assuring them of the amicable relations v had been maintained with the Indian nations, near and rei he entered upon a full explanation of his negotiations witl Spanish authorities in St. Augustine, and justified the st suspicions he entertained that the existing treaty stipula would be disregarded by them. With his labors for the de of the southern boundary of the province they were mad quainted, and he concluded by urging the necessity for a pr detail of troops to occupy those exposed stations. By a u mous vote was he thanked for his past services, and it wa solved at once to petition Parliament for a grant of men, r tions, and money, with which to protect the province agains threatened invasion of the Spaniards.

In the "London Post" appeared an article, suggested b intelligence recently communicated by Mr. Oglethorpe, in w after discussing the benefits to the English nation accruing the colonization of Georgia, and alluding to the thriving c tion of the province induced by royal patronage, parliame aid, and the generosity of private contributors "whose lau zeal will eternize their names in the British annals," the v thus eulogizes the labors of Oglethorpe: "a gentleman v judgment, courage, and indefatigable diligence in the serv his country have shewn him every way equal to so great valuable a design. In the furtherance of this noble ente that public spirited and magnanimous man has acted like a lant and faithful guardian, at the expense of his repose a the utmost hazard of his life. And now the jealousy o Spanish is excited and we are told that that Court has the esty to demand from England that he shall not be any lo employed. If this be the fact, as there is no doubt it is, we a most undeniable proof that the Spaniards dread the abi of Mr. Oglethorpe. It is, of course, a glorious testimony t merit, and a certificate of his patriotism that ought to en him to every honest Briton."[1]

The Spanish ambassador near the Court of St. James ent formal protest against sending troops from England to Geo and remonstrated against the return of Mr. Oglethorpe.

[1] Cited in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 500.

Information was soon received that the authorities at St. Augustine had ordered the English merchants there located to depart; that barracks were being constructed in that town for the accommodation of two thousand five hundred soldiers who were soon to be shipped from Havana in three men-of-war and eight transports; and that provisions in large quantities were being accumulated.

Urged by these and other hostile indications, and sensible of their inability to afford suitable protection to the colonists, the trustees petitioned the Crown that "a necessary supply of forces" might speedily be raised and forwarded for the defense of the colony of Georgia. The petition [1] was allowed, and Oglethorpe was named as colonel of the regiment to be enlisted. He was also appointed general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Carolina and Georgia, that he might the more readily wield the entire military power of the two provinces in their mutual defense. The regiment was to consist of six companies of one hundred men each, exclusive of non-commissioned officers and musicians. A company of grenadiers was subsequently added.

Before his command was fully recruited, Oglethorpe kissed his majesty's hand on receiving his commission as colonel. Although men were being rapidly enlisted, and although it was apparent that the full complement of the regiment would soon be secured, so threatening was the attitude assumed by the Spaniards in Florida it was deemed expedient to reinforce Georgia without further delay. Accordingly a detachment of troops was ordered

[1] That petition was couched in the following language: "The humble Memorial of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, humbly sheweth: That they being intrusted by your Majesty with the care of the Colony of Georgia, which was formerly part of your Majesty's Province of South Carolina, and your Majesty's Colony of Georgia being very much exposed to the power of the Spaniards, and being an object of their envy by having valuable ports upon the homeward passage from the Spanish West Indies, and the Spaniards having increased their force in the neighborhood thereof; the Trustees in consequence of the great trust reposed in them by your Majesty find themselves obliged humbly to lay before your Majesty their inability sufficiently to protect your Majesty's subjects settled in Georgia under the encouragement of your Majesty's Charter, against the late increase of forces, and therefore become humble suppliants to your Majesty on the behalf of your Majesty's subjects settled in the Province of Georgia, that your Majesty would be pleased to take their preservation into your royal consideration, that by a necessary supply of forces the Province may be protected against the great dangers that seem immediately to threaten it.

"All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty's great wisdom.

"Signed by order of the Trustees this 10th day of August, 1737.

"BENJAMIN MARTYN, *Secretary.*"

thither from Gibraltar, which reached Savannah on the 7th o May, 1738. The famous clergyman and eloquent orator, th Rev. George Whitefield, who had been appointed to take th place of the Rev. John Wesley in Georgia, was a passenger o board the ship in which these soldiers were transported.

About the same time two or three companies of the general' own regiment, under the command of Lieut. Col. James Coch rane, arrived in Charlestown and were marched southward b the road which led from Port Royal to Darien.

Disdaining to "make a market of the service of his Country" by selling commissions in his regiment, Oglethorpe secured a officers only such persons as were gentlemen of family and cha acter in their respective counties. He also engaged some twent young men of position, but without fortune, to serve as cadet These he proposed to promote as vacancies occurred and thei conduct warranted. So far from deriving any pecuniary benef from these appointments, the general, in some cases, from hi private fortune advanced the fees requisite to procure commi sions, and provided moneys for the purchase of uniforms an clothing. At his own expense he engaged the services of fort supernumeraries, — "a circumstance," says a contemporaneou writer, "very extraordinary in our armies, especially in our pla tations."

To engender in the hearts of the enlisted men an interest i and an attachment for the colony they were designed to de fend, and to induce them eventually to become settlers, permi sion was granted to each to take a wife with him. For th support of the wife additional pay and rations were provided. So carefully was this regiment recruited and officered that i constituted one of the best military organizations in the servic of the king.

Sailing from Portsmouth on the 5th of July, 1738, with the rest of his command, numbering, with the women, children, and supernumeraries who accompanied, between six and seven hundred souls, in five transports convoyed by the men-of-war Blandford and Hector, General Oglethorpe arrived safely in Jekyll Sound on the 18th of the following September.[2] The next day the troops were landed at the Soldiers' Fort, on the south end

[1] See Harris' *Memorials of Oglethorpe*, pp. 188, 189. Boston. 1841. *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 191. London. 1867. *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 164.

[2] Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i. pp. 294, 295. London. 1742.

of St. Simon's Island. This reinforcement was welcomed by an artillery salute from the battery, and by shouts from the garrison. Upon coming within soundings off the Georgia coast on the 13th, Sir Yelverton Peyton, in the Hector, parted company and sailed for Virginia. Until the 21st, the general encamped near the fort, superintending the disembarkation, and issuing necessary orders. His regiment was now concentrated, and every officer is represented to have been at his post.

Frederica was visited on the 21st, and there Oglethorpe was saluted with fifteen guns from the fort. The magistrates and inhabitants waited upon him in a body, tendering their congratulations upon his return. Several Indians were present who assured him that the Upper and Lower Creeks were in readiness to come and see him so soon as they should be notified of his presence.[1] In a letter[2] to Sir Joseph Jekyll, dated the 10th of September, 1738, General Oglethorpe, alluding to the fact that the Spaniards, although having fifteen hundred men at St. Augustine, there being nothing but the militia in Georgia, had delayed their contemplated attack until the arrival of the regular troops, acknowledges that God had thus given "the greatest marks of his visible Protection to the Colony." He advises Sir Joseph that the passage had been fine, but one soldier having died, and that the inhabitants who had hitherto been so harassed by Spanish threats were now cheerful, believing that the worst was over, and that, relieved from the constant guard duty which they had been compelled to perform, sometimes two days out of five, to the neglect of their crops and improvements, they might now prosecute their labors and make comfortable provision for the future.

Realizing the necessity of opening direct communication between Frederica and the Soldiers' Fort, at the south end of the island, on the 25th General Oglethorpe set every male to work cutting a road to connect those points. So energetically was the labor prosecuted, although the woods were thick and the distance nearly six miles, the task was concluded in three days.

To the Honorable Thomas Spalding[3] are we indebted for the following description of this important avenue of communication: "This road after passing out of the town of Frederica in a

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1739, p. 22.

[2] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 48. Savannah. 1873.

[3] Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. p. 261. Savannah. 1840.

southeast direction, entered a beautiful prairie of a mile over, when it penetrated a dense, close oak wood; keeping the same course for two miles, it passed to the eastern marsh that bounded St. Simon's seaward. Along this marsh, being dry and hard, no road was necessary, and none was made. This natural highway was bounded on the east by rivers and creeks and impracticable marshes; it was bounded on the west (the island side), by a thick wood covered with palmetto and vines of every character so as to be impracticable for any body of men, and could only be traveled singly and alone. This winding way along the marsh was continued for two miles, when it again passed up to the high land which had become open and clear, and from thence it proceeded in a direct line to the fort, at the sea entrance, around which, for two hundred acres, five acre allotments of land for the soldiers had been laid out, cleared, and improved. I have again been thus particular in my description, because it was to the manner in which this road was laid out and executed that General Oglethorpe owed the preservation of the fort and town of Frederica. . . . His fort and batteries at Frederica were so situated as to water approaches, and so covered by a wood, that no number of ships could injure them. And he now planned his land route in such a manner that again the dense wood of our eastern islands became a rampart mighty to save. And fifty Highlanders and four Indians occupying these woods did save."

We learn from that admirable "History of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Colony of Georgia," contained in Dr. Harris' "Complete Collections of Voyages and Travels,"[1] that "on the arrival of the Regiment of which Mr. *Oglethorpe* was appointed Colonel, he distributed them in the properest manner for the Service of the Colony; but notwithstanding this was of great Ease to the Trustees, and a vast Security to the Inhabitants, yet Colonel Oglethorpe still kept up the same Discipline, and took as much Care to form and regulate the Inhabitants with respect to military Affairs as ever. He provided likewise different Corps for different Services; some for ranging the Woods; others, light armed, for sudden Expeditions; and he likewise provided Vessels for scouring the Sea Coasts, and for gaining Intelligence. In all which Services he gave at the same time his Orders and his Example; there being nothing he did not which he directed others to do; so that if he was the first Man in the

[1] Vol. ii. p. 332. London. 1748.

Colony, his Pre-eminence was founded upon old *Homer's* Maxims: He was the most fatigued, and the first in Danger, distinguished by his Cares and his Labours, not by any exterior Marks of Grandeur, more easily dispensed with since they were certainly needless."

The finances of the trust being in a depressed condition, the general drew largely upon his private fortune and pledged his individual credit in conducting the operations necessary for the security of the southern frontiers and in provisioning the settlers. To Alderman Heathcote he writes: "I am here" (at Frederica) "in one of the most delightful situations as any man could wish to be. A great number of Debts, empty magazines, no money to supply them, numbers of people to be fed, mutinous soldiers to command, a Spanish Claim, and a large body of their Troops not far from us. But as we are of the same kind of spirit these difficulties have the same effect upon me as those you met with in the City had upon you. They rather animate than daunt me." [1]

On the 8th of May, 1738, Oglethorpe, as "general and commander in chief of all and singular the forces employed and to be employed in the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia in America," was instructed by his majesty George II. to diligently ascertain and promptly report the designs, preparations, and movements of the Spaniards in Florida: upon arrival in Georgia to make such disposition of his forces as would best secure the colony from "any surprise or unexpected attack from the Spaniards;" to place all forts in the best attitude, offensive and defensive; to refrain from giving any cause of provocation to the Spaniards, and at all times to assure them of England's constant desire to "maintain the strictest friendship;" to permit no encroachments upon Spanish territory and, as far as lay in his power, to prevent the Indians from committing any acts of hostility.

But, should the Spaniards attempt to drive the colonists out of their forts, or invade the territory acknowledging allegiance to the English Crown, then he was ordered, with all the forces under his command, not only to repel such invasion and preserve the integrity of the provinces, but also to assume the offensive in such manner as he should deem best for the service. Should he have cause to suspect that the Spaniards purposed a demonstration against either of the provinces, he was clothed with full

[1] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 62. Savannah. 1873.

power to summon all ships stationed on the coast that they might assist in the defense of the territories.[1] Most faithfully and efficiently were these instructions obeyed.

While on board the Blandford it was discovered that one of the enlisted soldiers in Oglethorpe's regiment had been in the Spanish service, and that he was endeavoring to persuade several of his comrades, upon their arrival in Georgia, to desert with him to the Spaniards in Florida. His scheme further contemplated the murder of the officers at the post to which his company might be ordered, and desertion to the enemy with such valuables as could then be secured. He had a plenty of money, and stated that he was to be rewarded according to the number of men he should be able to seduce.

Upon the concentration of the regiment in Georgia it was ascertained that several of the enlisted men were spies. They strove to persuade some stanch companions to betray a post to the Spaniards. Instead of complying with their suggestion, the honest and loyal fellows revealed to their commanding officer this evil intention. One of these spies, when arrested, confessed he was a Papist, and denied that the king of England possessed any authority over him. A court-martial was convened, and the traitors, being found guilty, were whipped and drummed out of the service. One of them, Shannon by name, afterwards committed murder at Fort Argyle. He was brought to Savannah and there tried, condemned, and executed.

Oglethorpe was extremely mortified at beholding this treacherous element, exceedingly small although it was, in his regiment, and used prompt measures for its extirpation.

On the 8th of October the general, attended by Captain Hugh Mackay and Captain Sutherland, set out in an open boat for Savannah.

Arriving there on the morning of the 10th, he was received at the water-side by the magistrates, and saluted by the militia under arms and by the cannon from the fort. During the day the citizens thronged to greet him, and the night was spent in bonfires and rejoicings.

The following day Tomo-chi-chi waited upon the governor. He had been very ill, but the good old man was so greatly rejoiced at his return that he said it recovered him, making him "*moult like an eagle.*" He informed Oglethorpe that the chiefs of several of the towns of the Creek nation were at his house

[1] See *Colonial Documents from State Paper Office*, vol. i. pp. 75–77.

aiting to present in person their congratulations upon his safe rival and to assure him of their fidelity to the king.

The 13th was designated for their reception. At the appointed me Tomo-chi-chi came down the river from his settlement, inging with him the mico or king of the Chehaws, the mico of ie Oakmuges, the mico of the Ouchases, and the mico of the arachacolas, with thirty warriors and fifty-two attendants. As ie Indians landed and walked up the bluff at Savannah, they ere saluted by a battery of cannon and escorted by a detachient of militia to the town hall where General Oglethorpe was in adiness to receive them. On seeing him they expressed great y, and said that the Spaniards, persuading them that he was at t. Augustine, had invited them down to their fort to meet him here. They accordingly went thither, but as soon as they ascerained the fact that he was not present they returned, although aluable articles were offered them by the Spaniards who preended to account for his absence by saying that he was very ill n board a ship in the harbor. They further stated that although trongly advised by the Spaniards to fall out with the English hey still adhered to the terms of amity contained in the existing reaties, were firm in their attachment to his majesty the king f England, and had come to testify their loyalty. They assured he general that they would on all occasions assist him in repeling the enemies of the king; that deputies from the remaining owns would come down and express their congratulations and ood-will as soon as they were apprised of his arrival; and that he Creek nation was prepared to send one thousand warriors to ny point he should designate, where they would be entirely subect to his command.

They desired that correct brass weights and sealed measures hould be lodged with the king of each town, so that they ight be enabled to protect themselves against the false weights nd measures of the Carolina traders by whom they were contantly and sadly defrauded. An invitation was extended to glethorpe to visit their towns during the coming summer and e their people. This he promised to accept. Handsome presnts were distributed among them, and the interview terminated ith good feeling. At night the Indians had a dance at which ie general was present, and the next day they set out on their turn homeward.

Subsequent events demonstrated the necessity for complying ith the invitation extended by the Indians during this interview.

Alluding to the existing troubles, and avowing his purpose of executing this journey at an early day, General Oglethorpe, on the 15th of June, wrote the trustees as follows: [1] —

"I have received frequent and confirmed advices that the Spaniards are striving to bribe the Indians, and particularly the Creek nation, to differ from us; and the disorder of the traders is such as gives but too much room to render the Indians discontented; great numbers of vagrants being gone up without licences either from Carolina, or us. Chigilly, and Malachee, — the son of the great Brim, who was called emperor of the Creeks by the Spaniards, — insist upon my coming up to put all things in order, and have acquainted me that all the chiefs of the nation will come done to the Coweta town to meet me and hold the general assembly of the Indian nations, where they will take such measures as will be necessary to hinder the Spaniards from corrupting and raising sedition amongst their people. This journey, though a very fatiguing and dangerous one, is quite necessary to be taken; for if not, the Spaniards, who have sent up great presents to them, will bribe the corrupt part of the nation; and, if the honester part is not supported, will probably overcome them and force the whole nation into a war with England. Tomo-chi-chi and all the Indians advise me to go up. The Coweta town, where the meeting is to be, is near five hundred miles from hence; it is in a straight line three hundred miles from the sea. All the towns of the Creeks and of the Cousees and Talapousees, though three hundred miles from the Cowetas, will come down to the meeting. The Choctaws also and the Chickasas will send thither their deputies; so that 7000 men depend upon the event of this assembly. The Creeks can furnish 1500 warriors, the Chickasas 500, and the Choctaws 5000. I am obliged to buy horses and presents to carry up to this meeting."

The conduct of Thomas Causton, the first magistrate of Savannah and keeper of the public stores, had for some time failed to secure the commendation of the trustees and the approval of Oglethorpe who, busied with fortifying Frederica, had been forced to commit the administration of affairs in the northern portion of the province in a large degree to the judgment and honesty of this official. The season had now arrived for a full investigation, and Oglethorpe proceeded to carry into effect the instructions communicated and acknowledged in the following letters: —

[1] See *Letter from Savannah*, under date October 22d, 1738.

"GEORGIA OFFICE, *Westminster, June 2nd*, 1738.

SIR,

"The Trustees being greatly alarm'd at the great number of rtified accounts amounting to £1,401 13*s*. 2*d*. brought for payents since Tuesday last, immediately met to concert the most oper measures to secure their effects in Georgia and M^r^ Cauon's person to answer for his conduct in receiving three cargoes thout any order whatsoever from the Trustees; for these ceried accounts unpaid now amount to £5,236 0*s*. 6*d*. And the a bills, provisions, and effects receiv'd by M^r^ Causton since idsummer last amount to £13,086 9*s*. 9*d*. for the application which he has given the Trustees no account.

"The situation of the Trustees' affairs is such that they cannot still in these circumstances, but must, in their own justificaon insist upon an immediate seizure of M^r^ Causton to be den'd until he gives sufficient security to answer this surprising nduct of his which may draw the Trustees into the greatest convenience and discredit, while at the same time they, on eir part, have taken all possible care to prevent such inconniences happening; and unless he shall produce to you such counts as you think, when transmitted to the Trustees will ove satisfactory to them, you are desired, forthwith to send m with his books and papers in safe custody to the Trustees at he may make up his accounts with them; but if it should happen, which the Trustees are afraid cannot be the case, that r Causton should produce such an account as will be in your inion satisfactory to the Trustees, you are desired forthwith to ansmit such his account by the first opportunity, and to conue him upon sufficient security until the Trustees have exam'd and approv'd thereof.

"The Common Council will at their next meeting seal an strument to remove him from his office of First Bailiff, which intended as a suspension to wait the making up of those acunts.

"As the Trustees' conduct must stand evidently clear from ny imputation of neglect, they strongly recommend it to you being one of themselves) to use all possible means to preserve at Credit they have hitherto been possessed of, and which they esire to have continued consistent with the characters they bear nd which the disinterested manner they have always acted in as justly entitled them to.

"It is almost impossible for the Trustees to express the great

resentments which they have entertain'd at the behaviour of a person to whom they show'd such marks of distinction and favour, who by a conduct for which they cannot as yet find a name, has already disabled them from bearing an expense of an estimate which they had calculated with the utmost frugality and economy for the services of the Colony from Midsummer next.

. . . . . .

"I am Sir

"Your most obedient humble Servant

"HARMAN VERELST, *Accountant.*

"To the Hon^ble^ Gen^l^ OGLETHORPE, at Gosport.
to the care of the Postmaster at Portsmouth."

"GOSPORT, *June 4th*, 1738.

"HARMAN VERELST Esqr &c &c

. . . . . .

"By the accounts you sent me of the state of the Trustees affairs there has been more expended in Georgia than granted b Parliament, but if it is in store, and forth coming, it will serve f the provision of this year. If I find that the circumstances a such as you apprehend them, I shall not issue any of the £5(sola bills till I have further orders from the Trustees. I do n doubt but I shall set all things to rights. . . . I know there wi be a good deal of trouble in it, but I am accustom'd to difficu ties, so that they never make me despair.

"If there has been any fraud in these certified accounts, a that the persons did not deliver the effects certified to the Tru tees' use, but that the certificate was a piece of Roguery, agre upon between the deliverer and the signer, to be sure such ce tificates are not binding upon the Trustees, tho' the person sig ing was employed by them. Therefore, in my poor opinion, t Trustees should delay the payment of those certified accounts t they have the examination from Georgia. . . .

"I am Sir Your very humble Servant

"JAMES OGLETHORPE.

"*P. S.* I have the Trustees' order for making an immedia seizure on Causton, his books and papers, and shall see them i mediately executed. This must be kept with the greatest s crecy, for if he should know the orders before they are executed the effect will perhaps be prevented. I have not trusted eve my Clerk."

On the 7th of June, 1738, the common council sealed the removal of Mr. Thomas Causton from his office of first bailiff, and

appointed Mr. Henry Parker in his room. In forwarding these documents to Oglethorpe they desired him to use, or to refrain from using, them in compliance with the suggestions contained in their letter of the 2d inst. They further insisted that Causton should be arrested in any event, and that his books and papers should be secured. To those books and papers access was to be accorded him so that he might enjoy ample opportunity for making up his accounts from Lady Day, 1734, to date. All the trustees' effects were to be promptly withdrawn from his possession; and, during the period consumed in making out his accounts and necessary for their careful examination when submitted, he was to be retained in safe custody or placed "upon sufficient security." Mr. Thomas Jones was designated as the proper party to make an examination and submit a full report. Copies of all accounts and of Mr. Jones' report upon them, accompanied by Mr. Oglethorpe's opinion, were to be forwarded to the trustees at the earliest practicable moment. Until further instructions Causton was not to be sent to England, but was to be detained in safe custody or under bond.

Fortified with these documents, and acting under these orders, Oglethorpe proceeded at once to their proper execution. Ignorant of what was in store for him Causton, with a bold front, appeared at the head of the magistrates to welcome the general on his arrival from Frederica. He was accompanied by others, participants in his peculations, who, having reason to dread an investigation into their conduct during the general's absence, joined in the public salutations, hoping thereby to conciliate his favor. He was soon informed that the grand jury in Savannah had prepared a representation of the "grievances, hardships, and necessities" of the inhabitants, in which they complained bitterly of the misconduct of Mr. Causton, alleging that he had expended much larger sums than were authorized by the trustees, that he had brought the colony into debt, that he had exceeded his powers, that he was arbitrary and oppressive in the discharge of his official duties, and that he was partial in the distribution of the public stores. It was suggested by not a few that as the commercial agent of the trustees and the keeper of the public stores he had utilized his position for his own advancement and the benefit of special friends. It was believed that the funds of the trustees had been by him appropriated to the improvement of his plantation at Ockstead, where he and his family resided in comfort and plenty beyond the reach of his neighbors. That he

was arrogant in his behavior, that he had rendered the other magistrates subservient to his will, that he had played the part of a petty tyrant in the community, and that he ruled the people through their necessities, taking advantage of their daily wants and making these the means of keeping them in subjection to his pleasure, could not be doubted. It was evident also that he had perverted the due administration of the law, and had sedulously suppressed from the knowledge of the trustees many just complaints preferred by the colonists at Savannah.

After a patient examination into the condition of affairs, which established on the part of Causton a woful mismanagement of the trust funds sent for the support of the province, General Oglethorpe on the 17th of October "called all the Inhabitants together at the Town-House, and there made a pathetic Speech to them, setting forth how deeply the Trust was become indebted by Mr. Causton's having run into so great Exceedings beyond what they had ordered, which Debts the Trust had nothing left at present to discharge besides what Goods and Effects they had in the Store, which must in a great Measure be applied to those Purposes, especially first to all such as the Stores were owing anything to, by which Means there would be a Necessity of retrenching the ordinary Issues that something might remain for the necessary Support of Life among the industrious People who were not to be blamed. This had such an Effect, that many People appeared thunder-struck, knowing not where it would end; neither could the most knowing determine it."[1]

The next day Causton was dismissed from office and required to deliver into the hands of Mr. Thomas Jones all books, papers, and accounts connected with the public stores. General Oglethorpe also demanded of him bond, with ample security, to appear and answer any charges which might be preferred against him. It being impossible to procure in Savannah bondsmen of means sufficient to respond to the sums in which Causton would probably be found indebted to the trust, General Oglethorpe was content with Causton's individual bond, coupled with an "assignment of all his improvements at Ockstead or elsewhere."

After weeks and months consumed in the examination, Mr. Jones informed Mr. Stephens "that after so much Time spent about making up Mr. Causton's Accounts, there was so little Progress made in it that he could hardly say it was begun; so many Intricacies appeared more and more every Day, such In-

[1] Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol. i. p. 305. London. MDCCXLII.

ncies, many Things wrongly charged, abundance omitted
ught to have been brought to Account, and several Day-
ıid to be lost (which he could not believe but were con-
that at the Rate they went on, he defied any Man living
ıt it; and for his Part he was quite tired looking into such
on which he was confident was by Art and Cunning made
able; insomuch that he was positive the Balances, for-
ıade, were framed at Will and sent to the Trustees so; for
ıe (Mr. Causton) kept copies of them distinctly, it was
ble for him to make out the same from the Books now
ıim."

ıe other hand, Mr. Causton complained of the treatment
ived at Mr. Jones' hands, and protested against being
villain and a knave. He declared he had served the
ell, and was prepared to defend his character from all
ns.[1]

ing impracticable to adjust these accounts in Savannah,
ı was ordered to London, where he appeared before the
ı council. Failing there to produce proper vouchers, he
:mitted to depart for Georgia where he stated he would
to arrange everything to the satisfaction of the trustees.
for Savannah he died at sea[2] and, in the bosom of the
ound rest from all his troubles.

vacancy caused by the deposition of Causton was filled
ıppointment of Colonel William Stephens, who was then
nnah occupying the position of secretary of the trustees
ırovince of Georgia.

mismanagement in the disbursement of the funds and
ı which had been sent over for the support of the colony
depleted condition of the trustees' treasury rendered a
ıment of the ordinary issues most imperative.

letter written by General Oglethorpe on the 19th of Oc-
738, and addressed to the trustees, after alluding to the
manner in which Causton had "trifled away the public
' and squandered the resources of the colony, he discloses
rming fact that the scout-boatmen, rangers, and others
ıose active service and watchfulness the province relied
:ection, were unpaid and actually starving. "When I
m," says the general, "the Trustees' circumstances, their
ı was so great that they offered to serve on until the

[1] ens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. 406. London. MDCCCXLII.

[2] Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 222. New York. MDCCCXLII.

Trustees' affairs mended; I thanked them but reduced the Rangers since I could not feed them with hopes of what I could not make good. The Scout-Boats I have for this month paid out of my own money, since they are absolutely necessary, and I will not charge the Trustees with new debts.

"There is a worse circumstance than any above, viz: the Industrious Poor People, who have saved something by frugality, have lodged their little all in the Store, hoping to have provisions from thence in their Necessity; and now if the Store cannot pay they must perish for want; the like misery must befall all the Trustees' servants as well as many of the inhabitants whom sickness and misfortunes have prevented from having a crop this year. . . .

"I can see nothing but destruction to the Colony unless some assistance be immediately sent us. I support things for a while by some money I have in my hands, and the rest I supply with my own money, for I will not incur Debts nor draw Bills upon you. . . .

"If this (I know not what name to give it) had not happened, the Colony had overcome all it's difficulties and had been in a flourishing condition."

He advises the trustees that the Italians are pleased with their new home, and that Camuse and the members of his family had wound some silk as fine as that made in Georgia during the past year. The mulberry-trees in the public garden were again growing luxuriantly, and promised a foliage which would soon subsist "a great quantity of worms." Clay had been found from which a potter was manufacturing excellent ware. Several yokes of oxen and several carts with horses were employed by the inhabitants of Savannah. The trustees' saw-mill was turning out seven hundred feet of boards *per diem;* and, if managed properly, would "bring an income." The idle people had run away, and "a spirit of industry seemed to be stirring." He hopes with his own money to "make shift to support the most valuable part of the people."

"I have already expended a great deal," writes this noble and generous man, "and, as far as the income of my estate and employments for this year will go, I shall sooner lay it out in supporting the Colony (till I can hear from you) than in any other diversion."

After payment of outstanding debts, he estimates £5,000 as the lowest sum practicable for carrying on the civil concerns

ıe colony, "if any success is to be expected in the produc-
of wine and silk, and a form of government is to be main-
d."
ıisting orders for the erection of churches and the cultivation
nds for religious uses, both in Savannah and Frederica, could
ıe obeyed unless the requisite funds were supplied.
ıcurring to the Causton defalcation, he concludes as follows:
ıxamined him to know what could be the meaning that he
to exceed so excessively your Orders, thereby plunging the
ny into its present difficulties. He answered that he made
xpenses but what necessity forced him to, and that he could
e that necessity. He entered into several particulars; That
Multitude forced him to build a Fort for fear of the Span-
ı; That the charge of Saltzburghers and other charges were
provided for in the Establishment sent over by the Trustees;
t he received the Establishment too late to comply with it.
did not pretend to justify himself in not sending over the
lance of his accompts. His negligence to bring his Acco^{ts} to
allance half yearly, or every year at least, has been the occa-
ı of the melancholy scituation he has put us in. Some things
lledged that had weight. That the prices of Provisions were
ıle to what they were at my first arrival here, from whence
calculated the Estimate. That the Spanish Alarms obliged
: to comply with the humour of the people here, for which
ıon he was forced to give any prices to Sloops to bring down
risions to the Colony. He said farther that he had not been
ty of any fraud, nor converted any of the Trustees' money to
own use. He at first seemed pretty stubborn, but upon a
ınd examination he was more submissive. When I was about
omit him he pleaded that it was not usual here to comit Free-
lers for any but Capital Crimes. That Watson, who was
ısed of killing a man and had been found guilty by a Jury,
bail'd upon his own Recognizance. That he submitted to
Trustees, and that all he had acquired in his six years' service,
that all he had in the world, was laid out in improvements
ıis Lot in the Colony, and that he would give all as security
ıbide and justify his acco^{ts}. He has accordingly given se-
ty. He has delivered the Stores, Books, &c., unto Mr. Jones
ırding to your appointment. I have not been able to enter
ı the rest of the affairs of the Colony. The Saltzburghers
ve and so do the people at Hampstead and Highgate. There
abundance of good Houses built in this Town. I desire to

know in what manner you would have me proceed in Causton's affair." [1]

This defalcation of Causton, and his prodigal waste of the moneys and stores of the trust committed to his keeping, brought the plantation to the very verge of ruin. Appalled at the situation, not a few of the colonists seriously contemplated abandoning the province and seeking subsistence in Carolina. Sensible of the hardships they would be called upon to endure before ample relief could be afforded, the general did not undertake to dissuade any, who were so minded, from attempting to better their fortunes elsewhere. Upon reflection, however, they concluded to remain; trusting to favoring seasons and the good disposition of the trustees to repair at the earliest moment the losses which had been so unexpectedly and causelessly entailed.

But for the immediate and generous aid extended by Oglethorpe, but for the magnetism of his presence and example, but for his just administration of affairs, his encouraging words, and his charitable deeds, the effect produced upon the colonists in Savannah by this crisis in their affairs would have proved most disastrous. This is not the only occasion upon which, as the sequel will show, the founder of Georgia proved himself also her saviour.

[1] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 57–62. Savannah. 1873. Compare *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739, pp. 22, 23.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Brothers John and Charles Wesley in Georgia.

After a short sojourn in Savannah, the Reverend Charles esley repaired to Frederica where he entered upon the disarge of his duties as private secretary to General Oglethorpe. will be remembered that he also held from the trustees the mmission of Secretary of Indian Affairs for the colony of eorgia.

Unfortunately, at an early date an estrangement ensued beeen the general and his secretary. In addition to his official ties Mr. Wesley assumed the spiritual guidance of the inhabints at Frederica. He was thus brought into personal contact d confidential relations with the entire population. Among e dwellers there were some whose reputations were not with- t reproach, and whose manner of life did not command the probation of the young ecclesiastic who carried ever with him standard of morality and religious excellence inculcated in e school of the divines, yet seldom realized in the walk and nversation of ordinary mortals. Youthful and inexperienced, nfiding in his disposition, unsuspecting, and liable to be imsed upon by the designing and the unscrupulous, his symthies were not infrequently warmly enlisted where the mature lgment of one better informed and not unacquainted with the les of his fellow-men, and women too, would have suggested ıtion and reflection. Fresh from the shades of scholastic life was, without preparation, transplanted into the midst of a mmunity heterogeneous in its character and, from the very nae of its composition and situation, largely insensible to the raining influences of civilization. Deeply imbued with religs sentiments, and intent upon the execution of his evangelical sion, he regarded all the business of life as wholly subordie to an observance of the rules of the church and the exhion of Christian virtues. Wherever he detected a deviation n what he conceived to be the true path of rectitude he did ; hesitate to rebuke the wanderer. Fastidious in his notions

of right and wrong, with ample time and inclination to listen to the disagreements existent among the settlers, often misinformed as to the genuine merits of the quarrel, ignorant of the true mode of adjusting it, busying himself with matters which properly did not concern him, sometimes interfering where he should have stood aloof, and again espousing causes which, upon a narrower inspection, should not have enlisted his sympathies, in his efforts to promote peace and advance the Christianity of the community he signally failed, and drew down upon himself the ill-will of not a few.

Oglethorpe, on the other hand, burthened with the cares and the responsibilities of his station, commissioned to develop and guard the life of the colony, confronting engagements, exposures, and dangers enough to oppress the stoutest heart, and familiar with the management of men and weighty affairs, had no leisure for the exhibition of idle sentiment or the discussion of questions of casuistry. With trifling evils and imaginary wrongs he could not pause to deal.

These two men viewed the situation from standpoints widely different. Oglethorpe strove to fortify the hearts and the homes of his people so that they might constitute an insurmountable barrier to the threatened incursion of the Spaniards. While not indifferent to the social and moral tone of Frederica, and while solicitous that religion should be upheld and the ordinances of the church supported, he was deeply engrossed in the building of houses, the construction of batteries, the accumulation of supplies, and the enforcement of police and military regulations. At this remote and exposed point he exacted and commanded prompt obedience from all. Clothed with the amplest powers to direct, his measures may at times have seemed to the clergyman, accustomed to question, arbitrary and perhaps dictatorial. The situation was novel, and the ecclesiastic brought no experience to assist him in learning the lesson of the hour.

As has been suggested, Mr. Wesley attempted the difficult task of reforming what he regarded as improprieties in the conduct of the inhabitants of Frederica, and of reconciling the petty jealousies and occasional disputes in which they indulged. The consequence was just what might reasonably have been anticipated. He failed in his object and incurred the enmity of both parties at variance. Many went so far as to form plans to rid the town of his presence. Complaints were lodged against him with General Oglethorpe, who, instead of discountenancing

iem and demanding for his secretary and clergyman the defer-
ıce and respect due to his station, listened too readily to the
ıarges preferred and suffered them to prejudice his mind against
the truly amiable, ingenuous, and kind-hearted minister."
ailing to interpret leniently his well-meant but injudiciously
nducted purposes, and omitting to caution him in a friendly
ay against the commission of acts prompted by inexperience
ıd the lack of worldly wisdom, he treated him with disdain and
eglect.

The apology suggested by Mr. Southey for this conduct on the
ırt of Oglethorpe is, perhaps, the most plausible which can be
ffered. The general, who had causes enough to disquiet him,
ırising from the precarious state of the colony, was teased and
oured by the complaints urged against Mr. Wesley, and re-
gretted that he had not brought with him one possessing a calmer
emper and a more practical turn of mind. "I know not how
o account for his increasing coldness," writes Wesley, in speak-
ing of his intercourse with Oglethorpe. His accusers noted the
hange which had been produced by their insinuations, and tak-
ng advantage of it manifested more openly than before their
nimosity toward the clergyman. His situation was now most
npleasant. His usefulness was gone. Little respect was ex-
ended by the inhabitants of Frederica. Even his personal safety
ras threatened. All friends, except Mr. Ingham, had seemingly
eserted him. He was even charged by the general with mutiny
nd sedition, and with stirring up the people to desert the colony.
his Wesley stoutly denied and demanded that he should be
nfronted face to face with his accusers. Upon further exam-
ıation the grave suggestions proved to be unfounded. This
glethorpe practically admitted, and yet outwardly declined to
me to a reconciliation with his secretary who still continued to
ait upon him and to discharge the duties of his position.

Mr. Wesley was totally unprepared for the rough mode of life
experienced on the southern frontier. He had brought with
m nothing save his clothes and books, and was mortified and
censed at the failure and neglect to supply him with necessary
mforts. In the midst of his distresses he was seized with a
ver which so unnerved him that he envied the quiet grave of a
out-boatman who had just died.

In an hour of calm reflection becoming convinced of the in-
ıstice shown to Mr. Wesley, General Oglethorpe, then on the eve
setting out upon a dangerous expedition, sent for his secre-

tary and thus addressed him: "You will soon see the reasons for my actions. I am now going to death. You will see me no more. Take this ring and carry it from me to Mr. V——. If there is a friend to be depended upon, he is one. His interest is next to Sir Robert's. Whatever you ask within his power he will do for you, your brother, and your family. I have expected death for some days. These letters show that the Spaniards have long been seducing our allies, and intend to cut us off at a blow. I fall by my friends: — Gascoigne whom I have made, the Carolina people upon whom I depended to send their promised succours. But death is to me nothing. T—— will pursue all my designs, and to him I recommend them and you." "He then gave me," says Mr. Wesley, "a diamond ring. I took it and said 'If, as I believe,

Postremum fato quod te alloquor, hoc est,

hear what you will quickly know to be true as soon as you are entered upon a separate state. This ring I shall never make any use of for myself. I have no worldly hopes. I have renounced the world. Life is bitterness to me. I came hither to lay it down. You have been deceived as well as I. I protest my innocence of the crimes I am charged with, and take myself to be now at liberty to tell you what I thought I should never have uttered.' [Then follow in the MS. Journal some lines in cipher.] When I finished this relation he seemed entirely changed, and full of his old love and confidence in me. After some expressions of kindness, I asked him 'Are you satisfied?' He replied 'Yes entirely.' 'Why then Sir, I desire nothing more upon earth, and care not how soon I follow you.' . . . He then embraced and kissed me with the most cordial affection.

"I attended him to the scout-boat where he waited some minutes for his sword. They brought him first, and a second time, a mourning sword. At last they gave him his own which had been his father's. 'With this sword,' said he, 'I was never yet unsuccessful.' 'I hope, sir,' said I, 'you carry with you a better, even the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.' 'I hope so too,' he added. When the boat put off, I ran before into the woods to see my last of him. Seeing me and two others running after him, he stopped the boat and asked whether we wanted anything. Captain McIntosh, left commander, desired his last orders. I then said 'God be with you. Go forth, *Christo duce et auspice Christo.*' 'You have' says he, 'I think, some verses of mine. You there see my thoughts of success.' His last words

iis people were 'God bless you all.' The boat then carried
ı out of sight." [1]

Thus came a rift in the angry skies through which the sun-
ıt of mutual confidence and restored friendship descended to
›el the doubts and gladden the hearts of the general and his
'etary.

Jpon Oglethorpe's return Wesley met him at the bluff; and,
the evening, they walked together. The general then in-
ned him of the dangers which had recently threatened the
›ny. Upon giving him back his ring Wesley remarked, "I
d not Sir, and indeed I cannot tell you how joyfully and
nkfully I return this." "When I gave it to you," responded
.ethorpe, "I never expected to receive it again, but thought
vould be of service to your brother and you. I had many
›ns of my death, particularly their bringing me my mourning
›rd; but God has been pleased to preserve a life which was
er valuable to me, and yet in the continuance of it, I thank
l, I can rejoice." "I am now glad," replied Wesley, "of all
t has happened here, since without it I could never have had
h a proof of your affection as that you gave me when you
ked upon me as the most ungrateful of Villains." While
›sley was speaking, the general appeared full of tenderness to-
:d him. He condemned himself for his late anger, which he
›uted to want of time for consideration.

'The next day," continues Wesley, "I had some farther talk
h him. He ordered me everything he could think I wanted,
l promised to have a house built for me immediately. He
› just the same to me he formerly had been." Finding that
secretary was restored to the general's favor, the people of
›derica became on the instant civil and courteous.

n May, 1736, Mr. Wesley took leave of the general, having
n deputed by him to repair to Savannah and there grant
›nses to the Indian traders. In alluding to this departure
n Frederica he writes: "I was overjoyed at my deliverance
of this furnace, and not a little ashamed at myself for being
' Persuaded that his days of usefulness in the colony were
›ed, and purposing a return to England, Mr. Wesley, in June,
gned his commission. In discussing this matter with him
›eral Oglethorpe said: "I would you not to let the trustees
›w your resolution of resigning. There are many hungry fel-
› ready to catch at the office; and, in my absence, I cannot

[1] *Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 19, 20.

put in one of my own choosing. The best I can hope for is an honest Presbyterian, as many of the Trustees are such. Perhaps they may send me a bad man, and how far such a one may influence the traders and obstruct the reception of the Gospel among the heathen, you know. I shall be in England before you leave it. Then you may either put in a deputy or resign."

Charged with dispatches from the general to the government, the trustees, and the Board of Trade, Wesley bade adieu to Savannah, and, after a tedious and dangerous voyage interrupted by a deviation to Boston, at which port the vessel, the London Galley, was compelled to put in for repairs and provisions, went ashore at Deal on the 3d of December. He had been accompanied to Charlestown, South Carolina, whence he sailed, by his brother John. At the time of his departure he was greatly enfeebled by a bloody flux and a fever.

It was his intention to return to Georgia; and with this object in view he retained his office until April, 1738. While then recovering from an attack of pleurisy he was notified to embark for the province. His physicians forbade him to undertake the journey. He accordingly renewed his resignation, but General Oglethorpe, "unwilling to lose so honest and faithful an officer," still urged him to retain his place, promising to supply it with a deputy until he was "sufficiently recovered to follow." This flattering invitation he felt constrained to decline. In the ensuing month his resignation was accepted, and his connection with the affairs of the colony terminated.

It is worthy of remembrance that the idea of founding and maintaining an orphan house in Georgia was first suggested to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield by the Rev. Charles Wesley.

Upon his arrival in Georgia the Rev. John Wesley, then unknown to fame, but at a later period regarded as the "greatest figure that has appeared in the religious world since the Reformation," accompanied by his friend Delamotte, became a resident of Savannah. Although commissioned as a spiritual adviser to the inhabitants of that town, he preferred to announce and to regard himself rather as a missionary to the Indians than as a minister to the colonists. Chafing under the confinement incident to the discharge of his clerical duties in Savannah, he declared, "I never promised to stay here one month. I openly stated, both before and ever since my coming hither, that I neither would nor could take charge of the English any longer than till I could go among the Indians." His ambition was to

onvert the heathen. With Tomo-chi-chi he had an interview n the 14th of February, 1736. The mico assured him that lthough the Indians were perplexed by the French on the one and, by the Spaniards on the other, and by traders in their iidst, and that while their ears were now shut and their tongues ivided, he would call his chiefs together and persuade the wise ien of his nation to hear the Great Word. He cautioned the iissionary against making Christians after the fashion in which iey were manufactured by the Spaniards, and counseled instruc- ion before baptism. Well did he understand that, for the time eing, the presentation of a string of beads or of a silver cross ould suffice to seduce the native from the primitive faith in hich he had been reared, but in such conversion he reposed no onfidence. The conduct of white Christians impressed him un- avorably. Nevertheless he was willing to afford the missionary very facility for the prosecution of his contemplated labors, and y influence and example to induce others to hearken to his eachings. There lurked, however, in the breast of the mico a rave doubt as to the success of the mission. Mr. Wesley's re- ly,[1] while perhaps just in the abstract, was little calculated o win the confidence or encourage the sympathy of the chief: ' There is but one: — He that sitteth in Heaven, — who is able o teach man wisdom. Tho' we are come so far, we know not whether He will please to teach you by us or no. If He teaches ou, you will learn Wisdom, but we can do nothing."

On another occasion, when urged by Mr. Wesley to hearken to he doctrines of Christianity and become a convert, the old man corafully responded: "Why these are Christians at Savannah! Those are Christians at Frederica! Christians drunk! Christians beat men! Christians tell lies! Me no Christian."

Upon the termination of a public audience with the Indians, Mr. Wesley and Tomo-chi-chi dined with Mr. Oglethorpe. The meal concluded, the clergyman asked the aged mico "what he thought he was made for." "He that is above," replied the Indian, "knows what He made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much, and yet white men build great houses as if they were to live forever. But white men cannot live forever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I." Wesley responded, "If red men will learn the Good Book they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that Book unless we are taught by

[1] *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, etc., p. 11. Bristol, n. d.

Him that is above; and He will not teach unless you avoid what you already know is not good." "I believe that," said the chief. "He will not teach us while our hearts are not white, and our men do what they know is not good. Therefore, He that is above does not send us the Good Book." In these sentiments of the native we recognize a strange commingling of satire, irony, and candor, which indicated strength in an apparent confession of weakness, evinced knowledge by an admission of ignorance, and pointed the self-satisfied clergyman to the contemplation of that stern decree which levels both small and great, wise and foolish, civilized and savage, remanding the mightiest as well as the lowliest to one common grave.

In Spence's "Anecdotes"[1] we are informed that in a conversation between General Oglethorpe and Tomo-chi-chi in regard to prayer, the latter said the Indians never prayed to God but left it with Him to do what He thought best for them: "that the asking for any particular blessing looked to him like directing God; and, if so, that it must be a very wicked thing. That for his part he thought everything that happened in the world was as it should be; that God of Himself would do for every one what was consistent with the good of the whole; and that our duty to Him was to be content with whatever happened in general, and thankful for all the good that happened in particular."

In this conviction the Indian was not singular. Apollonius frequently asserted that the only supplication which ought to be offered by worshipers in the temples of the Gods was: "O Gods! grant us those things which you deem most conducive to our well-being." Socrates, that oracle of human wisdom, because the Gods who were accustomed to bestow favors were best able to select such gifts as were most fit, warned his disciples against the danger and impropriety of offering petitions for specific things. The prayer, "O Jupiter, ea quæ bona sunt nobis orantibus, aut non orantibus, tribue; quæ vero mala, etiam orantibus ne concede," has been more than once in the school of the philosophers commended as most appropriate. In that wonderful satire in which Juvenal, by apt examples, portrays the ruinous consequences which have ensued where the gods complied with the expressed desires of men, it will be remembered that in answer to the inquiry,

"Nil ergo optabunt homines?"

he responds, —

[1] London edition of 1820, p. 318.

. . . "Si consilium vis,
Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nobis." [1]

Epicurus believed that invocations, prayers, and sacrifices were superfluous; that in all the accidents and difficulties of life there was no propriety in having recourse to the Gods, or in prostrating ourselves before their altars; but that we ought, in perfect tranquillity, to contemplate all the vicissitudes of life, and, without emotion, confront the changing fortunes which might befall us.

"On Tuesday, the 20th day of July," says Mr. Wesley in his Journal, "five of the Chicasaw Indians (twenty of whom had been in Savannah several days) came to see us, with Mr. Andrews, their interpreter. They were all warriors; — four of them Head-men. The two chiefs were Paustoobee and Mingo Mattaw. Our conference was as follows:

"*Q.* Do you believe there is One above who is over all things?

Paustoobee answered: "We believe there are four Beloved Things above; the Clouds, the Sun, the Clear Sky, and He that lives in the Clear Sky.

"*Q.* Do you believe there is but One that lives in the Clear Sky?

"*A.* We believe there are two with him, — three in all.

"*Q.* Do you think He made the Sun and the other Beloved Things?

"*A.* We cannot tell. Who hath seen?

"*Q.* Do you think He made you?

"*A.* We think He made all men at first.

"*Q.* How did He make them at first?

"*A.* Out of the ground.

"*Q.* Do you believe He loves you?

"*A.* I don't know. I cannot see him.

"*Q.* But has He not often saved your life?

"*A.* He has. Many bullets have gone on this side and many on that side, but He would not let them hurt me. And many bullets have gone into these young Men, and yet they are alive.

"*Q.* Then, can't He save you from your enemies now?

"*A.* Yes; but we know not if He will. We have now so many enemies round about us that I think of nothing but death. And if I am to die, I shall die, and I will die like a man. But

[1] Tenth Satire, line 346 *et seq.*

if He will have me to live, I shall live. Tho' I had ever so many enemies, He can destroy them all.

"*Q.* How do you know that?

"*A.* From what I have seen. When our enemies came against us before, then the Beloved Clouds came for us. And often much rain and sometimes hail has come upon them, and that in a very hot day. And I saw when many French and Choctaws and other nations came against one of our towns. And the ground made a noise under them, and the Beloved Ones in the air behind them. And they were afraid and went away, and left their meat and drink and their guns. I tell no lie. All these saw it, too.

"*Q.* Have you heard such noises at other times?

"*A.* Yes, often; before and after almost every battle.

"*Q.* What sort of Noises were they?

"*A.* Like the noise of drums and guns and shouting.

"*Q.* Have you heard any such lately?

"*A.* Yes, four days after our last battle with the French.

"*Q.* Then you heard nothing before it?

"*A.* The night before I dream'd I heard many drums up there, and many trumpets there, and much stamping of feet and shouting. Till then I thought we should all die. But then I thought the Beloved Ones were come to help us. And the next day I heard above a hundred guns go off before the fight begun. And I said when the Sun is there the Beloved Ones will help us, and we shall conquer our Enemies. And we did so.

"*Q.* Do you often think and talk of the Beloved Ones?

"*A.* We think of them always, wherever we are. We talk of them and to them, at home and abroad, in peace, in war, before and after we fight, and indeed whenever and wherever we meet together.

"*Q.* Where do you think your souls go after death?

"*A.* We believe the Souls of Red Men walk up and down near the place where they died, or where their bodies lie. For we have often heard cries and noises near the place where any prisoners had been burnt.

"*Q.* Where do the Souls of White Men go after death?

"*A.* We can't tell. We have not seen.

"*Q.* Our belief is that the souls of bad men only walk up and down: but the souls of good men go up.

"*A.* I believe so too. But I told you the talk of the nation.

"(*Mr. Andrews.* They said at the burying[1] they knew what ou were doing. You were speaking to the Beloved Ones above o take up the soul of the young woman.)

"*Q.* We have a Book that tells us many things of the Be-oved One above. Would you be glad to know them?

"*A.* We have no time now but to fight. If we should ever e at peace we should be glad to know.

"*Q.* Do you expect ever to know what the White Men know?

"(*Mr. Andrews.* They told Mr. O. they believe the time will ome when the Red and the White Men will be one.)

"*Q.* What do the French teach you?

"*A.* The French Black-Kings[2] never go out. We see you o about. We like that. That is good.

"*Q.* How came your nation by the knowledge they have?

"*A.* As soon as ever the Ground was found and fit to stand pon, it came to us, and has been with us ever since. But we re young men. Our old men know more. But all of them do ot know. There are but a few whom the Beloved One chuses rom a child, and is in them, and takes care of them, and teaches hem. They know these things: and our old men practice: herefore they know: But I don't practice. Therefore I know ittle."[3]

So far as we can ascertain, further conferences between Mr. Wesley and the Indians were infrequent and unaccompanied by ny valuable results. Ignorant of their language, and unable to ommand an interpreter through whom the mysteries of his aith might be intelligently communicated, Mr. Wesley found his herished scheme for the conversion of the Indians impracticable. He was forced to abandon it and to devote himself to clerical labors among the Europeans.

His first impressions of Savannah were happy. Writing to his mother he says, "The place is pleasant beyond imagination, and, by all I can learn, exceeding healthful even in Summer for those who are not intemperate." He desires that some of the poor and religious persons of Epworth and Wroote would come over to him. Although his parishioners numbered some seven hundred,[4] there being no church edifice, religious services were held in the court-house. His scholarly attainments, earnest man-

[1] Some days previously a young woman had been buried in Savannah, and these Indians were present at the funeral.

[2] Priests.

[3] *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, pp. 26–28. Bristol, n. d.

[4] In July, 1737, Mr. Wesley took a census of Savannah by going from house to house, and computed the number of in-

ner, and well-considered discourses at first attracted the favorable notice of the community. So popular was he then as a preacher that, a public ball and religious exercises being announced for the same hour, "the church was full while the ball-room was so empty that the entertainment could not go forward."

Contrasting his agreeable surroundings with the trials which his brother Charles was experiencing at Frederica, he exclaims, "How different are the ways wherein we are led; yet I hope toward the same end. I have hitherto had no opposition at all; all is smooth and fair and promising. Many seem to be awakened; all are full of respect and commendation. We cannot see any cloud gathering; but this calm cannot last; storms must come hither too; and let them come when we are ready to meet them."

His friend Delamotte had organized a school of between thirty and forty children whom he taught "to read, write, and cast accounts." Every Saturday afternoon, and on the Lord's day before the evening service, Mr. Wesley catechised these pupils. Thus was inaugurated the first Sunday-school in the province of Georgia.

As many of his parishioners as desired to do so met at his house after the evening service, and also on every Wednesday afternoon to "spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation." This was the earliest series of prayer-meetings held in the colony; and here, in the modest and scantily furnished reception room of the parsonage in Savannah, was cradled the Methodist Episcopal Church, destined to become one of the most potent societies among the Protestant denominations of the world.[1]

With the Moravian bishop, Nitschman, he associated on terms of the closest and tenderest intimacy. Truly did he admire his simple faith, unostentatious piety, his quiet demeanor, his stern integrity, his irreproachable character. It was most agreeable to him to commune with the members of that sect and to minister to them in seasons of sickness and distress. His clerical engagements at Savannah were occasionally interrupted by visits to Frederica. There he found "so little either of the form or power of religion" that he expresses his joy in being "removed from it."

habitants at 518, of whom 149 were under sixteen years of age. The rest of his parishioners dwelt in the neighborhood of the town.

[1] Mr. Wesley thus interprets the rise of Methodism: "The first rise of Methodism was in 1729 when four of us met together at Oxford. The second was at Savannah in 1736 when twenty or thirty persons met at my house. The last was at London on this day, May 1st 1738, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday Evening."

Despite his earnestness and regularity in the discharge of his iestly ministrations, his labors ceased to be crowned with the ɔcess which at the outset of his career waited upon them, and clearly perceived that his popularity both as a preacher and as ıpiritual adviser was manifestly on the wane. Persuaded that ı whole heart was in his work, he was at a loss to account for ɜse distressing indications, which daily grew more decided.

Observing much coolness in the behavior of one who had pro-sed friendship for him, Mr. Wesley demanded the reason, and s answered on this wise: "I like nothing you do; all your ːmons are satires upon particular persons. Therefore I will ver hear you more: and all the people are of my mind, for we ɔn't hear ourselves abused. Besides, they say they are Protes-nts, but as for you they can't tell what religion you are of. hey never heard of such a religion before. They do not know hat to make of it. And then your private behaviour: all the uarrels that have been here since you came have been long of ou. Indeed there is neither man nor woman in the town who ınds a word you say; and so you may preach long enough but obody will come to hear you."

Many took offense at his rigid adherence to the custom of bap-sm by immersion. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper he ould admit no Dissenter to the Communion unless he consented ı be re-baptized. He insisted upon dividing the public prayers according to the original appointment of the Church; " begin-ng the morning prayers at five, the litany, Communion office, ıd sermon at eleven, and the evening service at three. He was so charged with a design to establish auricular confession as a erequisite to admission to the privileges of the Holy Com-union. Forgetting the injunctions of the Rev. Dr. Burton, excessive was his zeal in the advocacy of favorite doctrinal ews and in the denunciation of evil that he moulded his dis-urses so that they became caustic satires not only upon the ndition of affairs but upon the conduct of individuals. His bukes and corrections were pungently administered alike in ivate and in public. He was on all occasions a *censor morum*, ıd his criticisms were passed equally upon magistrate, citizen, ıd church member. Instead of drawing men by the cords of ve, he alienated them by his denunciations and applied stric-res. In the language of another, he "drenched them with the ıysic of an intolerant discipline." Overstepping the limits hich should be observed at all times by a clergyman, he busied

himself with the quarrels and complaints of the town, and in open court counseled the inhabitants to oppose the magistrates in the execution of justice.[1]

Such unusual conduct angered the people, and gradually they discontinued their attendance upon divine worship. Wesley lost the power which he at first exerted over the consciences of the populace. He alienated the affections of his hearers, and in the end became convinced that he was accomplishing little in the service of his Master. Not long afterwards, in reviewing this period of his life, so unsatisfactory in its efforts and so replete with trials and disappointments, he freely confessed that he who went to America to convert others was then himself unconverted to God;[2] that all the time he was in Savannah he was "beating the air," "fighting continually but not conquering," and failing to appreciate the loving kindness of the Lord.

He who at subsequent period

> "Filled the earth with golden fruit,
> With ripe millennial love,"

was the prolific cause of unrest, and almost an object of hatred in the community.

Meanwhile Mr. Wesley enjoyed wonderful health. His constitution seemed to improve under hardships and labors which would have impaired the stoutest physical powers. Of the three hundred acres set apart in Savannah for glebe land he cut off what he deemed sufficient for a good garden, and there he frequently worked with his own hands. He ate moderately, slept little, and left not a moment of his time unemployed. To the changing seasons, and in all kinds of weather, he exposed himself with the utmost indifference. His journeys into South Carolina were sometimes performed on foot, and with no shelter at night save the friendly boughs of a tree. His energy, resolution, self-denial, and endurance were at all times conspicuous.

The circumstances which brought the usefulness and services of Mr. Wesley as a clergyman in Savannah to an abrupt and a notorious conclusion may be thus briefly narrated. With Mr. Causton, the chief bailiff and keeper of the public stores, and with the members of his family, the missionary associated on friendly terms. Miss Sophia Hopkins, a niece of Mrs. Causton, and a young woman of uncommon personal and intellectual

[1] Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 15. London. MDCCXLII.

[2] *Extract of the Journal of Rev. Mr. John Wesley*, p. 73. Bristol, n. d.

ırms, had been his pupil. He gave her French lessons. Un- his religious ministrations she became a professed convert l united herself with the church. It would appear that this ıstant association with a pretty, fascinating maiden eventually ıited tender emotions in the breast of the youthful and sus- ɔtible ecclesiastic. He was evidently on the eve of declaring affection when his friend, Mr. Delamotte, excited his appre- nsions by expressing doubts in regard to the sincerity of Miss ɔpkins' religious convictions. He also cautioned him against erishing or avowing too fond an attachment for her. Taking unsel of the Moravian elders, they too advised him not to con- mplate a matrimonial alliance with her. Thus admonished, r. Wesley became more guarded in his conduct and more re- rved in his intercourse. Perceiving the change in his deport- ent, Miss Hopkins was piqued, mortified, and angered. Some- ing closely resembling a rupture ensued; and, not long after- ırds, this charming and coquettish young lady gave her hand a Mr. Williamson.

A few months subsequent to her marriage Mr. Wesley "ob- rved some things which he thought reproveable in her be- vior." He mentioned them to her. "At this," writes that rgyman in his Journal, "she appeared extremely angry and d she did not expect such usage from me." The next day s. Causton made excuses for her niece, and expressed much ret at what had transpired.

Having, after the lapse of a few weeks, "repelled Mrs. Will- ıson from the Holy Communion," Mr. Wesley was arrested der the following warrant issued by the recorder: —

EORGIA. SAVANNAH. S. S.

'*To all Constables, Tythingmen, and others whom these may cern:*

'You and each of you are hereby required to take the body of ın Wesley, Clerk: and bring him before one of the Bailiffs the said Town to answer the complaint of William William- and Sophia his wife, for defaming the said Sophia, and re- ng to administer to her the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper publick Congregation without cause, by which the said Will- Williamson is damaged One Thousand Pounds Sterling. d for so doing this is your Warrant, certifying what you are lo in the premises.

'Given under my hand and seal the 8th day of Aug: Anno. n: 1737. TH° CHRISTIE."

By Jones, the constable, he was carried before the recorder and bailiff Parker. Williamson was there. To the charge that he had defamed his wife, Mr. Wesley entered a prompt and emphatic denial. As to the other allegation, he answered that "the giving or refusing the Lord's Supper being a matter purely ecclesiastical," he would not acknowledge any power in the magistrate to interrogate him in regard to it. Mr. Parker informed him that he must appear before the next court to be holden for Savannah. Mr. Williamson then said, "Gentlemen, I desire Mr. Wesley may give bail for his appearance." But Mr. Parker immediately refused the application, with the remark, "Sir, Mr. Wesley's word is sufficient."

Causton required that the reasons which induced Mr. Wesley to repel Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Comunion should be assigned in open court. To this demand the clergyman declined to accede. On the second day after the arrest Mr. Causton visited Mr. Wesley at his house, and after some sharp words said, "Make an end of this matter. Thou hadst best. My Niece to be used thus! I have drawn the sword and I will never sheath it till I have satisfaction." "Soon after," so runs Mr. Wesley's diary, "he added, 'Give the reasons of your repelling her before the whole congregation.' I answered, 'Sir, if you insist upon it I will, and so you may be pleased to tell her.' He said, 'Write to her and tell her so yourself.' I said, 'I will,' and after he went I wrote as follows:

"To Mrs. Sophia Williamson.

"At Mr. Causton's request I write once more. The Rules whereby I proceed are these:

"So many as intend to be Partakers of the Holy Communion shall signify their names to the Curate at least some time the day before. This you did not do.

"And if any of these ——— have done any wrong to his Neighbors, by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended, the Curate shall advertise him that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented. If you offer yourself at the Lord's Table on Sunday, I will advertise you (as I have done more than once) wherein you have done wrong. And when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the Mysteries of God.

"Aug. 11, 1737. John Wesley.

"Mr. Delamotte carrying this, Mr. Causton remarked, among

er warm sayings, 'I am the person that am injured. The ont is offered to me, and I will espouse the cause of my Niece. ım ill-used, and I will have satisfaction if it is to be had :he world.'

'Which way this satisfaction was to be had, I did not yet con- ve. But on Friday and Saturday it began to appear; Mr. ıston declaring to many persons that Mr. Wesley had repelled phy from the Holy Communion purely out of revenge, because had made proposals of marriage to her which she rejected d married Mr. Williamson."

Having thoroughly espoused the cause of his niece, Mr. ıuston set about stirring up the public mind and endeavored create a general sentiment adverse to Mr. Wesley. He even sied himself with the selection of jurors whose sympathies re in unison with his own. Persuaded by him Mrs. William- ı made an affidavit, full of insinuations, in which she asserted hat Mr. Wesley had many times proposed marriage to her, all ıich proposals she had rejected."

When the grand jury was impaneled, it was manifest that ıuston had much to do with its composition. Forty-four mem- rs were present, and among them Wesley noted one French- ın, who did not understand the English language, a Papist, professed infidel, three Baptists, sixteen or seventeen Dissent- ı, and several persons who had quarreled with him and openly wed revenge.

The court being organized on Monday the 22d, Mr. Causton livered a long and earnest charge, in which he cautioned the rymen "to beware of spiritual tyranny, and to oppose the new d illegal authority which was usurped over their consciences." ıe chief bailiff, uncle by marriage to the complainant, was ıying the double rôle of judge and prosecuting attorney. rs. Williamson's affidavit having been read, Causton delivered the grand jury a paper entitled "A List of Grievances pre- ıted by the Grand Jury for Savannah, this —— day of Aug., 37." It had evidently been prepared under his direction, d was designed to mould in advance the finding of that body. ter holding this document under advisement for more than a ek, and after the examination of sundry witnesses, the jury on ı 1st of September returned that paper into court. As modi- d by a majority, it read as follows: —

"That John Wesley, Clerk, hath broken the Laws of the alm, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his own, and Dignity;

"1. By speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson against her husband's consent;

"2. By repelling her from the Holy Communion;

"3. By not declaring his Adherence to the Church of England;

"4. By dividing the Morning Service on Sundays;

"5. By refusing to baptize Mr. Parker's child otherwise than by dipping, except the parents would certify it was weak and not able to bear it;

"6. By repelling Wm. Gough from the Holy Communion;

"7. By refusing to read the Burial-service over the body of Nathaniel Polhill;

"8. By calling himself Ordinary of Savannah;

"9. By refusing to receive Wm. Aglionby as a God-father only because he was not a communicant;

"10. By refusing Jacob Matthews for the same reason, and baptizing an Indian Trader's Child with only two sponsors."

Nine of these charges being purely ecclesiastical in their character, Mr. Wesley insisted that the present court could take no cognizance of them. As to the rest of the indictment he pleaded not guilty and demanded an immediate trial. Again and again did he press for a hearing, which was denied upon some frivolous pretext or other, such, for example, as that "Mr. Williamson was gone out of town." So malevolent was the spirit moving the parties preferring these charges against Mr. Wesley that with a view to damaging his clerical reputation far and near they caused the indictment found by a majority of the grand jury to be published in various newspapers in America.

Mr. Wesley had openly avowed a desire to answer directly to the trustees. Twelve of the jurors, three of them being constables and six tithing-men, who would have constituted a majority had that body been properly constituted of four constables and eleven tithing-men, signed the following document which was transmitted in due course: —

"*To the Honorable the Trustees for Georgia.*

"Whereas two Presentments have been made, the one of August 23rd, the other of August 31st, by the Grand Jury for the Town and County of Savannah in Georgia, against John Wesley, Clerk:

"We, whose names are underwritten, being Members of the said Grand Jury, do humbly beg leave to signify our dislike of the said Presentments, being by many and divers circumstances

ıro'ly persuaded in ourselves that the whole charge against Mr. Vesley is an artifice of Mr. Causton's, design'd rather to blacken ıe character of Mr. Wesley than to free the Colony from Re-ɣious Tyranny as he was pleas'd in his charge to us to term it. ut as these circumstances will be too tedious to trouble your onors with, we shall only beg leave to give the Reasons of our issent from the particular Bills.

" With regard to the First Bill we do not apprehend that Mr. Vesley acted against any laws by writing or speaking to Mrs. Villiamson, since it does not appear to us that the said Mr. Wes-y has either spoke in private or wrote to the said Mrs. William-ın since March 12 [the day of her marriage] except one letter : July the 5th, which he wrote at the request of her aunt, as a astor, to exhort and reprove her.

" The Second we do not apprehend to be a true Bill because we ımbly conceive Mr. Wesley did not assume to himself any au-ıority contrary to Law: for we understand every person intend-ıg to communicate should 'signify his name to the Curate at ast some time the day before,' which Mrs. Williamson did not ɔ: altho' Mr. Wesley had often, in full congregation, declared ə did insist on a compliance with that Rubrick, and had before ıpell'd divers persons for non-compliance therewith.

" The Third we do not think a True Bill because several of us ave been his hearers when he has declared his adherence to the hurch of England in a stronger manner than by a formal Dec-ıration; by explaining and defending the Apostles', the Nicene, nd the Athanasian Creeds, the Thirty Nine Articles, the whole ook of Common Prayer, and the Homilies of the said Church: nd because we think a formal Declaration is not required but rom those who have receiv'd Institution and Induction.

" The Fact alleged in the Fourth Bill we cannot apprehend to be contrary to any law in being.

" The Fifth we do not think a true Bill, because we conceive Mr. Wesley is justified by the Rubrick, viz: 'If they (the Par-ents) certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water ıpon it:' intimating (as we humbly suppose) it shall not suffice if they do not certify.

" The Sixth cannot be a true Bill because the said William ough, being one of our members, was surprized to hear himself ımed without his knowledge or privity, and did publickly de-lare 'It was no grievance to him, because the said John Wes-ey had given him reasons with which he was satisfied.'

"The Seventh we do not apprehend to be a true Bill, for Nathaniel Polhill was an Anabaptist, and desir'd in his life-time tha the might not be interr'd with the Office of the Church of England. And further, we have good reason to believe that Mr. Wesley was at Frederica, or on his return thence, when Polhill was buried.

"As to the Eighth Bill we are in doubt, as not well knowing the meaning of the word Ordinary. But, for the Ninth and Tenth we think Mr. Wesley is sufficiently justified by the Canons of the Church which forbid any person to be admitted Godfather or Godmother to any child before the said person has received the Holy Communion; whereas William Aglionby and Jacob Matthews had never certified Mr. Wesley that they had received it."

Perceiving that he could obtain neither justice nor even a hearing from the town court in Savannah, persuaded that there was no possibility of instructing the Indians, being under no engagement to remain a day longer in Savannah than he found it convenient, and believing that his ministry would prove more acceptable in England than in Georgia, he consulted his friends as to the propriety of his returning home. They agreed that it was best for him to do so, but not at that time.

On the 3d of November he again appeared in court, and also on the 22d of that month. On the last occasion Mr. Causton exhibited to him sundry affidavits filed in his case, all of which Wesley pronounced false and malicious. No trial was, on either date, accorded to him. Upon conferring a second time with his friends they were of the opinion that he might now set out immediately for England. The next evening he called upon Mr. Causton and acquainted him with his purpose to leave the colony at an early day. He also put up in the public square the following notice: "Whereas John Wesley designs shortly to set out for England, this is to desire those who have borrowed any books of him to return them, as soon as they conveniently can, to John Wesley."

There was nothing concealed about this determination; and he quietly, and with the full knowledge of the community, prepared for his journey. On the 2d of December, the tide serving about noon, he proposed to bid farewell to Savannah and start for Charlestown whence he was to sail for England. "But about ten," says Mr. Wesley, "the Magistrates sent for me and told me I must not go out of the Province, for I had not answer'd the

llegations laid against me. I replied I have appeared at six or even Courts successively in order to answer them, but I was not uffer'd to do so when I desired it time after time. They then aid, however, I must not go unless I would give security to nswer those allegations at their Court. I asked, what security? fter consulting together about two hours the Recorder shew'd ne a kind of bond engaging me under a penalty of fifty pounds o appear at their Court when I should be required. He added, But Mr. Williamson too has desired of us that you should give ail to answer his action. I then told him plainly, Sir, you use ne very ill, and so you do the Trustees. I will give neither any ond nor any bail at all. You know your business and I know nine.

"In the afternoon the Magistrates publish'd an Order requiring all the Officers and Centinels to prevent my going out of the Province, and forbidding any person to assist me in doing so. Being now only a prisoner at large in a place where I knew by experience every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for leaving this place: and, as soon as Evening Prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet and left Georgia after having preached the Gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one year and nearly nine months."[1]

Stephens[2] informs us that Mr. Wesley was accompanied on this occasion by three obnoxious characters: Coates, a busybody, a mischief-maker, and heavily indebted both to the trust and to the citizens of Savannah; Gough, an idle fellow, impudent in his behavior, leaving behind him many unpaid obligations, and a wife and child whom he more frequently beat than fed; and Campbell, a barber, an insignificant, loose fellow, fit for any leader who would make a tool of him.

Landing at Purrysburgh the next morning, Mr. Wesley and his companions pursued their journey on foot to Beaufort, whence he proceeded by boat to Charlestown. Taking passage on board the Samuel, Captain Percy, he departed from America on the 24th of December, 1737, never more to revisit the scene of his early labors, conflicts, trials, and disappointments.

We make no apology for having dwelt at this length upon the incidents connected with the life and ministrations in Georgia "of

[1] *Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, etc.*, pp. 55, 56. Bristol, n. d.

[2] *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol. I. pp. 45–47. London. MDCCXLII.

a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness [to borrow the language of Lord Macaulay] might have made him eminent in literature, whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu, and who, whatever his errors may have been, devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered as the highest good of his species."

Whatever shadows and doubts gathered about him in the morning of his ministerial career were all quickly dispelled by the glorious beams of the Sun of Righteousness. Then, in the plenitude of intellectual and moral power, he proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation to the nations, gathering about him tens of thousands, founding a sect of strong virtue and stern religious sentiment, and closing one of the most remarkable lives in English history with the triumphant cry, "The best of all is, God is with us. He giveth his servants rest. We thank Thee, O Lord! for these and all Thy mercies. Bless the Church and King, and grant us truth and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord forever and ever. The clouds drop fatness. The Lord is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. Farewell."

CHAPTER XIX.

[UTINY IN OGLETHORPE'S REGIMENT. — ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE GENERAL. — NEGRO INSURRECTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — OGLETHORPE DENIES CAUSTON'S INSINUATIONS. — REV. MR. NORRIS. — GRANT OF £20,000 BY PARLIAMENT. — MAGISTRATES AND FREEHOLDERS OF SAVANNAH APPLY TO THE TRUSTEES FOR FEE SIMPLE TITLES TO LAND, AND FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF INTRODUCING NEGRO SLAVES. — THE HIGHLANDERS AT DARIEN AND THE SALZBURGERS AT EBENEZER PROTEST AGAINST THE ADMISSION OF SLAVERY. — OGLETHORPE COUNSELS AGAINST THE PROPOSED CHANGES. — HE IS ATTACKED BY MALCONTENTS. — DEPRESSED CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE. — THE TRUSTEES REFUSE TO PERMIT THE INTRODUCTION OF NEGRO SLAVES, AND DECLINE TO ENLARGE THE TENURE OF LANDS.

HAVING accommodated matters at Savannah as thoroughly as ircumstances would permit, and having inaugurated such a sys-m of disbursements from the public stores as appeared most uitable for canceling the indebtedness contracted by Causton d relieving the pressing necessities of the inhabitants, General glethorpe, on the 25th of October, 1738, departed in open boat r Frederica, leaving, in the language of Colonel Stephens, "a oomy prospect of what might ensue, and many sorrowful coun-nances." His energies were now to be concentrated upon the rtification of the southern confines of the colony, the defensive pabilities of which the Spaniards manifestly intended to test at distant day.

Early in the following November he established his head-arters temporarily at Fort St. Andrew on Cumberland Island at he might personally superintend and encourage the con-ruction of the military defenses which were being there erected. his island was then garrisoned by the companies which had en detailed from Gibraltar. In addition to their pay these oops, for a limited period after their arrival in Georgia, had en allowed extra provisions from the king's store. When, in ovember, these rations were discontinued, conceiving them-lves wronged and defrauded of their rights, the men became issatisfied. As the general was conversing at the door of his ut with Captain Mackay, a turbulent fellow had the temerity come up, unannounced, and demand a renewal of the allow-

ance. Oglethorpe replied that the terms of enlistment had been fully complied with; and that if he desired any benefit at *his* hand such rude and disrespectful behavior was not calculated to secure a favorable consideration of his application. The fellow thereupon became outrageously insolent. Captain Mackay drew his sword, which the desperado wrested from him, broke in half, and, having thrown the hilt at that officer's head, rushed away to the barracks. There snatching up a loaded gun and crying aloud "One and All," he ran back, followed by five or more of the conspirators, and fired at the general. Being only a few paces distant, the ball whizzed close by Oglethorpe's ear, while the powder scorched his face and singed his clothes. Another soldier presented his piece and attempted to discharge it. Fortunately it missed fire. A third drew his hanger and endeavored to stab the general who, however, having by this time unsheathed his sword, parried the thrust. An officer coming up ran the ruffian through the body. Frustrated in their attempt at assassination, the mutineers sought safety in flight, but were apprehended and put in irons. After trial by court-martial the ring-leaders were found guilty and shot.[1]

Thus wonderfully was the general preserved for the important trusts committed to his care, and so narrowly was a calamity averted which would have plunged the colony into the depths of uncertainty and peril. At this trying moment, had she been deprived of Oglethorpe's guidance, Georgia, feeble and uncertain, would have been left well-nigh naked to her enemies.

Spanish emissaries from St. Augustine endeavored to inaugurate an insurrection among the negroes of South Carolina. To them freedom and protection were promised. Every inducement was offered which could encourage not only desertion from, but also massacre of, their owners. Of the runaway slaves the governor of Florida had formed a regiment, appointing officers from among them, and placing both officers and enlisted men upon the pay and rations allowed to the regular Spanish soldiers. Of this fact the Carolina negroes were fully aware. Influenced by the hope of booty, incited to the perpetration of unholy deeds by

[1] Compare *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ix. pp. 214, 215. Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 326. London. 1742. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 124, 125. Savannah. 1811. Hewitt's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. pp. 70, 71. London. 1779. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 154, 155. New York. 1847. Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, pp. 204, 205. London. 1867. Harris' *Biographical Memorials of Oglethorpe*, pp. 194, 195, 369. Boston. 1841.

uthless men in Spanish employ, and purposing a forcible pas-
age through Georgia into Florida, a band of negro slaves assem-
led at Stono, killed two young men in charge of a warehouse
t that point, and then appropriated the guns and ammunition
here stored. Thus armed, they elected one of their number
aptain, and, under his leadership, marched towards the south-
est with colors flying and drums beating. Forcibly entering
he house of Mr. Godfrey, they murdered him, his wife, and chil-
ren, took all the arms, fired the premises, and moved on in the
irection of Jacksonborough. Plundering and burning every
ouse on their line of march, and killing every white person they
et, they compelled all negroes to join them. Governor Bull,
ho was returning to Charlestown from the southward, met this
rmed force, and, avoiding it, spread the alarm, which soon
eached the Presbyterian church at Wiltown where the Rev.
rchibald Stobo was preaching to a considerable congregation.
y a law of the province all planters were obliged to carry
eir weapons with them when assembled for divine worship.
his regulation, at the present critical juncture, proved most
eful. Leaving the women in the church, the men, under the
mmand of Captain Bee, hastened in pursuit of the negroes
ho were each moment becoming more formidable in numbers.
ey had now marched about twelve miles and had spread des-
ation through all the settlements adjacent to and upon their
ute. Having found rum in some of the houses, they drank
ely of it. When overtaken by the whites, they had halted in
open field where they were singing and dancing and indulging
yells of barbaric triumph. Circumventing them to prevent
cape, the planters moved upon them, killing some, capturing
hers, and dispersing the rest. The leaders and first insurgents
ere summarily dealt with.

Profound were the terror and consternation caused by this
rvile insurrection. During its short continuance more than
enty persons were murdered, and many valuable dwellings burnt
the ground. But for the timely intervention of the armed
anters worshiping at Wiltown church, the destruction of life
d property would have been far greater, and it is not improb-
le that the uprising thus inaugurated would have become wide-
read. Advised of this unhappy transaction, General Ogle-
orpe issued a proclamation requiring the apprehension of all
groes found within the limits of the province of Georgia, offer-
g a reward for runaways, and detailing a company of rangers

to patrol the southern frontier "and block up all passages by which they might make their escape to Florida."[1]

The negro population in South Carolina at this time was estimated at forty thousand. The whites did not number more than five thousand. Grasping with stupid avidity at the most desperate suggestions which promised license and booty, those slaves had, on more than one occasion, been seriously tampered with by the Spaniards. The pernicious influence exerted by such emissaries may be more easily conjectured than described. That the authorities at St. Augustine encouraged insurrection and desertion among the Carolina slaves, suggested a general massacre of the whites both in South Carolina and Georgia, and promised soldiers' pay and rations to all who should find their way to Florida, cannot be doubted. Negro sergeants were employed on recruiting service, with secret rendezvous in Carolina. Two Spaniards were apprehended in Georgia and committed to prison for enticing slaves from their Carolina masters. Thus did Spain grow daily more and more offensive in the development of her plans for the annoyance, disquietude, and destruction of the English colonies adjacent to her possessions in Florida. To the vigilance of Oglethorpe and the services of his scouts was Carolina largely indebted for the retention of her slave property, and for deliverance from the horrors of a general servile insurrection.

In making up and explaining his accounts Causton had been dilatory and perverse. During a conversation with Mr. Jones he insinuated that General Oglethorpe "very well knew what extraordinary occasions had created these great exceedings; which the Trustees not approving of, he [Causton] was given up to be driven to ruin." Informed of these aspersions, the general at once came to Savannah and, sending for Causton, in the presence of Colonel Stephens and Mr. Jones reprimanded him for the freedom he had taken with his name. "If," he added, "in the course of your inquiries you find any written orders from me, you ought to produce them; or, if you have verbal orders only, you should not scruple to charge them to my account and leave me to exonerate myself: or, if in divers cases you have no other plea than the necessity of the service, you ought to set forth what that necessity was, leaving it to the Trustees how far it may content them." Then recommending him to use

[1] *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. pp. 72–74. London. MDCCLXXIX. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 125, 126.

er delays nor shifts in making up his accounts, he dismissed

was during this short visit that Oglethorpe heard for the time a sermon from the Rev. Mr. Norris, newly arrived in nnah. With his excellent, practical discourse, "exhorting liness of life as a means of forgiveness through Christ's ," he was well pleased. In his utterances this clergyman s to have given much satisfaction to the venerable Colonel am Stephens, whose opinion was that "sublime points in ity are ill-suited to a young colony, where the preacher's rs would be best bestowed in plainly setting forth the sad quences of a vicious life, the amiableness of the Christian on, with the certain rewards attending the practice of it; nculcating those duties to God and our neighbour which are ential to religion, and the practice of which, we are taught pe, through the mediation of our Saviour will be accepted, h not through any merit of our own: relying on Him in "[2]

occupied was Oglethorpe with the military affairs of the ern portion of the province he found it impracticable to re- to Savannah during the remainder of the year, as he hoped , that he might open a Court of Claims rendered necessary auston's extravagance and confusion of accounts.

exhibiting a partial statement of the finances of the colony, urnishing an explanation of the circumstances under which rustees became largely in arrears in meeting the current ses of the province, we submit the following extract from ter penned by Oglethorpe at Frederica, dated the 20th of mber, 1738, and addressed to the Right Honorable Thomas ington, Paymaster of the Forces: "The Parliament, to y the charges of the improvements of the Colony of Georgia he military defence thereof used to grant £20,000 for the

The King ordered a regiment for the defence of the Col- nd thereupon the Trustees were contented to abate £12,000 eir demands, and £8,000 only was granted to them. But as egiment did not arrive till near a year afterwards, the Trus- were obliged to support the military charge of the Colony g the whole time, which was very dangerous by reason of hreatened invasion of the Spaniards, of which you received any accounts. No officer of the Trustees dared abandon

[1] Wright's *Memoir of General Ogle-* p. 206. London. 1867.

[2] *Journal of Proceedings in Georgia,* vol. i. p. 309. London. MDCCXLII.

a garrison, reduce any men, or dismiss the militia whilst the Spaniards threatened the Province and the King's troops were not arrived to relieve them. A debt of near £12,000 is contracted because by unforeseen accidents the regiment was delayed and the military expence was continued till their arrival, though the Parliamentary grant ceased." He then entreats Mr. Winnington to aid the trustees in their application to Parliament for a sum sufficient to discharge the debt thus incurred; and for the excellent reason that "if the people who furnished with necessaries a colony then threatened with invasion, and the people who then bore arms for the defence of it (and thereby secured that important frontier till the arrival of the King's troops) should be ruined by not being paid their just demands, it would prevent hereafter any frontier colony from receiving assistance."[1]

Private contributions in aid of the colonization had each year grown smaller. The self-sustaining abilities of the province disappointed expectation. Utterly unable were the trustees to defray the charges incident to the support of the civil and military list. The fortifications lacked cannon and munitions of war, and many of the inhabitants clamored for food. In this emergency Parliament granted £20,000 which enabled the common council to redeem all outstanding obligations and provide for the further and efficient administration of the trust.

The impoverished condition of the province, the scarcity of supplies, Causton's defalcation, the spasmodic and unsatisfactory nature of the agricultural operations near Savannah, the enervating character of the climate, the disappointments which had been experienced in the effort to compass a comfortable support and accumulate wealth, the departure of not a few colonists, who, crossing the river, sought better fortunes in South Carolina where lands were granted in fee and the ownership of slaves was permitted by law, and the ruinous outlook, coupled with much dissatisfaction and lack of industry on the part of some of the settlers, induced the magistrates to unite with the freeholders dwelling in Savannah and its vicinity in a petition to the trustees in which, after expressing their disappointment that the hopes held out to them in England of pleasant and profitable homes in Georgia had not been realized; after asserting that their best exertions in tilling the soil had failed to procure sufficient provisions and the means requisite for purchasing clothing and medi-

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 3d S. vol. x. p. 64.

nes; after declaring that, in the absence of cheap slave labor, ıey were unable to compete successfully with their neighbors in arolina; after expressing the conviction that the cultivation of k and wine could never be made remunerative so long as white rvants only were employed; after assuring the trustees that mmerce languished because, not being possessed of the fee in eir lands and improvements, they were incapable of offering em as security to merchants in procurement of goods as was equently done in other English provinces; after alluding to e numbers who had left the plantation because of the precaous land titles existent therein, and the small accessions which ıd of late been made to the population of the province; and ter referring to other causes which retarded the progress of the ttlement, they invoked serious and immediate consideration by ıe trustees of the "two following chief causes of their misforunes: " —

"First. The Want of a free Title or Fee Simple to our Lands, hich, if granted, would both occasion great Numbers of new ettlers to come amongst us, and likewise encourage those who main here chearfully to proceed in making further Improveents, as well to retrieve their sunk Fortunes, as to make Provisn for their Posterity.

"Second. The Want of the Use of Negroes with proper Limations; which, if granted, would both induce great Numbers of hite People to come here, and also render us capable to subsist urselves by raising provisions upon our Lands until we could ake some Produce fit for Export, and in some measure to balce our Importation. We are very sensible of the Inconvences and Mischiefs that have already, and do daily arise from unlimited Use of Negroes; but we are as sensible that these ay be prevented by a due Limitation, such as so many to each hite Man, and so many to such a Quantity of Land; or in y other manner which your Honours shall think most proper. granting us, Gentlemen, these two Particulars, and such other ivileges as his Majesty's most dutiful Subjects in America joy, you will not only prevent our impending Ruin, but, we e fully satisfied, also will soon make this the most flourishing olony possessed by his Majesty in *America*, and your Memories ll be perpetuated to all future Ages, our latest Posterity sound- your Praises as their first Founders, Patrons and Guardians; t if, by denying us those Privileges, we ourselves and Families e not only ruined, but even our Posterity likewise, you will

always be mentioned as the Cause and Authors of all their Misfortunes and Calamities; which we hope will never happen."[1]

This petition was dated at Savannah on the 9th of December, 1738, and was signed by one hundred and twenty-one of the male inhabitants.

The submission of this memorial coming to the knowledge of the Scotch at New Inverness, eighteen prominent members of that community, on the 3d of January, 1739, addressed the following communication to His Excellency General Oglethorpe:

"We are informed that our Neighbours of *Savannah* have petitioned your Excellency for the Liberty of having Slaves. We hope, and earnestly entreat that before such Proposals are hearkened unto your Excellency will consider our Situation and of what dangerous and bad Consequence such Liberty would be to us, for many Reasons;

"I. The Nearness of the *Spaniards* who have proclaimed Freedom to all Slaves who run away from their Masters makes it impossible for us to keep them without more Labour in guarding them than what we would be at to do their work:

"II. We are laborious, and know that a White Man may be by the Year more usefully employed than a Negro:

"III. We are not rich, and becoming Debtors for Slaves, in case of their running away or dying, would inevitably ruin the poor Master, and he become a greater Slave to the Negro Merchant, than the Slave he bought could be to him:

"IV. It would oblige us to keep a Guard-duty at least as severe as when we expected a daily Invasion; and if that was the Case, how miserable would it be to us and our Wives and Families to have an Enemy without and more dangerous ones in our Bosom!

"V. It is shocking to human Nature that any Race of Mankind, and their Posterity should be sentenced to perpetual Slavery; nor in Justice can we think otherwise of it than that they are thrown amongst us to be our Scourge one Day or other for our Sins; and as Freedom to them must be as dear as to us, what a Scene of Horror must it bring about! And the longer it is unexecuted, the bloody Scene must be the greater. We therefore, for our own sakes, our Wives and Children, and our Posterity, beg your Consideration, and intreat that instead of introducing Slaves, you 'll put us in the way to get us some of our Countrymen, who with their Labour in time of Peace, and our

[1] *Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., pp. 59, 63. London. MDCCXLI.

igilance if we are invaded, with the Help of those, will render a difficult thing to hurt us, or that Part of the Province we ssess. We will forever pray for your Excellency, and are with l Submission,"[1] etc.

True to the prejudices and the traditions of their nation, and nfident in their manhood, so spake these hardy sojourners on e southern confines of the colony.

Indorsing the protest thus filed by the people of Darien, com-ending their own industry and success, and auguring well for ıe future, the ministers of the Ebenezer Congregation and forty-ine Salzburgers signed and forwarded to General Oglethorpe ıe following letter, dated the 13th of March, 1739.

"We *Saltzburghers*, and Inhabitants of *Ebenezer* that have gned this Letter, intreat humbly in our and our Brethren's ames, your Excellency would be pleased to shew us the Favour f desiring the honourable Trustees for sending to *Georgia* nother Transport of *Saltzburghers* to be settled at Ebenezer. We ave, with one Accord, wrote a Letter to our Father in God, the leverend M^r^ *Senior Urlsperger*, at *Augspurg*, and in that Letter xpressly named those *Saltzburghers* and *Austrians* whom, as our riends, Relations, and Countrymen, we wish to see settled here. Ve can indeed attest of them that they fear the Lord truly, love Vorking, and will conform themselves to our Congregation. Ve have given them an Account of our being well settled, and eing mighty well pleased with the Climate and Condition of his Country, having here several Preferences in spiritual and emporal Circumstances for other People in Germany, which our Honour will find in the here inclosed Copy of our Letter to r *Senior Urlsperger*, if they fare as we do, having been pro-ided in the Beginning with Provisions, a little Stock for Breed, me Tools, and good Land by the Care of the honorable Trus-es; and if God grants his Blessing to their work, we doubt not it they will gain with us easily their Bread and Subsistence, d lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty.

"Though it is here a hotter Season than our native Country yet not so extremely hot, as we were told on the first time of r Arrival; but since we have been now used to the Country s find it tolerable, and, for working People, very convenient; tting themselves to work early in the Morning till Ten O'Clock; d in the Afternoon from Three to Sun-set; and having Busi-

[1] *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., 64, 65. London. MDCCXLI.

ness at Home, we do them in our Huts and Houses in the Middle of the Day till the greatest Heat is over. People in Germany are hindered by Frost and Snow in the Winter from doing any work in the Fields and Vineyards; but we have this Preference to do the most and heaviest Work at such a time, preparing the Ground sufficiently for planting in the Spring. We were told by several People, after our Arrival, that it proves quite impossible and dangerous for White People to plant and manufacture any Rice, being a Work only for Negroes, not for European People; but having Experience of the contrary we laugh at such a Talking, seeing that several People of us have had, in last Harvest, a greater Crop of Rice than they wanted for their own Consumption. If God is pleased to enable us by some Money for building such Mills, convenient for cleaning the Rice, as we use in *Germany* for making several Grains fit for eating, then the Manufacture of Rice will be an easy and profitable thing. For the present we crave your Excellency's Goodness to allow, for the Use of the whole Congregation, some Rice Sieves, of several Sorts, from *Charles-Town*, which cannot be had at *Savannah;* We will be accountable to the Store for them.

"Of Corn, Pease, Potatoes, Pomkins, Cabbage, &c., we had such a good Quantity that many Bushels are sold, and much was spent in feeding Cows, Calves, and Hogs. If the Surveyor, according to his Order and Duty, had used Dispatch in laying out our Farms, (which we have got not sooner than last Fall) *item*, if not, we all were disappointed by long Sickness, and planting the yellow *Pensilvania* Corn; we would have been able, by the Blessing of God to spare a greater Quantity of Grain for getting Meat-Kind and Cloathes, of which we are in Want. It is true that Two-Acres of Ground for each Family's Garden are set out some time ago, but being there very few Swamps fit for planting of Rice, and some Part of them wanting a good deal of Dung, we were not able, in the Beginning, to dung it well; therefore we could not make such a good Use of those Acres as we now have Reason to hope, by the Assistance of God, after our Plantations are laid out. Hence it will be that we plant the good Ground first, and improve the other Soil then when Occasion will require it, in the best manner we can. In the first Time when the Ground must be cleared from Trees, Bushes, and Roots, and fenced in carefully, we are to undergo some hard Labour, which afterwards will be the easier and more pleasing, when the hardest Trial is over, and our plantations are better regulated.

od deal of Time was spent in building Huts, Houses, and
: necessary Buildings in Town and upon the Farms; and
, we wanted Money for several Expences; several Persons
i hired themselves out for some Weeks for building the Or-
-house and its Appurtenances; *item*, The Reverend M^r
au's House, which happened to be built in the hottest Sum-
Season; and now some of us are employed to build the Rev-
l M^r *Bolzius'* House; which Buildings have taken away
time from our Work in the Ground; but the fair Oppor-
y of earning some Money at Home was a great Benefit to
his now being so, that neither the hot Summer Season nor
ıing else hinders us from Work in the Ground, and we wish
ıd a quiet and peaceable Life at our Place.

We humbly beseech the honourable Trustees not to allow it
any Negro might be brought to our Place or in our Neigh-
hood, knowing by Experience that Houses and Gardens will
bbed always by them, and White People are in Danger of
because of them, besides other great Inconveniences. Like-
we humbly beseech you and the Trustees not to allow to
Person the Liberty of buying up Lands at our Place, by
h, if granted, it would happen that by bad and turbulent
hbours our Congregation would be spoilt and poor, harmless
le troubled and oppressed: But we wish and long for such
hbours to be settled here whose Good-name and honest
viour is known to us and our Favourers. The Honourable
tees have been always Favourers and Protectors of poor and
ssed People; wherefore we beseech you and them they
d be pleased to take us further under their fatherly Care,
the Remembrance of their Benevolence and Kindness to our
regation might be conveyed to our late Posterity, and be
y praised. We put up our Prayers to God for rewarding
Excellency and the Honourable Trustees manifold for all
good Assistance and Benefits which are bestowed upon us,
beg humbly the Continuance of your and their Favour and
ction, being with the greatest Submission and Respect, your
ur's most obedient dutiful Servants,"[1] etc.

will thus be seen that the colonists were divided in senti-
upon the question of the expediency of introducing negro
s into the province. General Oglethorpe's views on the sub-
re embodied in a letter to the trustees written from Savan-

[1] *Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., pp.
London. MDCCXLI.

nah on the 12th of March, 1739. In it he states that Mr. Williams, to whom many of them were deeply indebted, had induced the poor people of Savannah "to sign the petition for Negroes which affirms that white men cannot work in this Province." This assertion he declares he can disprove by hundreds of witnesses, by all the Salzburgers, by the people of Darien, by many at Frederica and Savannah, and by all in the province who were industriously inclined. "The idle ones," he adds, "are indeed for Negroes. If the Petition is countenanced the Province is ruined. Mr. Williams and Dr. Tailfeur will buy most of the lands at Savannah with Debts due to them, and the Inhabitants must go off and be succeeded by Negroes. Yet the very Debtors have been weak enough to sign their Desire of Leave to sell."[1]

In another communication[2] to the trustees, written at Frederica on the 4th of July in the same year, he protests against any material change in the existing land tenures, advising the trustees that the "Titles are at present upon a very good Footing, and that those who made most noise about their Lands were such as had taken no care to make any use of them."

Twelve days afterwards, in reporting the status of affairs to the trustees, he again refers to this subject in the following manner: "There is one Tailfeur, an Apothecary Surgeon who gives Physick, and one Williams, of whom I wrote to you formerly, a Merchant, who quitted planting to sell rum. To these two almost all the Town [Savannah] is in debt for Physick and Rum, and they have raised a strong spirit to desire that Lands may be alienable, and then they would take the Lands for the Debts, monopolize the Country, and settle it with Negroes. They have a vast deal of Art, and if they think they cannot carry this, they would apply for any other alteration since they hope thereby to bring confusion, and you cannot imagine how much uneasiness I have had here. I hope, therefore, you will make no alterations."[3]

Robert Williams, to whom allusion is made, was open and violent in his denunciation of the policy pursued by the trustees in regard to the tenure by which lands in the province were holden of them, and kept the public mind at Savannah in a constant ferment on this subject.[4]

[1] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 70. Savannah. 1873.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 72–79.

[3] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 79. Savannah. 1873.

[4] Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. i. pp. 8, 27, 57, 149, 289. London. MDCCXLII.

Possessing some means and a valuable commercial correspondnce, he desired to utilize them in the accumulation of wealth. Hence his anxiety to have the fee simple to lands vested in the colonists so that they might either pledge or sell them. In either event he would be able to secure his loans, and finally to become possessed of much of the landed estate.

Doctor Patrick Tailfer was scarcely less pronounced in his criticisms upon the conduct of the colony, and in his representations of existing grievances. He was a thorn in the side of General Oglethorpe, to whom, under the *nom de plume* of *The Plain Dealer*, he addressed a communication upon colonial affairs full of condemnation, complaint, and sarcasm. He was the chief of a club of malcontents whose conduct became so notorious that they were forced, in September, 1740, to quit the province and take refuge in South Carolina. When thus beyond the jurisdiction of the Georgia authorities, in association with Hugh Anderson, David Douglass, and others, he published a scurrilous tract entitled "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America,"[1] which they dedicated to General Oglethorpe. In the epistle dedicatory, which may be accepted as a specimen of the entire production, the authors say: "Under the Influence of our Perpetual Dictator we have seen something like *Aristocracy*, *Oligarchy*, as well as the *Triumvirate*, *Decemvirate*, and *Consular Authority* of famous Republicks which have expired many Ages before us. What Wonder then we share the same Fate? Do their Towns and Villages exist but in Story and Rubbish? We are all over Ruins. Our Publick-works, Forts, Wells, Highways, Lighthouse, Store, Water Mills, &c., are dignified like theirs with the same venerable Desolation. The Log-house indeed is like to be the last forsaken Spot of your Empire; yet even this, thro' the Death or Desertion of those who should continue to inhabit it, must suddenly decay; the bankrupt Jailor himself shall be soon denied the Privilege of human Conversation, and when this last Moment of the Spell expires, the whole shall vanish like the Illusion of some *Eastern Magician*.

"'— Like Death you reign
O'er silent subjects and a desert Plain.'"

Craving rum, negro slaves, and fee-simple titles to lands, such unaffected colonists hesitated not to malign the authorities, disquiet the settlers, and belie the true condition of affairs. Georgia

[1] Charles-Town, South Carolina, p. 118. Printed by P. Timothy for the authors. MDCCXLI.

was certainly in an embarrassed and an impoverished situation. Her population was increasing but slowly. Labor was scarcely remunerative, and the Spanish war-cloud was looming up along her southern borders; but the impression which Dr. Tailfer and others sought to convey of the status of the colony was exaggerated, spiteful, and without warrant.

Having duly considered the petition of the magistrates and freeholders of Savannah, and taken counsel of General Oglethorpe and other influential inhabitants of the province, the trustees returned the following answer: —

"*To the Magistrates of the Town of Savannah in the Province of Georgia.*

"The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America have received by the Hands of Mr Benjamin Ball of London, Merchant, an attested Copy of a Representation signed by you the Magistrates, and many of the Inhabitants of Savannah on the 9th of December last, for altering the Tenure of the Lands, and introducing Negroes into the Province, transmitted from thence by Mr Robert Williams.

"The Trustees are not surprized to find unwary People drawn in by crafty Men to join in a Design of extorting by Clamour from the Trustees an Alteration in the fundamental Laws framed for the Preservation of the People from those very Designs.

"But the Trustees cannot but express their Astonishment that you, the Magistrates, appointed by them to be the Guardians of the People, by putting those Laws in Execution, should so far forget your Duty as to put yourselves at the Head of this Attempt.

"However, they direct you to give the Complainants this Answer from the Trustees; That they should deem themselves very unfit for the Trust reposed in them by his Majesty on their Behalf, if they could be prevailed upon by such an irrational attempt to give up a Constitution, framed with the greatest caution, for the Preservation of Liberty and Property, and of which the Laws against the Use of Slaves, and for the Entail of Lands are the surest Foundations.

"And the Trustees are the more confirmed in their Opinion of the Unreasonableness of this Demand that they have received Petitions from the Darien and other Parts of the Province, representing the Inconvenience and Danger which must arise to the good People of the Province from the Introduction of Negroes: and as the Trustees themselves are fully convinced that besides

the Hazard attending of that Introduction, it would destroy all Industry among the White Inhabitants; and that, by giving them a Power to alien their Lands, the Colony would soon be too like its neighbours, void of White Inhabitants, filled with Blacks, and reduced to be the precarious Property of a Few, equally exposed to domestick Treachery and foreign Invasion: And therefore the Trustees cannot be supposed to be in any Disposition of granting this Request; and if they have not, before this, signified their Dislike of it, their Delay is to be imputed to no other Motives but the Hopes they had conceived that Time and Experience would bring the Complainants to a better Mind. And the Trustees readily join Issue with them in their Appeal to Posterity, who shall judge between them, who were their best Friends, those who endeavoured to preserve for them a Property in their Lands by tying up the Hands of their unthrifty Progenitors: or they who wanted a Power to mortgage or alien them; who were the best Friends to the Colony, those who with great Labour and Cost had endeavoured to form a Colony of his Majesty's Subjects, and persecuted Protestants from other Parts of Europe; had placed them on a fruitful soil, and strove to secure them in their Possessions by those Arts which naturally tend to keep the Colony full of useful and industrious People capable both to cultivate and defend it, or those who, to gratify the greedy and ambitious views of a few Negro Merchants, would put it into their Power to become sole owners of the Province by introducing their baneful Commodity which, it is well known, by sad Experience, has brought our Neighbour Colonies to the Brink of Ruin by driving out their White Inhabitants, who were their Glory and Strength, to make room for Blacks who are now become the Terror of their unadvised Masters.

"Signed by order of the Trustees this Twentieth day of June 1739. BENJ. MARTYN, *Secretary*. [L. S.]"[1]

On the 20th of October General Oglethorpe informed the trustees that their reply had been received and published, and that the effect produced by it upon the colonists was good. Accompanying this response came orders dismissing from office the magistrates in Savannah who had signed the petition, and appointing others in their stead. Perceiving that their agitation of the question of the introduction of negro slavery into the province had only confirmed the trustees in their opinions and or-

[1] *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*, etc., pp. 70, 71. London. MDCCXLI.

ders, the leading malcontents, headed by Dr. Tailfer, who by their clubs, horse-racing, idleness, and lawless conduct had done much to debauch the community at Savannah, deserted the colony.

This was the second time that the trustees had been importuned to sanction the employment of slave labor within the limits of Georgia. Twice did they positively refuse the desired permission. Although such was their determination, and although the effect of their resolution was pronounced salutary by General Oglethorpe, it may well be questioned whether the adoption of a different policy, permitting the introduction of negro slaves under wholesome restrictions, would not have materially advanced the prosperity of the plantation. Such labor was demanded by the nature of the soil and climate. The prohibition upon Georgia placed her at a disadvantage when her situation in this regard was contrasted with that of her sister colonies. Indented white servants had been tried, and the experiment was unsatisfactory. The clearing and cultivation of malarial lands originated fevers and various disorders far more prejudicial to the European than to the African constitution. The potent rays of the summer's sun enfeebled the white servant, while they shone harmlessly above the head of the negro laborer. During the heated term it was the general experience that many of the whites were incapable of performing half their allotted tasks. The expenses incident to the employment of white servants were considerably greater than those connected with the maintenance of negro operatives. The exclusion of slave labor and the refusal to grant estates in fee did turn aside many planters from the attractive swamp lands of Southern Georgia and retard the development of the colony.

Although in their reply of the 20th of June, 1739, the trustees refused to enlarge the tenures of land, in a few months they concluded to modify their views upon this important subject. Accordingly, in August of that year they passed a set of ponderous resolutions which they caused to be published in the "London Gazette" on the 8th of September, and ordered to be inserted also in the columns of the "Charlestown, South Carolina, Gazette." Without reproducing them, we give their purport as condensed by Benjamin Martyn, secretary of the trustees.[1] With a view

[1] *Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America*, etc., p. 30. London. MDCCXLI. Compare McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 132 *et seq.* Savannah. 1811.

to enlarging the tenure on failure of issue male, and in order to provide for the widows of grantees, it was ordained that lands already granted, and such as might thereafter be granted, should, on failure of issue male, descend to the daughters of the grantees. In case there should be no issue male or female, then the grantees might devise such lands. In the absence of any devise, the lands were to descend to the heirs at law of the original grantees. The possession of the devisee could not exceed five hundred acres. Widows of grantees were declared entitled "for and during the term of their natural lives," to hold and enjoy the dwelling-house, garden, and one moiety of the lands of which their respective husbands died seized.

All persons desiring to avail themselves of the benefit of this enlargement were notified to present their claims in order that proper grants might be forthwith, and without charge, prepared and executed.

While this modification enured to the benefit of the grantee and confirmed the ownership of the land in his heirs, it permitted only a qualified alienation by way of devise. It did not fully comply with the request preferred in the petition which we have last considered.

These resolutions were published by paragraphs in the Charlestown "Gazette;" but, as they were not well understood, Colonel William Stephens was requested on a certain day to read them at the court-house in Savannah and to explain them. "After he had finished his task," says Captain McCall,[1] "and exerted his utmost abilities in giving an explanation, one of the settlers ridicrously remarked that the whole paper consisted of *males* and *tails;* that all the lawyers in London would not be able to bring the meaning down to his comprehension; and that he understood as little of its meaning then as he had when Stephens began. Others wished to know how often those two words had occurred in the resolutions, that the number ought to be preserved as a curiosity, and that the author ought to be lodged in Bedlam for lunacy."

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 140. Savannah. 1811.

CHAPTER XX.

DISSENSIONS AMONG THE OFFICERS OF OGLETHORPE'S REGIMENT. — OGLETHORPE VISITS CHARLESTOWN AND EXHIBITS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF CAROLINA HIS COMMISSION AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — REPORT OF THE CONDITION OF THE COLONY IN 1739. — OGLETHORPE VISITS COWETA TOWN. — CONFERENCE AND TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. — OGLETHORPE AT SAVANNAH. — LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF TOMO-CHI-CHI. — IMPENDING WAR WITH SPAIN. — THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER STRENGTHENED. — SPANISH OUTRAGE ON AMELIA ISLAND. — OGLETHORPE RETALIATES, BURNS FORT PICOLATA, AND CAPTURES AND GARRISONS FORT FRANCIS DE PAPA. — HE APPLIES FOR ADDITIONAL BOATS, ARTILLERY, AND MUNITIONS.

IN the midst of his multitudinous and perplexing cares General Oglethorpe was annoyed by unseemly dissensions among the officers of his regiment. Upon charges preferred by Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane, Captain Hugh Mackay was tried by court-martial and honorably acquitted. Captain Norbury, convicted by another court-martial of using disrespectful language to his commanding officer, was ordered to beg his pardon. Not long afterwards Captain Mackay accused Colonel Cochrane of "following merchandize to the neglect of his duty, selling to the soldiers at exorbitant profit, occasioning a spirit of mutiny, and breaking treaty with the Spaniards." Upon Captain Mackay's return from St. Andrew where he had been sent to superintend the execution of a mutineer by the name of Hurley, he was assaulted by Colonel Cochrane and beaten with a great stick. This affray occurred in the presence of General Oglethorpe, who at once placed both those officers under arrest. As there were not officers of sufficient rank in the colony to constitute a court-martial for the trial of Colonel Cochrane, he and Captain Mackay were ordered to report to the War Department in England that the differences between them might be examined into and adjusted. The subsequent investigation resulted in the withdrawal of Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane from the Georgia forces. Lieutenant-Colonel Cook succeeded to the vacancy thus created in Oglethorpe's regiment.

On the 3d of April the general presented himself before the ssembly of South Carolina. His commission as commander- -chief of his majesty's forces in that province, as well as in eorgia, was opened and read. Having, in pursuance of this ıthority, regulated the military establishment of that colony,) returned to Savannah. One company of his regiment was)w garrisoning Fort Frederick, near Beaufort. To stimulate .e industry of the freeholders at and near Savannah, he offered bounty, above the current market price, of two shillings per ıshel for all corn, and of one shilling per bushel for such pota- es as should be harvested from the crop of the present year.

In a long and interesting letter,[1] dated Frederica, July 4th, '39, Oglethorpe acquaints the trustees with the general condi-)n of the province and with his efforts to make it a self-sustain- g plantation. He was still embarrassed by sundry violations Savannah of the "Rum Law," but the efficient conduct of the agistrates at Frederica had there effectually suppressed the affic in that article. His regiment was comfortably housed in eft-board buildings. The frontier islands were protected by gular troops, but additional boats, to facilitate intercommuni- tion, were needed. There was a lack of watchmen for pre- rving the peace of the country, and of horsemen to scour the oods for the protection of cattle, the apprehension of outlaws, ıd the arrest of runaway slaves from Carolina. The plantation ı Amelia Island, under the charge of Mr. Hugh Mackay, was ıported as being in a flourishing condition. Twelve days after- ards he dispatched Mr. Auspourger to England with twenty)unds weight of silk. A more generous yield had been pre- ented by the death of many of the worms. They were being red in a house which had formerly been used as a hospital; and was Mr. Camuse's impression that the infection occasioned sick- ess and destroyed many of them.

Perceiving that the French and Spaniards were endeavoring) cause disturbances among the Indians who were amicably ıclined toward the colonies of Carolina and Georgia, and to se- uce them from the allegiance which they acknowledged to the ritish Crown, Oglethorpe recognized the necessity of holding a ersonal conference with the nations about to assemble at Coweta own. The pacification of seven thousand red warriors depended pon his successful intervention. The salvation of Georgia was

[1] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 72–79. Savannah. 873.

involved. The journey was long, fatiguing, and dangerous, but perils daunted him not.

On the 17th of July, 1739, he set out upon this important expedition.[1] Accompanied by Lieutenant Dunbar, Ensign Leman, and Cadet Eyre, and attended by servants, he proceeded in his cutter up the Savannah. Landing at the Uchee town, five and twenty miles above Ebenezer, where he had engaged Indian traders to meet him with saddle and sumpter horses, the general entered upon his journey of three hundred miles through a trackless wilderness. Along rough ravines, through tangled thickets, and over dreary swamps in which the horses mired and plunged, the travelers patiently followed their native guides. More than once were they compelled to construct rafts on which to pass great rivers. Many smaller streams were crossed by wading or swimming. Wrapped in his cloak, and with his portmanteau for a pillow, this hardy leader slept upon the ground; or, if the night happened to be wet, he sheltered himself in a covert of cypress boughs spread upon poles. For a distance of two hundred miles these adventurers neither saw a human habitation nor met a living soul. As they neared their journey's end they here and there found provisions which the primitive peoples they were about to visit had deposited for them in the woods.

When the general had approached within forty miles of his destination, he was received by a deputation of chiefs who escorted him the remainder of his way to Coweta, the principal town of the Muskhoghee or Creek Indians. Although the American aborigines are rarely demonstrative, nothing could have exceeded the joy manifested by these red men on Oglethorpe's arrival.[2]

In having undertaken so long and difficult a journey for the purpose of visiting them, by coming amongst them with only a few attendants in fearless reliance on their good faith, by the readiness with which he accommodated himself to their habits, and by the natural dignity of his deportment, Oglethorpe won the hearts of his red brothers whom he was never known to deceive. On the 11th of August the chiefs of the several tribes assembled, and the great council was opened with all the solemn rites prescribed for such occasions. After many "talks," terms of intercourse and stipulations for trade were satisfactorily arranged. Oglethorpe, as one of their beloved men, partook of the

[1] Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, pp. 213, 214.

[2] *Letter to the Trustees*, dated Fort Augusta, September 5th, 1739.

or black-medicine drink, and smoked the calumet, or
›eace.

e 21st of the same month was concluded a formal treaty
ı the Creeks renewed their fealty to the king of Great
and, in terms full and explicit, confirmed their previous
f territory. The general, on the part of the trustees,
that the English should not encroach upon their reserves,
mised that the traders should deal fairly and honestly
›m. The bad conduct of some traders had inflamed the
of the Indians, and Oglethorpe found it very difficult to
their wrath. "If I had not gone up," he writes, "the
rstanding between them and the Carolina traders, fo-
by our neighbouring nations, would probably have occa-
war which, I believe, might have been the result of this
meeting; but as their complaints were just and reason-
ave them satisfaction in all of them, and everything is
n peace." The Choctaws were persuaded not to make
›n the French, and the general was assured by the chiefs
ıe tribes that they would march to his assistance when-
should summon them.

ıis conference were present General James Oglethorpe,
ioner and representative of his majesty King George II.;
›y Nenia, chief king of Coweta Town, Malatche, mico, son
, late emperor of the Creek nation, the chiefs and war-
Coweta Town; the king of the Cusetas, Schisheligo,
nico of the Cusetas, Iskegio, third chief of the Cusetas,
›r chief men and warriors of that nation; Ochaohapko,
the chief men of the town of Palachuckolas, Killatee,
ır captain, and other chief men and warriors, "deputies
ll powers to conclude all things for the said town;"
wme, mico of the Ufawles, with several other chief men
:riors commissioned to represent all the towns of that
Matalcheko, captain of the Echeetees, with other chief
l warriors of that people; Neathaklo, chief man of the
›s, with several other chief men and warriors; Occulla-
ıief man of the Chehaws, with other chief men and war-

', a decoction of the leaves and ıots of the *cassena* or *yaupon* ıber) producing an exhilarating is prepared with much formal- ›ing considered a sacred bever- but the chiefs, war captains, ı or beloved men partake of it; and these only upon special occasions. Accounts of its preparation and use may be found in Lawson's *Voyage to Carolina*, p. 90, London, 1709; *The Natural History of Florida*, by Bernard Romans, p. 94; and Adair's *History of the American Indians*, p. 108.

riors; Hewanawge Thaleekeo, chief man of the Oakmulgee, with several of the chief men and warriors of that nation; the king of the Oconees, with several chief men and warriors; and Neachackelo, second chief of the Swagles, with several chief men and warriors, all empowered to represent their several nations and to bind them in the convention. The general assembly was opened by a speech from Oglethorpe, and was conducted according to the religious forms and customs observed by the Indians. After due deliberation it was unanimously resolved that they would adhere to their ancient love for the king of Great Britain, and maintain their agreement made in 1733 with the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia.

It was further declared that all the territory from the Savannah to the St. John, including the islands on the coast, and from the river St. John to Appalache Bay, embracing the Appalache Old-fields, and from that bay to the mountains, did by ancient right belong to the Creek nation: that they had maintained that right by force of arms against all opposers, and that they could show heaps of bones of their enemies who had perished in the attempt to wrest these lands from them. The Indian commissioners admitted that the Creek nation had long enjoyed the protection of England, that the Spaniards had no claim upon the lands indicated, and that they would permit no one except the Georgia trustees and their colonists to settle upon them. The grant already made to the trustees, embracing lands upon the Savannah River, the sea-coast as far as the St. John and as high as the tide flowed, and all the islands except St. Catharine, Ossabaw, and Sapelo, was reaffirmed and pronounced valid. They claimed a reservation extending from Pipe-Maker's Bluff to Savannah.

On the part of the English it was stipulated that they would appropriate no lands save those mentioned as having been ceded by the Creek confederacy to the trustees. They also covenanted to punish any person intruding upon the territory reserved by the Creeks.[1]

Well might the trustees, in conveying their thanks for the successful execution of this perilous and important mission, admit that no one except Oglethorpe had ever engaged so strongly the affections of the Indians.

Commenting upon this remarkable journey of General Ogle-

[1] McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. appendix No. 3, pp. 363–367. Savannah. 1811.

, Mr. Spalding,[1] with no less truth than fervor, remarks:
n we call into remembrance the then force of these tribes,
they could have brought into the field twenty thousand
g men, — when we call to remembrance the influence the
ı had everywhere else obtained over the Indians, — when we
remembrance the distance he had to travel through solitary
ays . . . exposed to summer suns, night dews, and to the
ery of any single Indian who knew — and every Indian
— the rich reward that would have awaited him for the act
he Spaniards in St. Augustine, or the French in Mobile,
we may proudly ask, what soldier ever gave higher proof
rage? What gentleman ever gave greater evidence of
nimity? What English governor of an American province
ave such assurance of deep devotion to public duty?"
for this manly conference with the red men in the heart
r own country, and the admiration with which his presence,
e, and bearing inspired the assembled chiefs, Oglethorpe
ıot have compassed this pacification and secured this treaty
ty so essential to the welfare of the colony now on the
most serious difficulties with the Spaniards in Florida.

exposures and anxieties sustained during this visit to
ı Town so wrought upon the iron constitution of the gen-
at, upon arriving at Fort Augusta on his return toward
ıah, he was there prostrated by a severe fever. While
ıffering, he was visited by chiefs from the Chickesas and
erokees. The latter complained that some of their nation
ıen poisoned by rum sold to them by the traders. They
ıuch incensed, and threatened revenge. Upon inquiring
ıe matter the general ascertained that some unlicensed
ı had communicated the small-pox to the Indians, who,
ıt of the method of treating the disease, had fallen vic-
ı that loathsome distemper. He found it difficult to con-
he chiefs of the true cause of the calamity. They were
ţth appeased, and departed with the assurance that they
apprehend no trouble in dealing with the licensed traders
eorgia, as permits were never granted to those unworthy
idence.[2]

usta was now a thriving post, frequented by Indians and
. While still here he received information that the gov-
ıf Rhode Island had issued commissions for fitting out pri-

ctions of the Georgia Historical vol. i. p. 263. Savannah.

[2] See Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 219. London. 1867.

vateers to prey upon Spanish commerce. He was surprised that a distant colony should have acquired a knowledge of a rupture with Spain, when Georgia, lying adjacent to Florida and therefore in immediate peril, was still in ignorance of an actual or meditated declaration of war.

Returning to Savannah he there found dispatches announcing hostilities between England and Spain. On the 3d of October he assembled the freeholders under arms. At noon they all repaired to the court-house. The magistrates in their gowns took their seats upon the bench, and Oglethorpe sat with them. He then addressed the multitude, acquainting the citizens of Savannah with the fact that, in the present emergency, they need entertain no fears of the Indian nations, all of whom had been brought into closer alliance by the recent convention at Coweta Town. Although the province lay open to the sea, English frigates would cruise along the coast for its protection, and additional land forces were expected. The instructions he had received from his majesty's Secretary of State in reference to the opening war with Spain were then communicated to them, and the inhabitants exhorted to activity, watchfulness, and bravery.

The address concluded, the cannons of the fort were discharged, and the freeholders "fired three handsome vollies with their small arms, as it were in defiance, without the appearance of any dread of the Spaniards." [1]

Observing that the common, from which the trees had been cut, was now overgrown with bushes, and that the squares and some of the streets were filled with weeds, the general ordered the entire male population out on police duty and caused these spaces to be properly cleared and cleaned. By actual count he ascertained that there were then in the town about two hundred men capable of bearing arms. A plenty of bread and beer put them all in good heart.

And now the colony was called upon to mourn the demise of one of its best and truest friends, the venerable Tomo-chi-chi. His final illness was protracted, and he passed away in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties. The following letter conveys an interesting account of the last moments and sepulture of this noted Indian king: —

"SAVANNAH IN GEORGIA, *Oct:* 10, 1739.

"King Toma-chi-chi died on the 5th, at his own town, 4 miles from hence, of a lingering Illness, being aged about 97. He was

[1] Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. ii. p. 150. London. MDCCXLII.

sensible to the last Minutes, and when he was persuaded his death was near he showed the greatest Magnanimity and Sedateness, and exhorted his People never to forget the favours he had received from the King when in England, but to persevere in their Friendship with the English. He expressed the greatest Tenderness for Gen. Oglethorpe, and seemed to have no Concern at dying but its being at a Time when his Life might be useful against the Spaniards. He desired his Body might be buried amongst the English in the Town of Savannah, since it was he that had prevailed with the Creek Indians to give the Land, and had assisted in the founding of the Town. The Corpse was brought down by Water. The General, attended by the Magistrates and People of the Town, met it upon the Water's Edge. The Corpse was carried into Percival Square. The pall was supported by the General, Col^{n} Stephens, Col^{n} Montaigut, M^{r} Carteret, M^{r} Lemon, and M^{r} Maxwell. It was followed by the Indians and Magistrates and People of the Town. There was the Respect paid of firing Minute Guns from the Battery all the time during the Burial, and Funeral — firing with small Arms by the Militia, who were under arms. The General has ordered a Pyramid of Stone, which is dug in this Neighbourhood, to be erected over the Grave, which being in the Centre of the Town, will be a great Ornament to it, as well as testimony of Gratitude.

"Tomo-chi-chi was a Creek Indian, and in his youth a great Warriour. He had an excellent Judgment and a very ready Wit, which showed itself in his Answers on all Occasions. He was very generous, giving away all the rich presents he received, remaining himself in a wilful Poverty, being more pleased in giving to others, than possessing himself; and he was very mild and good natured." [1]

Nearly a century and a half have elapsed since these funeral honors were paid, and the monument ordered by General Oglethorpe has never been erected. Even the precise spot where this Indian chief was interred has faded from the recollection of later generations. Neither street nor public square perpetuates his name, and his memory dwells only in occasional remembrance. This should not be. Ingratitude is a grievous fault. May we not hope for the sake of her good name, in response to the wish of General Oglethorpe, and as an acknowledgment of

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. x. p. 129. Compare Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153. London. MDCCXLII.

the debt of gratitude she owes to this noted Indian, that Savannah, herself a living witness of the enterprise, courage, and taste of the founder of the colony of Georgia, a city which has rendered such conspicuous tribute to the memories of Greene, and Pulaski, and Jasper, and the Confederate Dead, will, at no distant day, cause to be lifted up in one of her high places a suitable monument in just and honorable appreciation of the friendship and services of the venerable Tomo-chi-chi?

Relying upon the promise made at Coweta, Oglethorpe, early in October, dispatched runners to the Indian towns requesting the chiefs of the Creeks and Cherokees to send one thousand warriors to the southern frontiers to coöperate with him against the Spaniards. Before leaving Savannah for Frederica he inspected the arms, reviewed the militia, distributed ammunition, accommodated the differences existing among the civil officers, and granted letters of marque to Captain Davis whom the Spaniards had misused. The captain soon converted his sloop into a privateer mounting twenty-four guns.

For years had British trade with America suffered annoyance and loss from the Spanish *guarda-costas*. Under various and frivolous pretenses English merchantmen were seized and carried into Spanish ports where they were generally confiscated. The sailors on board were confined and subjected to cruel treatment. Redress was loudly demanded by the people of England, but Sir Robert Walpole, conscious of the advantages of peace to a commercial nation, sought to secure by negotiation that satisfaction which might properly have been demanded at the cannon's mouth. By the terms of the convention at Pardo, in January, 1739, Spain agreed to pay a sum of money by way of compensation for the losses sustained by British subjects. With regard to the territory in dispute between Florida and Georgia it was arranged that the governors of these respective provinces should allow matters to remain *in statu quo* until the boundaries were settled by commissioners to be named by both courts. This convention was unpopular in England. The neglect on the part of Spain to pay the stipulated sum at the appointed time furnished Walpole with a plausible pretext for declaring war. Admiral Vernon was appointed to the command of a formidable squadron in the West Indies, and Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the Spanish settlements in Florida.[1]

Acting under instructions from the Duke of Newcastle, he had

[1] See Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 224. London. 1867.

for some time abstained from establishing any new posts, and had not increased his fortifications on the southern frontier. So soon, however, as he heard that the stipulations of the convention had been violated on the part of Spain, he renewed his exertions to place the colonies of Georgia and South Carolina in a strong posture of defense. Fortifications were repaired and reinforced. Vessels of war were detailed to guard the coast. A troop of rangers was advanced to prevent the Spanish horse from invading the disputed territory. Indian warriors were summoned from the interior to act as scouts, and his regiment was put in fighting trim. Since the withdrawal of his outpost on St. George's Island in 1736, his most southerly outlook was on Amelia Island. There a scout-boat was stationed with a crew of sixteen men. To these the general afterwards added a sergeant's guard. As some of the seamen and soldiers had families, there were now residing on the island about forty persons, whose little settlement was protected with palisades and a battery of two or three guns.

On the 5th of November, 1739, the general set out for Frederica. Henceforth he was to see little of Savannah. His place was near the enemy, — his home upon the waters and in the forts which guarded the southern confines of the colony.

The first blood spilt was by the hand of the Spaniard. On the 15th of November intelligence was brought to Frederica that a party of Spaniards had recently landed in the night on Amelia Island. Concealing themselves in the woods, on the ensuing morning they shot two unarmed Highlanders who were in quest of fuel, and then, in the most inhuman manner, hacked their bodies with their swords. Francis Brooks, commanding the scout-boat, heard the firing and gave the alarm to the fort which was garrisoned by a small detachment from Oglethorpe's regiment. Although pursued, the enemy escaped, leaving behind them the proofs of their inhuman butchery.[1]

Informed of the outrage, Oglethorpe followed in the hope of overtaking and punishing its perpetrators. The effort proved futile; but the general, by way of retaliation, swept the river St. John, landed on the Spanish main, drove in the out-guards,

[1] In the account of this transaction contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740 (vol. x. p. 129), it is stated that after they were shot the heads of these two Highlanders were cut off and their bodies cruelly mangled by the enemy. The perpetrators of this outrage consisted of Spaniards, negroes, and Indians. See letter of General Oglethorpe to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina, dated November 16, 1739.

The Spanish Hireling Detected, etc., pp. 50, 51. London. 1743.

and burnt three outposts. Marching in the direction of St. Au gustine he ravaged the country. For three days he remaine in this locality collecting cattle and endeavoring to provoke th enemy to combat. At one time the Spanish horse, attended b negroes and Indians, appeared, but upon being attacked retreate precipitately and took shelter within their forts. He also dis patched Lieutenant Dunbar up the river, with a force, to surpris Forts St. Francis and Picolata. Landing at night he attempted t carry the latter, but after an effort of several hours, finding tha the fort could not be reduced without the aid of artillery, h withdrew.

On new year's day, 1740, Oglethorpe, taking a detachment o his regiment and accompanied by Captains Mackay and Des brisay, Lieutenant Dunbar, Ensigns Mackay, Mace, Sutherlan and Maxwell, Adjutant Hugh Mackay, the rangers, the Chick esas under the command of Fanne Mico, Captain Gray, the Uche king and his warriors, Hewitt, Hillispilli and Santouchy wit their Creek gun-men, Mr. Matthews and Mr. Jones, conveyed i a periagua, thirteen boats, and a privateer sloop, ascended th Alata (or St. John's) River and surprised and burnt Fort Pico lata. He then invested Fort St. Francis de Papa, planting fou pieces of cannon for its reduction. Although the enemy at fir refused to surrender, and briskly returned the infantry fire d rected against the tower, the second discharge from the artille evoked a cry for quarter. At the time of its capitulation th fort was armed with two pieces of cannon, one mortar, an three swivel guns. The situation of this fortification was imp tant, being within twenty-one miles of St. Augustine, in t midst of a territory well stocked with cattle and horses, and co manding the ferry across the river to Picolata. In carrying th post General Oglethorpe narrowly escaped death from a ca non shot. Deeming it too valuable a point to be abandoned, h strengthened its defenses and occupied it with a garrison.[1]

In his dispatches to the trustees the absence of an adequate supply of scout-boats is earnestly deprecated. Although the French had attacked the Carolina Indians, although the Spaniards had thus inaugurated their hostile demonstrations against Georgia, and although they seemingly were preparing to put into execution their threat "to root the English out of America,"

[1] For full details of these incursions, see letter of General Oglethorpe to Colonel Stephens, dated Frederica, 1st February, 1740. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 105-108. Savannah. 1873.

Oglethorpe thus writes: "We here are resolved to die hard and will not lose one inch of ground without fighting; but we cannot do impossibilities. We have no cannon from the king, nor any others but some small iron guns bought by the Trust. We have very little powder, no horse for marching, very few boats, and no fund for paying the men but of one boat. The Spaniards have a number of launches, also horse, and a fine train of artillery well provided with stores. The best expedient I can think of is to strike first. As our strength consists in men, and as the people of the colony as well as the old soldiers handle their arms well and are desirous of action, I think the best way is to make use of our strength, beat them out of the field, and destroy their plantations and out-settlements, — in which the Indians, who are very faithful, can assist us, — and to form the siege of Augustine, if I can get artillery. It is impossible to keep this Province or Carolina without either destroying Augustine or keeping horse-rangers and scout-boats sufficient to restrain their nimble parties. I must therefore again desire you would insist for our having an establishment of four ten-oared boats to the southward and one at Savannah, as well as a train of artillery, some gunners, and at least 400 barrels of cannon and 100 barrels of musquet powder, with bullets proportionable.

"I am fortifying the town of Frederica, and I hope I shall be repaid the expences; from whom I know not. Yet I could not think of leaving a number of good houses and merchants' goods, and what is much more valuable, the lives of men, women, and children in an open town, at the mercy of every party, and the inhabitants obliged either to fly to a fort and leave their effects, or suffer with them."

CHAPTER XXI.

OGLETHORPE PREPARES FOR AN ADVANCE UPON ST. AUGUSTINE. — AID INVOKED AND RECEIVED FROM SOUTH CAROLINA. — SIEGE OF ST. AUGUSTINE. — OGLETHORPE'S COTTAGE NEAR FREDERICA. — DESCRIPTION OF FREDERICA IN 1740. — VILLAGE OF ST. SIMON. — MILITARY POSTS ON THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER. — VILLAGE OF BARRIMACKE. — EFFICIENT SERVICES RENDERED BY INDIAN ALLIES.

HIS plan for inaugurating offensive operations having been approved by the home authorities, ascertaining that the galleys which had been guarding the St. John's River and the upper coast of Florida had been withdrawn and sent to Havana for reinforcements and supplies, and learning that the garrison at St. Augustine was suffering for lack of provisions, General Oglethorpe deemed it a fitting season to attempt the reduction of that town and the expulsion of the Spaniards from the province of which it was the capital.

Admiral Vernon was instructed to demonstrate against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies, while Oglethorpe conducted all his available forces against the seat of Spanish dominion in Florida. The assistance of South Carolina was urgently invoked, but the authorities at first would not acquiesce in the feasibility of the enterprise.[1]

[1] In a letter dated Frederica, December 29, 1739, General Oglethorpe explained to the Carolina authorities his designs against St. Augustine, and the assistance he desired to receive from that province. A requisition was therein made for twelve eighteen-pounder guns, with two hundred rounds of ammunition for each piece, one mortar with proper complement of powder and bombs, eight hundred pioneers, either negroes or white men, and the requisite tools, "such as spades, hoes, axes, and hatchets, to dig trenches, make gabelines, and fascines." Vessels and boats sufficient to transport the artillery, men, and provisions, and six thousand bushels of corn or rice to feed the thousand Indians who were to unite in the expedition, were also demanded. He desired that as many horsemen as could be collected should, under the guidance of Mr. McPherson or Mr. Jones, cross the Savannah and rendezvous at the ferry on the "Alata" River, from which point they would be conducted into "Spanish Florida." It was suggested that fifty good horsemen might be raised at "Purrisburg," and that four months' provisions for four hundred men of his regiment should be contributed, and boats sufficient to transport them. Of artillery on hand the general reported thirty-six cohorns and about eighteen hundred shells. In addition to the four hundred men drawn from his regiment, and the Indians

A rapid movement being regarded as essential to success, General Oglethorpe repaired to Charlestown to urge early and potent coöperation. As a result of the conference which there ensued, the legislature, by an act approved April 5, 1740, agreed to contribute a regiment of five hundred men, to be commanded by Colonel Vanderdussen, a troop of rangers, presents for the Indians, and three months' provisions. A large schooner, conveying ten carriage and sixteen swivel guns and fifty men under the command of Captain Tyrrell, was also furnished for the expedition. Commodore Vincent Price, with a small fleet, pledged his assistance.

On the 1st of April General Oglethorpe published a manifesto, in which, recognizing Alexander Vanderdussen, Esq., as colonel of the Carolina regiment, he empowered him for the space of four months to hold regimental courts-martial for the trial of offenders. At the expiration of that period all connected with that regiment were to be suffered to return to their homes. To the naval forces uniting in the expedition a full share of plunder was guaranteed. To the maimed and wounded, and to the widows and orphans of such as might perish in the service, was promised whatever share of the spoils should fall to the lot of the general-in-chief. Indian enemies, if taken captive, were to be treated as prisoners of war, and not as slaves.[1]

The mouth of the St. John was designated as the point of rendezvous.

Runners were sent from the Uchee town to the Indian allies to inform them of the contemplated demonstration against St. Augustine and to request a concentration of their warriors at Frederica at the earliest moment. This done, the general returned at once to St. Simon's Island where he devoted himself to equipping his troops and collecting the requisite munitions of war.

Pausing not for the arrival of all his forces, and wishing to reduce the posts through which the enemy derived supplies from the country, General Oglethorpe, with four hundred men of his own regiment and a considerable band of Indians, led by Molochi, son of Prim, the late chief of the Creeks, Raven, war chief of the Cherokees, and Toonahowi, nephew of Tomo-chi-chi, on

whom he had engaged, he expected to be able to arm and utilize for the expedition about two hundred men of the Georgia colony, if arrangements could be made for paying and feeding them.

For this letter in full, see Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 338, 339. London. 1748.

See also *The Spanish Hireling Detected*, etc., pp. 52–57. London. 1743.

[1] See Harris' *Memorials of Oglethorpe*, pp. 378, 380. Boston. 1841.

the 9th of May passed over into Florida and, within a week, succeeded in repossessing himself of Fort Francis de Papa,[1] and in reducing Fort Diego,[2] situated on the plains about twenty-five miles distant from St. Augustine. The latter work was defended by eleven guns and fifty regulars, besides some Indians and negroes. Leaving Lieutenant Dunbar and sixty men to hold this post, the general returned with the rest of his command to the place of rendezvous where, on the 19th of May, he was joined by Captain McIntosh with a company of Highlanders, and by the Carolina troops under Colonel Vanderdussen. The anticipated horsemen, pioneers, and negroes, however, did not come.

From the best information he could obtain, gathered from prisoners and otherwise, General Oglethorpe ascertained that the castle of St. Augustine at that time consisted of a fort built of soft stone. Its curtain was sixty yards in length, its parapet nine feet thick, and its rampart twenty feet high, "casemated underneath for lodgings, and arched over and newly made bomb-proof." Its armament consisted of fifty cannon, — sixteen of brass, — and among them some twenty-four pounders. The garrison had been for some time working upon a covered way, but this was still in an unfinished condition. The town of St. Augustine was protected by a line of intrenchments with ten salient angles, in each of which field pieces were mounted. In January, 1740, the Spanish forces in Florida, by establishment, consisted of the following organizations:[3] —

1 Troop of Horse	numbering	100	officers	and	men.
1 Company of Artillery	"	100	"	"	"
3 Independent Companies of old Troops, each	"	100	"	"	"
2 Companies of the Regiment of Austurias, each	"	53	"	"	"
1 Company " " " Valencia,	"	53	"	"	"
1 " " " " Catalonia,	"	53	"	"	"
2 Companies " " " Cantabria, each	"	53	"	"	"
2 " " " " Mercia, each	"	53	"	"	"
Armed Negroes	"	200	"	"	"
White Transports for labor	"	200			

1 Company of Militia (strength unknown).
Indians (number not ascertained).

[1] The object of this fort was to guard the passage of the St. John's River and maintain communication with St. Marks and Pensacola. It was a place of some strength, and the traces of the earthwork there thrown up may still be seen about a fourth of a mile north of the termination of the Bellamy road. *Fairbanks' History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, pp. 144, 145. New York. 1858.

[2] This work had been erected by Don Diego de Spinosa upon his own estate. Its remains, with one or two cannon, are still visible. *Idem*, p. 144.

[3] See letter of General Oglethorpe to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Caro-

It was General Oglethorpe's original purpose, as foreshadowed in his dispatch of the 27th of March, 1740,[1] with four hundred regular troops of his regiment, one hundred Georgians, and such additional forces as South Carolina could contribute, to advance directly upon St. Augustine, and attack, by sea and land, the town and the island in its front. Both of these, he believed, could be taken "sword in hand." He would then summon the castle to surrender, or surprise it. Conceiving that the castle would be too small to afford convenient shelter for the two thousand one hundred men, women, and children of the town, he regarded the capitulation of the fortress as not improbable. Should it refuse to surrender, he proposed to shower upon it "Granado-shells from the Coehorns and Mortars, and send for the Artillery and Pioneers and the rest of the Aid promised by the Assembly;[2] also for Mortars and Bombs from Providence." If the castle should not have yielded prior to the arrival of "these Aids," he was resolved to open trenches and conduct a siege which he reckoned would be all the easier, the garrison having been weakened by the summer's blockade.

About the time of the concentration of the Georgia and Carolina forces for combined operations against St. Augustine, that town was materially reinforced by the arrival of six Spanish half-galleys, manned by two hundred regular troops and armed with long brass nine-pounder guns, and two sloops loaded with provisions.

Warned by the preliminary demonstration which eventuated, as we have seen, in the capture of Forts Francis de Papa and Diego, the enemy massed all detachments within the lines of St. Augustine, collected cattle from the adjacent region, and prepared for a vigorous defense.

Apprehending that he might not be able to carry the town by assault from the land side, where its intrenchments were strong and well armed, unless supported by a demonstration in force from the men-of-war approaching the town where it looks toward the sea and where it was not covered by earthworks, and being without the requisite pioneer corps and artillery train for the conduct of a regular siege, before putting his army in motion General Oglethorpe instructed the naval commanders to rendez-

lina, under date December 29, 1739. *The Spanish Hireling Detected*, etc., pp. 57, 58. London. 1743. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 108, 109. Savannah. 1873.

[1] *Spanish Hireling Detected*, etc., pp. 59–61. London. 1743.

[2] Of South Carolina.

vous off the bar of the north channel and blockade that and the Matanzas pass to St. Augustine. Captain Warren, with two hundred sailors, was to land on Anastasia Island and erect batteries for bombarding the town in front. When his land forces should come into position and be prepared for the assault, he was to notify Sir Yelverton Peyton, commanding the naval forces, and St. Augustine would thus be attacked on all sides.

Shortly after the middle of May, 1740, General Oglethorpe, with a land army numbering over two thousand regulars, militia, and Indians, moved upon St. Augustine. Fort Moosa,[1] situated within two miles of that place, lay in his route. Upon his approach the garrison evacuated it and retired within the lines of the town. Having burnt the gates of this fort and caused three breaches in its walls, General Oglethorpe, on the 5th of June, made his reconnoissances of the land defenses of St. Augustine and prepared for the contemplated assault. Everything being in readiness, the signal previously agreed upon to insure the co-operation of the naval forces was given; but, to the general's surprise and mortification, no response was returned. His forces being disposed and eager for the attack, the signal was repeated, but failed to evoke the anticipated answer. Satisfied that the town could not be carried without the assistance of the naval forces, and being ignorant of the cause of their non-action, the general reluctantly withdrew his army and placed it in camp at a convenient distance, there to remain until he could ascertain the reason of the failure on the part of the navy to coöperate in the plan which had been preconcerted. This failure was explained in this wise. Inside the bar, and at such a remove that they could not be affected by the fire of the British vessels of war, — the Flamborough, the Phœnix, the Squirrel, the Tartar, the Spence, and the Wolf, — Spanish galleys and half galleys were moored so as effectually to prevent the ascent of the barges intended for the attack, and preclude a landing of troops upon Anastasia Island. The shallowness of the water was such that the men-of-war could not advance near enough to dislodge them. Under the circumstances, therefore, Sir Yelverton Peyton found himself unable to respond to the important part assigned him in the attack.

[1] This was an outpost on the North River, about two miles north of St. Augustine. A fortified line, a considerable portion of which may now be traced, extended across from the stockades on the St. Sebastian to Fort Moosa. A communication by a tide creek existed through the marshes between the castle at St. Augustine and Fort Moosa. Fairbanks' *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, p. 144. New York. 1858.

Certified of this fact, and chagrined at the non-realization of his original plan of operations, Oglethorpe determined at once to convert his purposed assault into a siege. The ships of war lying off the bar of St. Augustine were directed to narrowly observe every avenue of approach by water, and maintain a rigid blockade. Colonel Palmer, with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians, was left at Fort Moosa with instructions to scout the woods incessantly on the land side and intercept any cattle or supplies coming from the interior. To prevent surprise and capture, he was cautioned to change his camp each night and keep always on the alert. He was to avoid anything like a general engagement with the enemy. Colonel Vanderdussen, with his South Carolina regiment, was ordered to take possession of a neck of land known as Point Quartel, about a mile distant from the castle, and there erect a battery. General Oglethorpe, with the men of his regiment and most of the Indians, embarked in boats and effected a landing on Anastasia Island, where, having driven off a party of Spaniards there stationed as an advanced guard, he, with the assistance of the sailors from the fleet, began mounting cannon with which to bombard the town and castle.[1]

Having by these dispositions completed his investment, Oglethorpe summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender. Secure in his stronghold, the haughty Don "sent him for answer that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle." Indignant at such a response, the general opened his batteries upon the castle and also shelled the town. The fire was returned both by the fort and the half galleys in the harbor. So great was the distance, however, that although the cannonade was maintained with spirit on both sides for nearly three weeks, little damage was caused or impression produced.[2] It being evident that the reduction of the castle could not be expected from the Anastasia Island batteries, Captain Warren offered to lead a night attack upon the half galleys in the harbor which were effectually pre-

[1] The main battery on Anastasia Island, called the Poza, was armed with four eighteen-pounders and one nine-pounder. Two eighteen-pounders were mounted on the point of the wood of the island. The remains of the Poza battery are still to be seen, almost as distinctly marked as on the day of its erection. Four mortars and forty cohorns were employed in the siege.

See Fairbanks' *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, p. 146. New York. 1868.

[2] The light guns, at long range, caused trifling effect upon the strong walls of the castle. When struck, they received the balls in their spongy, infrangible embrace, and sustained comparatively little injury. The marks of their impact may be noted to this day.

venting all ingress by boats. A council of war decided that inasmuch as those galleys were covered by the guns of the castle, and could not be approached by the larger vessels of the fleet, any attempt to capture them in open boats would be accompanied by too much risk. The suggestion was therefore abandoned.

Observing the besiegers uncertain in their movements, and their operations growing lax, and being sore pressed for provisions, the Spanish governor sent out a detachment of three hundred men against Colonel Palmer. Unfortunately, that officer, negligent of his instructions and apprehending no danger from the enemy, remained two or three consecutive nights at Fort Moosa. This detachment, under the command of Don Antonio Salgrado, passed quietly out of the gates of St. Augustine during the night of June 14th, and after encountering a most desperate resistance succeeded in capturing Fort Moosa at daylight the next morning. Colonel Palmer fell early in the action. The Highlanders "fought like lions" and "made such havoc with their broadswords as the Spaniards cannot easily forget." This hand-to-hand conflict was won at the cost to the enemy of more than one hundred lives. Colonel Palmer, a captain, and twenty Highlanders were killed. Twenty-seven were captured. Those who escaped made their way to Colonel Vanderdussen at Point Quartel. Thus was St. Augustine relieved from the prohibition which had hitherto estopped all intercourse with the surrounding country.

Shortly after the occurrence of this unfortunate event the ship of war which had been blockading the Matanzas River was withdrawn. Taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, some small vessels from Havana, with provisions and reinforcements, reached St. Augustine by that narrow channel, bringing encouragement and relief to the garrison. This reinforcement was estimated at seven hundred men, and the supply of provisions is said to have been large. "Then," writes Hewitt,[1] whose narrative we have followed in the main, "all prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolinian troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual seasons of hurricanes approaching, the

[1] *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 81. London. 1779.

commander judged it imprudent to hazard his majesty's ships by remaining longer on that coast. Last of all, the general himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret followed, and reached Frederica about the 10th of July, 1740."

The Carolinians, under Colonel Vanderdussen, proved inefficient, "turbulent, and disobedient." They lost not a single man in action, and only fourteen deaths occurred from sickness and accident. Desertions were frequent.[1]

Upon Oglethorpe's regiment and the Georgia companies devolved the brunt of the siege. On the 5th of July the artillery and stores on Anastasia Island were brought off, and the men crossed over to the mainland.[2] Vanderdussen and his regiment at once commenced a disorderly retreat in the direction of the St. John, leaving Oglethorpe and his men within half-cannon shot of the castle. In his dispatch to the Secretary of State, dated Camp on St. John in Florida, July 19, 1740, the general thus describes his last movements: "The Spaniards made a sally, with about 500 men, on me who lay on the land side. I ordered Ensign Cathcart with twenty men, supported by Major Heron and Captain Desbrisay with upwards of 100 men, to attack them; I followed with the body. We drove them into the works and pursued them to the very barriers of the covered way. After the train and provisions were embarked and safe out of the harbour, I marched with drums beating and colours flying, in the day, from my camp near the town to a camp three miles distant, where I lay that night. The next day I marched nine miles, where I encamped that night. We discovered a party of Spanish horse and Indians whom we charged, took one horseman and killed two Indians; the rest ran to the garrison. I am now encamped on St. John's River, waiting to know what the people of Carolina would desire me farther to do for the safety of these provinces, which I think are very much exposed to the half-gal-

[1] Stephens says, . . . Most of the gay Volunteers run away by small Parties, basely and cowardly, as they could get Boats to carry them off during the Time of greatest Action; and Capt. *Bull* (a son of the Lieutenant-Governor), who had the Command of a Company in that Regiment, most scandalously deserted his Post when upon Duty, and not staying to be relieved regularly, made his Flight privately, carrying off four Men of his Guard with him, and escaped to *Charles Town;* for which he ought in Justice to have been tried as a Deserter: but he was well received at home. *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol. ii. p. 462. London. 1742.

Compare Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, vol. i. p. 143. Charleston. 1809.

[2] Wright's *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, p. 254. London. 1867.

leys, with a wide extended frontier hardly to be defended by a few men."

In one of the Indian chiefs Oglethorpe found a man after his own heart. When asked by some of the retreating troops to march with them, his reply was, "No! I will not stir a foot till I see every man belonging to me marched off before me; for I have always been the first in advancing towards an enemy, and the last in retreating."[1]

This failure to reduce St. Augustine may be fairly attributed

I. To the delay in inaugurating the movement, caused mainly, if not entirely, by the tardiness on the part of the South Carolina authorities in contributing the troops and provisions for which requisition had been made;

II. To the reinforcement of men and supplies from Havana introduced into St. Augustine just before the English expedition set out; thereby materially repairing the inequality previously existing between the opposing forces;

III. To the injudicious movement against Forts Francis de Papa and Diego, which put the Spaniards on the alert, encouraged concentration on their part, and foreshadowed an immediate demonstration in force against their stronghold; and

IV. To the inability on the part of the fleet to participate in the assault previously planned, and which was to have been vigorously undertaken so soon as General Oglethorpe with his land forces came into position before the walls of St. Augustine.

V. The subsequent destruction of Colonel Palmer's command, thereby enabling the enemy to communicate with and draw supplies from the interior; the lack of heavy ordnance with which to reduce the castle from the batteries on Anastasia Island; the impossibility of bringing up the larger war vessels that they might participate in the bombardment; the inefficiency of Colonel Vanderdussen's command; the impatience and disappointment of the Indian allies who anticipated early capture and liberal spoils; hot suns, heavy dews, a debilitating climate, sickness among the troops, and the arrival of men, munitions of war, and provisions through the Matanzas River, in the end rendered quite futile every hope which at the outset had been entertained for a successful prosecution of the siege.

Great was the disappointment upon the failure of the expedition, and unjust and harsh were the criticisms leveled by not a

[1] See Harris' *Memorials of Oglethorpe*, pp. 239, 240, Boston, 1841, quoting from the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

few against its brave and distinguished leader.[1] We agree with the Duke of Argyle who, in the British House of Peers, declared, "One man there is, my Lords, whose natural generosity, contempt of danger, and regard for the public prompted him to obviate the designs of the Spaniards and to attack them in their own territories; a man whom by long acquaintance I can confidently affirm to have been equal to his undertaking, and to have learned the art of war by a regular education, who yet miscarried in the design only for want of supplies necessary to a possibility of success."

Although this attempt, so formidable in its character when we consider the limited resources at command, and so full of daring when we contemplate the circumstances under which it was undertaken, eventuated in disappointment, its effects were not without decided advantage to the colonies. For two years the Spaniards remained on the defensive and General Oglethorpe enjoyed an opportunity for strengthening his fortifications on St. Simon's Island, so that when the counter blow was delivered by his adversary he was in condition not only to parry it, but also to severely punish the uplifted arm.[2]

For two months after the termination of this expedition Oglethorpe lay ill of a continued fever contracted during the exposures and fatigues incident upon his exertions and anxieties during the siege. When, on the 2d of September, Mr. Stephens called to see him at Frederica, he found him still troubled with a lurking fever and confined to his bed. His protracted sickness had so "worn away his strength" that he "seldom came down stairs, but retained still the same vivacity of spirit in appearance

[1] See *An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe*, etc., London, 1742, which called forth *The Spanish Hireling Detected*, etc., London, 1743.

[2] For fuller account of this demonstration against St. Augustine see Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, etc., pp. 339, 340. London. 1748. *An Impartial Account of the late Expedition against St. Augustine*, etc. London. 1742. *The Spanish Hireling Detected*, etc. London. 1743 Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol ii. pp. 438, 444–448, 461 *et aliter*. London. 1742 Hewitt's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. chap. viii. pp. 65–82. London. 1779. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 143–151. Savannah. 1811. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 167–179. New York. 1847. Spalding's "Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. pp. 265–272. Savannah. 1840. Harris' *Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe*, pp. 222–242. Boston. 1841. Wright's *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, etc., pp. 235–255 London. 1867. Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, vol. i. pp. 140–144. Charleston. 1809. Fairbanks' *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, pp. 141–152. New York. 1858.

to all whom he talked with, though he chose to converse with very few."[1]

Four companies of the regiment were now encamped at the southeast end of St. Simon's Island, and the other two at Frederica. So soon as the men recovered from the malady contracted at St. Augustine, they were employed in erecting new fortifications and in strengthening the old. From these two camps detachments garrisoned the advanced works, St. Andrew, Fort William, St. George, and the outposts on Amelia Island; the details being relieved at regular intervals.[2]

During the preceding seven years, which constituted the entire life of the colony, General Oglethorpe had enjoyed no respite from his labors. Personally directing all movements, supervising the location, and providing for the comfort, safety, and good order of the settlers, accommodating their differences, encouraging and directing their labors, propitiating the aborigines, influencing necessary supplies, and inaugurating suitable defenses, he had been constantly passing from point to point finding no rest for the soles of his feet. Now in tent at Savannah, now in open boat reconnoitring the coast, now upon the southern islands, his only shelter the wide-spreading live-oak, designating sites for forts and look-outs, and with his own hands planning military works and laying out villages; again in journeys oft along the Savannah, the Great Ogeechee, the Alatamaha, the St. John and far off into the heart of the Indian country; frequently inspecting his advanced posts, undertaking voyages to Charlestown and to England in behalf of the trust, and engaged in severe contests with the Spaniards, his life had been one of incessant activity and solicitude. But for his energy, intelligence, watchfulness, and self-sacrifice, the enterprise must have languished. As we look back upon this period of trial, uncertainty, and poverty, our admiration for his achievements increases the more closely we scan his limited resources and opportunities, the more intelligently we appreciate the difficulties he was called upon to surmount. Always present wherever duty called or danger threatened, he never expected others to press on where he himself did not lead.

The only home he ever owned or claimed in Georgia was on St. Simon's Island. The only hours of leisure he enjoyed were

[1] Stephens' *Journal of Proceedings*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 467, 468, 494, 495. London. 1742.

[2] *Idem*, p. 496.

spent in sight and sound of his military works along the southern frontier, upon whose safe tenure depended the salvation of the colony. Just where the military road connecting Fort St. Simon with Frederica, after having traversed the beautiful prairie constituting the common pasture land of the village, entered the woods, General Oglethorpe established his cottage. Adjacent to it were a garden, and an orchard of oranges, figs, and grapes. Magnificent oaks threw their protecting shadows above and around this quiet, pleasant abode, fanned by delicious sea-breezes, fragrant with the perfume of flowers, and vocal with the melody of song-birds. To the westward, and in full view, were the fortifications and the white houses of Frederica. Behind rose a dense forest of oaks. "This cottage and fifty acres of land attached to it," says the Honorable Thomas Spalding in his "Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe,"[1] "was all the landed domain General Oglethorpe reserved to himself, and after the General went to England it became the property of my father. . . . After the Revolutionary war, the buildings being destroyed, my father sold this little property. But the oaks were only cut down within four or five years past, and the elder people of St. Simon's yet feel as if it were a sacrilege, and mourn their fall." Here the defenses of St. Simon's Island were under his immediate supervision. His troops were around him, and he was prepared, upon the first note of warning, to concentrate the forces of the colony for active operations. In the neighborhood several of his officers established their homes. Among them, "Harrington Hall," the country seat of the wealthy Huguenot, Captain Raymond Demeré, inclosed with hedges of cassina, was conspicuous for its beauty and comfort.

Including the soldiers and their families, Frederica, in 1740 is said to have claimed a population of one thousand.[2] This estimate is perhaps somewhat exaggerated, although much nearer the mark than that of the discontents Tailfer, Anderson, and Douglas, who, in their splenetic and jacobinical tract entitled "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America,"[3] assert that of the one hundred and forty-four lots into which the town is divided only "about fifty were built upon,

[1] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. p. 273. Savannah. 1840.

[2] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. p. 274. Savannah. 1840. *Bancroft's History of the United Sates*, vol. ii. p. 434. Boston. 1852. In this estimate must necessarily be included such officers and men of Oglethorpe's regiment as were there stationed.

[3] Page 106. Charles-Town, South Carolina. 1741.

and that the number of the Inhabitants, notwithstanding of the Circulation of the Regiment's money, are not over *one hundred and twenty* Men, Women, and Children, and these are daily stealing away by all possible Ways."

As we have already seen, the town was regularly laid out in streets called after the principal officers of Oglethorpe's regiment. Including the military camp on the north, the parade on the east, and "a small wood on the south which served as a blind to the enemy in case of attack from ships coming up the river," it was about a mile and a half in circumference. The fort was strongly built of tabby and well armed. Several eighteen-pounders, mounted on a ravelin in front, commanded the river, and the town was defended on the land side by substantial intrenchments. The ditch at the foot of these intrenchments was intended to admit the influx of the tide, thus rendering the isolation of Frederica complete, and materially enhancing the strength of its line of circumvallation.

We reproduce from "An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia"[1] the following contemporaneous notice: "There are many good Buildings in the Town, several of which are Brick. There are likewise a Fort and Storehouse belonging to the Trust. The People have a Minister who has a Salary from the Society for propagating the Gospel. *In* the Neighbourhood of the Town there is a fine Meadow of *320* Acres ditch'd in, on which a number of Cattle are fed, and *good* Hay is likewise made from it. At some Distance from the Town is the Camp for General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment. The Country about it is well cultivated, several Parcels of Land not far distant from the Camp having been granted in small Lots to the Soldiers, many of whom are married, and fifty-five Children were born there in the last year. These Soldiers are the most industrious, and willing to plant; the rest are generally desirous of Wives, but there are not Women enough in the Country to supply them. There are some handsome Houses built by the Officers of the Regiment, and besides the Town of *Frederica* there are other little Villages upon this Island. A sufficient Quantity of Pot-herbs, Pulse, and Fruit is produced there to supply both the Town and Garrison;

[1] Pages 51 and 52. London. 1741. Compare *A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath*, etc., p. 11. London. 1742. *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*, etc., p. 36. London. 1741. Wright's *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, pp. 263, 264. London. 1867.

and the People of *Frederica* have begun to malt and to brew; and the Soldiers Wives Spin Cotton of the Country, which they Knit into Stockings. At the Town of *Frederica* is a Town-Court for administering Justice in the Southern Part of the Province, with the same Number of Magistrates as at *Savannah*."

At the village of St. Simon, on the south point of the island, was erected a watch-tower from which the movements of vessels at sea might be conveniently observed. Upon their appearance, their number was at once announced by signal guns, and a horseman was dispatched to headquarters with the particulars. A look-out was kept by a party of rangers at Bachelor's Redoubt on the main, and a corporal's guard was stationed at Pike's Bluff. To facilitate communication with Darien a canal was cut through General's Island. Defensive works were erected on Jekyll Island, where Captain Horton had a well-improved plantation, and there a brewery was established for supplying the troops with beer. On Cumberland Island were three batteries: Fort St. Andrew, built in 1736, on high commanding ground, at the northeast point of the island; a battery on the west to control the inland navigation; and Fort William, a work of considerable strength and regularity, commanding the entrance to St. Mary's River. Two companies of Oglethorpe's regiment were stationed near Fort St. Andrew. As many of the soldiers were married, lots were assigned to them which they cultivated and improved. Near this work was the little village of Barrimacké, of twenty-four families.

Upon Amelia Island, where the orange-trees were growing wild in the woods, were stationed the Highlanders with their scout-boats. They had a good plantation upon which they raised corn enough for their subsistence, a little fort, and "a stud of horses and mares." [1]

"Nowhere," remarks Mr. Spalding,[2] "had mind, with the limited means under its control, more strongly evinced its power. And it will be seen hereafter that it was to the great ability shown in the disposition of these works that not Georgia only but Carolina owed their preservation; for St. Simon's was destined soon to become the Thermopylæ of the Southern Anglo-American provinces." Besides compassing the improvement of

[1] See *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, etc., p 53. London. 1743. Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 264. London. 1867.

[2] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. p. 258. Savannah. 1840.

and garrisoning his defensive works along the southern frontier with the men of his regiment, Oglethorpe kept in active service considerable bodies of Indians whose mission was to harass the Spaniards in Florida, annoy their posts, and closely invest St. Augustine. So energetically did these faithful allies discharge the duty assigned them, and so carefully did they watch and thoroughly plague the garrison and inhabitants of St. Augustine, that they dared not venture any distance without the walls. Adjacent plantations remained uncultivated. Within the town, food, fuel, and the necessaries of life became so scarce that the Spanish government was compelled to support the population by stores sent from Havana. To the efficient aid of his Indian allies was Oglethorpe on more than one occasion indebted for the consummation of important plans. It would not be an exaggeration to affirm that to their friendship, fidelity, and valor was the colony largely beholden not only for its security, but even for its preservation. "If we had no other evidence," writes Mr. Spalding, "of the great abilities of Oglethorpe but what is offered by the devotion of the Indian tribes to him, and to his memory afterwards for fifty years, it is all-sufficient; for it is only master minds that acquire this deep and lasting influence over other men."

CHAPTER XXII.

OGLETHORPE RENEWS HIS DEMAND FOR MEN-OF-WAR AND MILITARY STORES. — SCURRILOUS ATTACKS UPON OGLETHORPE AND THE TRUSTEES' SERVANTS. — SPANISH FORCES CONCENTRATED FOR THE SUBJUGATION OF GEORGIA. — ATTACK UPON ST. SIMON'S ISLAND, AND ITS HEROIC DEFENSE CONDUCTED BY OGLETHORPE. — NARRATIVES OF THIS IMPORTANT AFFAIR. — OGLETHORPE'S COUNTER BLOW DELIVERED AGAINST FLORIDA. — DESCRIPTIONS OF FREDERICA IN 1743. — OGLETHORPE'S DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND. — HIS CHARACTER, SUBSEQUENT CAREER, AND DEATH.

THERE was a lull in the storm, but the skies were still overcast. In the distance were heard ominous mutterings portending the advent of another and a darker tempest. Anxious, but calm, Oglethorpe scanned the adverse skies and prepared to breast their fury. On the 12th of May, 1741, he reports to the Duke of Newcastle the arrival, at St. Augustine, of a reinforcement of eight hundred soldiers, and informs the home government of a settled determination on the part of the Spanish authorities to invade the provinces of Georgia and Carolina so soon as the result of Admiral Vernon's expedition in the West Indies shall have been ascertained. He makes urgent demand for men-of-war to guard the water approaches, for a train of artillery, arms, and ammunition, for authority to recruit the two troops of rangers to sixty men each and the Highland company to one hundred, to enlist one hundred boatmen, and to purchase or build and man two half galleys. Alluding to the expected advance of the Spaniards, the writer continues: "If our men of war will not keep them from coming in by sea, and we have no succour, but decrease daily by different accidents, all we can do will be to die bravely in his Majesty's service. . . . I have often desired assistance of the men-of-war, and continue to do so. I go on in fortifying this town, making magazines, and doing everything I can to defend the Province vigorously, and I hope my endeavours will be approved of by his Majesty, since the whole end of my life is to do the duty of a faithful subject and grateful servant. I have thirty Spanish prisoners in this place, and we continue so masters of Florida that the Spaniards have not been able to re-

build any one of the seven forts which we destroyed in the last expedition."

It does not appear that the men-of-war and ordnance requested were ever furnished.

With a little squadron composed of the Guard sloop, the sloop Falcon, and Captain Davis' schooner Norfolk carrying a detachment of his regiment under command of Major Heron, General Oglethorpe on the 16th of August, 1741, bore down upon a large Spanish ship lying at anchor, with hostile intent, off the bar of Jekyll Sound. A heavy storm intervening, the Spanish vessel put to sea and was lost to sight. Unwilling to dismiss his miniature fleet until he had performed more substantial service, the general boldly continued down the coast, attacked and put to flight a Spanish man-of-war and the notorious privateer Black-Sloop commanded by Destrade, a French officer, challenged the vessels lying in the inner harbor of St. Augustine to come out and engage his small squadron, remained at anchor all night within sight of the castle, cruised for some days off the Matanzas, and, after having alarmed the whole coast, returned in safety to Frederica.

In the midst of these labors and anxieties incident upon his preparations to resist the threatened Spanish invasion, and at a time when harmony and content were most essential to the well-being of the colony, Oglethorpe was annoyed by sundry complaints from evil-minded persons. Most of them were frivolous, and a few quite insulting in their character. The publication of two tracts, one entitled "An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia,"[1] and the other "A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740,"[2] both presenting favorable views of the colony and disseminated in the interest of the trust, irritated these malcontents and gave rise to several rejoinders, among which, as particularly reflecting upon the conduct of the commander-in-chief and his administration of affairs, may be mentioned "A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America, attested upon Oath, being a Proper Contrast to 'A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath,' and some other Misrepresentations on the same Subject."[3] The charge was openly made that some of the magistrates at Savannah and Frederica (the principal towns in Georgia) had willfully injured the people by declaring

[1] London. 1741. [2] London. 1742. [3] London. 1743.

"from the Bench that the Laws of England were no laws in Georgia," by causing "false imprisonments," by "discharging Grand Juries while matters of Felony lay before them," by "intimidating Petit Juries," and, in short, "by sticking at nothing to oppress the people." It was further alleged that there was no way of applying to his majesty for redress. General Oglethorpe was accused of partiality and tyranny in his administration. In support of these charges various affidavits were obtained from parties claiming to be residents of Frederica, Darien, Savannah, Ebenezer, and Augusta, most of them, however, being sworn to and verified outside the limits of Georgia. Those who are curious with regard to the contents of these affidavits, so far as they reflect upon the conduct of the Frederica magistrates, are referred to the depositions of Samuel Perkins, John Roberson, and Samuel Davison.[1]

A desire to sell forbidden articles and to ply trades for which special permission had been granted to others, opposition to the regulation which prohibited the owners of hogs and cattle from allowing them to run at large on the common and in the streets of Frederica, alleged misfeasance in the conduct of bailiffs and under-magistrates in the discharge of their duties, the unprofitableness of labor, overbearing acts committed by those in authority, and similar matters, formed the burthen of these sworn complaints. While they tended to distract the public mind and to annoy those upon whose shoulders rested the administration of affairs, they fortunately failed in producing any serious impression either within the colony or in the mother country. We allude to the subject in its proper connection simply as a matter of history, and to show how ill-judged and ill-timed were these efforts of the malcontents, among whom Pat Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. A., and Da: Douglas should not be forgotten.

The utter destruction of the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina was the avowed object of the Spaniards, who promised to extend no quarter to English or Indians taken with arms in their hands. The struggle was to be desperate in the extreme. To the urgent applications for assistance forwarded by General Oglethorpe, Lieutenant-Governor Bull turned a deaf ear. The Carolinians, instead of furnishing supplies and munitions of war, and marching to the south to meet the invader where the battle for the salvation of both colonies was to be fought, re-

[1] *A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia*, etc., appendix, pp. 1–19. London. 1743.

mained at home, leaving the Georgians single-handed to breast the storm.[1]

The "Gentleman's Magazine"[2] contains the following estimate of the Spanish forces under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of Augustine and commander-in-chief of the expedition, and Major-General Antonio de Rodondo, engineer general, participating in the attack upon St. Simon's Island: —

"2 Colonels with Brevits of Brigadiers.

"One Regiment of Dragoons, dismounted, with their Saddles and Bridles.

"The Regiment call'd The Battalion of the *Havannah*.

"10 Companies of 50 each, draughted off from several Regiments of *Havannah*.

"One Regiment of the *Havannah* Militia, consisting of 10 Companies of 100 Men each.

"One Regiment of Negroes, regularly officer'd by Negroes.

"One ditto of Mulattas, and one Company of 100 Miguelets.

"One Company of the Train with proper Artillery.

"*Augustine* Forces consisting of about 300 Men.

"Ninety Indians.

"And 15 Negroes who ran away from *South Carolina*."

From the various accounts of this memorable struggle we select that prepared by Oglethorpe himself, written on the spot, with the scars of battle fresh around him and the smoke of the conflict scarce lifted from the low-lying shores and dense woods of St. Simon's Island. The commanding eye that saw, the stern lips which answered back the proud defiance, and the strong arm which, under Providence, pointed the way to victory, are surely best able to unfold the heroic tale. We present the report as it came from his pen: [3] —

"FREDERICA IN GEORGIA, *30th July*, 1742.

"The Spanish Invasion which has a long time threatened the Colony, Carolina, and all North America has at last fallen upon us and God hath been our deliverance. General Horcasilas, Governour of the Havannah, ordered those Troops who had been employed against General Wentworth to embark with Artillery and everything necessary upon a secret expedition. They sailed with a great fleet:[4] amongst them were two half Galleys carrying 120

[1] See letter of General Oglethorpe, dated Frederica, June 8, 1742, Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 298. London. 1867.

[2] For 1742, vol. xii. p. 694.

[3] See *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 133 *et seq.* Savannah. 1873.

[4] Consisting of fifty-six sail, and between seven and eight thousand men.

men each & an 18 pound Gun. They drew but five feet water which satisfied me they were for this place. By good great Fortune one of the half Galleys was wrecked coming out.[1] The Fleet sailed for St. Augustine in Florida. Capt. Homer the latter end of May called here for Intelligence. I acquainted him that the Succours were expected and sent him a Spanish Pilot to shew him where to meet with them. He met with ten sail[2] which had been divided from the Fleet by storm, but having lost 18 men in action against them, instead of coming here for the defence of this Place he stood again for Charles Town to repair, and I having certain advices of the arrival of the Spanish Fleet at Augustine wrote to the Commander of His Majesty's Ships at Charles Town to come to our assistance.[3]

"I sent Lieut. Maxwell who arrived there and delivered the letters the 12th of June, and afterwards Lieut. MacKay, who arrived and delivered letters on the 20th of June.

"Lieut. Colonel Cook who was then at Charles Town, and was Engineer, hastened to England, and his son-in-law Ensign Eyre, Sub-Engineer, was also in Charles Town, and did not arrive here till the action was over; so, for want of help, I myself was obliged to do the duty of Engineer.

"The Havannah Fleet, being joined by that of Florida, composed 51 sail, with land men on board, a List of whom is annexed: they were separated, and I received advice from Capt. Dunbar (who lay at Fort William with the Guard Schooner of 14 Guns and ninety men) that a Spanish Fleet of 14 sail had attempted to come in there,[4] but being drove out by the Cannon of the Fort and Schooner they came in at Cumberland Sound. I sent over Capt. Horton to land the Indians and Troops on

[1] This was a large settee having one hundred and fifty men on board. A few days afterwards the fleet was dispersed by a storm, so that all the shipping did not arrive at St. Augustine.

[2] These he attacked, driving some of them ashore.

[3] "Never did the Carolineans," says Mr. Hewitt, "make so bad a figure in the defence of their country. When union, activity and dispatch were so requisite, they ingloriously stood at a distance, and suffering private pique to prevail over public spirit, seemed determined to risk the safety of their country, rather than General Oglethorpe by their help should gain the smallest degree of honour and reputation. . . . The Georgians with justice blamed their more powerful neighbors, who, by keeping at a distance in the day of danger, had almost hazarded the loss of both provinces."

Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, vol. ii. pp. 119, 120. London. 1779.

[4] This was on the 21st of June. Most of the accounts place the number of Spanish vessels, then attempting to enter Amelia Sound, at *nine*, instead of *fourteen*.

Cumberland. I followed myself and was attacked in the Sound, but with two Boats fought my way through. Lieut. Tolson, who was to have supported me with the third and strongest boat, quitted me in the fight and run into a River where he hid himself till next day when he returned to St. Simon's with an account that I was lost but soon after found. I was arrived there before him, for which misbehaviour I put him in arrest and ordered him to be tryed. The Enemy in this action suffered so much [1] that the day after they ran out to sea and returned for St. Augustine and did not join their great Fleet till after their Grenadiers were beat by Land.

"I drew the Garrison from St. Andrews, reinforced Fort William, and returned to St. Simon's with the Schooner.

"Another Spanish Fleet appeared the 28th off the Barr: by God's blessing upon several measures taken I delayed their coming in till the 5th of July. I raised another Troop of Rangers, which with the other were of great service.

"I took Captain Thomson's ship [2] into the service for defence of the Harbour. I imbargoe'd all the Vessells, taking their men for the service, and gave large Gifts and promises to the Indians so that every day we increased in numbers. I gave large rewards to men who distinguished themselves upon any service, freed the servants,[3] brought down the Highland Company, and Company of Boatmen, filled up as far as we had guns. All the vessels being thus prepared [4] on the 5th of July with a leading Gale and Spring Tide 36 sail of Spanish vessels run into the Harbour in line of Battle.

"We cannonaded them very hotly from the Shipping and Batterys. They twice attempted to board Capt. Thomson [5] but

[1] In endeavoring to reach St. Augustine for repairs, four of their vessels foundered at sea.

[2] This was the merchant ship Success, mounting twenty guns. The general sent one hundred soldiers on board of her and filled her with necessary military stores. Thus she became, in the language of one of her crew, "ready for twice the number of Spaniards."

[3] For their passage and outfit, they had agreed to labor for the trust for a given period.

[4] This little fleet consisted of the Success, Captain Thompson, of twenty guns and one hundred and ten men, with springs upon her cables, General Oglethorpe's schooner of fourteen guns and eighty men, and the sloop St. Philip, of fourteen guns and eighty men. Eight York sloops were close in shore, with one man on board each of them, whose instructions were, in case the enemy were about to capture, to sink or run them on shore.

Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xii. p. 495.

[5] This attempt was made by the Spanish commodore with a ship of twenty-two guns, and a settee with an eighteen-pounder, and two nine-pounders in her bow. So stout was the resistance offered by Captain Thompson with the great guns

were repulsed. They also attempted to board the Schooner, but were repulsed by Capt. Dunbar with a Detachment of the Regiment on board.

"I was with the Indians, Rangers, and Batterys, and sometimes on board the ships, and left Major Heron with the Regiment. It being impossible for me to do my duty as General and be constantly with the Regiment, therefore it was absolutely necessary for His Majesty's service to have a Lieut. Colonel present, which I was fully convinced of by this day's experience. I therefore appointed Major Heron to be Lieut. Colonel, and hope that your Grace will move His Majesty to be pleased to approve the same.

"The Spaniards after an obstinate Engagement of four hours, in which they lost abundance of men, passed all our Batterys and Shipping and got out of shot of them towards Frederica. Our Guard Sloop was disabled and sunk: one of our Batterys blown up, and also some of our Men on board Capt. Thomson, upon which I called a Council of War at the head of the Regiment where it was unanimously resolved to march to Frederica to get there before the Enemy and defend that Place: & To destroy all the Provisions, Vessels, Artillery, &c., at St. Simon's, that they might not fall into the Enemy's hands.

"This was accordingly executed, having first drawn all the Men on shoar which before had defended the shipping. I myself staid till the last, and the wind coming fortunately about I got Capt. Thompson's Ship, our Guard Schooner, and our Prize Sloop to sea and sent them to Charles Town. This I did in the face and spite of thirty-six sail of the Enemy: as for the rest of the Vessells, I could not save them, therefore was obliged to destroy them.

"I must recomend to His Majesty the Merchants who are sufferers thereby, since their loss was in great measure the preserving the Province.

"We arrived at Frederica, and the Enemy landed at St. Simon's.[1]

of his ship, by Captain Carr and his company of marines, and by Lieutenant Wall and Ensign Otterbridge in charge of a detachment from Oglethorpe's regiment, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with loss. A snow of sixteen guns at the same time attempted to board the Guard schooner, but was repulsed by Captain Dunbar.

See Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. p. 341. London. 1748.

[1] From the statement made by five Spanish prisoners captured and brought in by the Creek Indians, it appeared that Don Manuel de Montcano, governor of St. Augustine, was the commander-in-chief of the expedition, and that Major-

"On the 7th a party of their's marched toward the Town: our Rangers discovered them and brought an account of their march, on which I advanced with a party of Indians, Rangers, and the Highland Company, ordering the Regiment to follow, being resolved to engage them in the Defiles of the Woods before they could get out and form in the open Grounds. I charged them at the head of our Indians, Highland Men and Rangers, and God was pleased to give us such success that we entirely routed the first party, took one Captain prisoner, and killed another, and pursued them two miles to an open Meadow or Savannah, upon the edge of which I posted three Platoons of the Regiment and the Company of Highland foot so as to be covered by the woods from the Enemy who were obliged to pass thro' the Meadow under our fire.[1] This disposition was very fortunate.[2] Capt. Antonio Barba and two other Captains with 100 Grenadiers and 200 foot, besides Indians and Negroes, advanced from the Spanish Camp into the Savannah with Huzzah's and fired with great spirit, but not seeing our men by reason of the woods, none of their shot took place, but ours did.[3]

General Antonio de Redondo was chief engineer He and two brigadier-generals accompanied the forces which came from Cuba. The aggregate strength of the expedition was about five thousand men, of whom four thousand three hundred were landed on St. Simon. Heavy scouting parties were sent out in every direction by General Oglethorpe to observe the movements of the enemy and retard any advance in the direction of Frederica, the defenses of which were being strengthened as rapidly and as thoroughly as time and the forces at command would permit.

[1] In this charge Oglethorpe encountered one hundred and twenty Spanish pioneers, forty Yemassee Indians, and an equal number of negroes. So violent was the onslaught that nearly the whole party was either captured or slain. With his own hands the general captured two prisoners. Captain Sanchio, commanding this advance, was taken prisoner by Lieutenant Scroggs of the rangers, and Toonahowi, although shot through the right arm by a Spanish officer, drew his pistol with his left and killed his antagonist on the spot. See Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, p. 305. McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 181.

[2] After locating his troops, Oglethorpe hastened back to Frederica to prepare the rangers and the marine company for action at a moment's warning.

[3] Captain McCall furnishes the following account of this affair: Captain Noble Jones, with a detachment of regulars and Indians, being out on a scouting party, fell in with a small detachment of the enemy's advance, who were surprised and made prisoners, not deeming themselves so far in front of the main army. From these prisoners information was received that the whole Spanish army was advancing: this was immediately communicated by an Indian runner to the general, who detached Captain Dunbar with a company of grenadiers to join the regulars and Indians, with orders to harass the enemy on their advance. These detachments having formed a junction observed at a distance the Spanish army on the march; and taking a favorable position near a marsh, formed an ambuscade. The enemy fortunately halted within a hundred paces of this position, stacked their arms, made fires, and were prepar-

"Some Platoons of ours in the heat of the fight, the air being darkened with the smoak, and a shower of rain falling, retired in disorder.

"I hearing the firing, rode towards it, and at near two miles from the place of Action, met a great many men in disorder who told me that ours were routed and Lieut. Sutherland killed. I ordered them to halt and march back against the Enemy, which orders Capt. Demere and Ensign Gibbon obeyed, but another Officer did not, but made the best of his way to Town. As I heard the fire continue I concluded our Men could not be quite beaten, and that my immediate assistance might preserve them: therefore spurred on and arrived just as the fire was done. I found the Spaniards intirely routed by one Platoon of the Regiment, under the Comand of Lieut. Sutherland, and the Highland Company under the Comand of Lieut. Charles MacKay.

"An Officer whom the Prisoners said was Capt. Don Antonio Barba[1] was taken Prisoner, but desperately wounded, and two others were prisoners, and a great many dead upon the spot. Lieut. Sutherland, Lieut. Charles MacKay and Sergt. Stuart having distinguished themselves upon this occasion, I appointed Lieut. Sutherland Brigade Major, and Sergt. Stuart second Ensign.

"Capt. Demere and Ensign Gibbon being arrived with the men they had rallied, Lieut. Cadogan with an advanced party of the Regiment, and soon after the whole Regiment, Indians, and

ing their kettles for cooking, when a horse observed some of the party in ambuscade, and, frightened at the uniform of the regulars, began to snort, and gave the alarm. The Spaniards ran to their arms, but were shot down in great numbers by Oglethorpe's detachment, who continued invisible to the enemy; and after repeated attempts to form, in which some of their principal officers fell, they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their camp equipage on the field, and never halted until they got under cover of the guns of their battery and ships. General Oglethorpe had detached Major Horton with a reinforcement, who arrived only in time to join in the pursuit. So complete was the surprise of the enemy that many fled without their arms; others in a rapid retreat discharged their muskets over their shoulders at their pursuers; and many were killed by the loaded arms which were left on the ground: generally the Spaniards fired so much at random that the trees were pruned by the balls from their muskets. Their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was estimated at five hundred. The loss in Oglethorpe's detachment was very inconsiderable. From the signal victory obtained over the enemy, and the great slaughter amongst the Spanish troops, the scene of action just described has ever since been denominated the *bloody marsh*. *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 185–187. Savannah. 1811. Compare Spalding's "Life of Oglethorpe," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. pp. 281–284. Savannah. 1840.

[1] The Spaniards regarded the loss of this officer as more severe than that of a thousand men.

Rangers, I marched down to a causeway over a marsh very near the Spanish Camp over which all were obliged to pass, and thereby stopt those who had been dispersed in the fight in the Savannah from getting to the Spanish Camp.[1] Having passed the night there, the Indian scouts in the morning advanced to the Spanish Camp and discovered they were all retired into the ruins of the Fort and were making Intrenchments under shelter of the cannon of the ships. That they guessed them to be above 4,000 men. I thought it imprudent to attack them defended by Cannon with so small a number but marched back to Frederica[2] to refresh the soldiers, and sent out Partys of Indians and Rangers to harrass the Enemy. I also ordered into arrest the officers who commanded the Platoons that retired.

"I appointed a General Staff: Lieut. Hugh MacKay and Lieut. Maxwell Aids de Camp, and Lieut. Sutherland Brigade Major.[3] On ye 11th of July the Great Galley and two little ones came up the river towards the Town. We fired at them with the few Guns so warmly that they retired, and I followed them with our Boats till they got under the cannon of their ships which lay in the sound.

"Having intelligence from the Spanish Camp that they had lost 4 Captains and upwards of 200 men in the last Action, besides a great many killed in the sea-fight, and several killed in the night by the Indians even within or near the camp, and that they had held a Council of War in which there were great divisions, insomuch that the Forces of Cuba separated from those of Augustine and the Italick Regiment ——— of Dragoons separated from them both at a distance from the rest near the woods, and that there was a general Terror amongst them, upon which I was resolved to beat up their Quarters in the night and marching down with the largest body of men I could make, I halted within a mile and a half of their camp to form, intending to leave the Troops there till I had well reconitred the Enemy's disposition.

"A French Man who without my knowledge was come down amongst the volunteers fired his Gun and deserted. Our Indians in vain pursued and could not take him. Upon this, con-

[1] In these two engagements the enemy sustained a loss of two captains, one lieutenant, two sergeants, two drummers, and one hundred and sixty privates killed; and one captain and nineteen men captured.

[2] This was on the 8th of July.

[3] During the 9th and 10th of July all hands were employed on the works at Frederica, except the scouts and Indians. These brought in some scalps and prisoners.

cluding we were discovered, I divided the Drums in different parts and beat the Grenadiers march for about half an hour, then ceased, and we marched back with silence.

"The next day[1] I prevailed with a Prisoner, and gave him a sum of money to carry a letter privately and deliver it to that French Man who had deserted. This letter was wrote in French as if from a friend of his, telling him he had received the money; that he should strive to make the Spaniards believe the English were weak. That he should undertake to pilot up their Boats and Galleys and then bring them under the Woods where he knew the Hidden Batterys were; that if he could bring that about, he should have double the reward he had already received. That the French Deserters should have all that had been promised to them. The Spanish Prisoner got into their Camp and was immediately carried before their General Don Manuel de Montiano. He was asked how he escaped and whither he had any letters, but denying his having any, was strictly searched and the letter found, and he upon being pardoned, confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the Frenchman, for the letter was not directed. The Frenchman denied his knowing anything of the contents of the Letter or having received any Money or Correspondence with me, notwithstanding which, a Council of War was held and they deemed the French Man to be a double spy, but General Montiano would not suffer him to be executed, having been imployed by him: however they imbarqued all their Troops,[2] and halted under Jekyl: they also confined all

[1] July 13th.

[2] St. Simon's town was destroyed by the Spaniards prior to their evacuation of the island. To a writer in the *London Magazine* for 1745 (page 549), who made his observations in the early part of 1743, are we indebted for the following notice of this place: "At the South Point of this Island of *St. Simon*, are the Ruins of the Town of *St. Simon's* destroyed by the *Spaniards* at their Invasion. By the remaining Vestiges it must have been a very uniform Place; and the Situation is quite charming, tho' it now makes one melancholy to see such a Desolation in so new a Country. The only Building they left standing was one House which they had consecrated for a Chapel. How different the Proceedings of the more generous *English* even in their Parts who never leave behind them such direful Remembrances; but here religious Fury goes Hand in Hand with Conquest, resolv'd to ruin whom they can't convert. The Fort has some Remains still, and seems to have been no extraordinary affair; tho' no Place was ever better defended, and the Enemies seem, by their Works and Intrenchments to have thought themselves sure of keeping the Town, but found themselves wofully mistaken. Down the Beach to the westward is a Look-out of Tappy-work which is a very good Mark for standing over the Bar into the Harbour; and on the opposite Point of Jekyl Island is a very remarkable Hammock of Trees much taken notice of by Seamen on the same Account. Somewhat lower and more Northerly is the Plantation call'd Gascoign's which under-

the French on board and imbarked with such precipitation that they left behind them Cannon, &c., and those dead of their wounds, unburied. The Cuba Squadron stood out to sea to the number of 20 sail: General Montiano with the Augustine Squadron returned to Cumberland Sound, having burnt Captain Horton's houses, &c., on Jekyll. I, with our boats, followed him. I discovered a great many sail under Fort St. Andrew, of which eight appeared to me plain, but being too strong for me to attack, I sent the Scout Boats back.

"I went [1] with my own Cutter and landed a man on Cumberland who carried a letter from me to Lieut. Stuart at Fort William with orders to defend himself to the last extremity.

"Having discovered our Boats & believing we had landed Indians in the night they set sail with great haste, in so much that not having time to imbarque, they killed 40 horses which they had taken there, and burnt the houses. The Galleys and small Craft to the number of fifteen went thro' the inland Water Passages. They attempted to land near Fort William, but were repulsed by the Rangers; they then attacked it with Cannon and small Arms from the water for three Hours, but the place was so bravely defended by Lieut. Alexander Stuart that they were repulsed and ran out to sea where twelve other sail of Spanish vessells had lain at anchor without the Barr during the Attack without stirring; but the Galleys being chased out, they hoisted all the sails they could and stood to the Southward. I followed them with the Boats to Fort William, and from thence sent out the Rangers and some Boats who followed them to Saint John's, but they went off rowing and sailing to St. Augustine.

"After the news of their defeat in the Grenadier Savannah arrived at Charles Town, the Men of War and a number of Carolina People raised in a hurry set out and came off this Barr after the Spaniards had been chased quite out of this Colony, where they dismissed the Carolina vessels, and Capt. Hardy promised in his Letters to cruise off St. Augustine.

went the same Fate with St. Simon's. An Officer's Command is station'd at South Point, who disposes his Centries so as to discover Vessels some Leagues at Sea, and upon any such Discovery an Alarm-Gun is fir'd, and an Horseman sent up with Notice to the Head-Quarters which is nine miles from this Place. If they appear to make for the Harbour, a perpendicular mounted Gun is fir'd as a Signal, which, by the Ascent of the Smoke is a Direction to a Ship a long Way in the Offing, and is a most lucky Contrivance. The road from hence to Frederica is cut through the Woods, and through the Marshes rais'd upon a Causeway."

[1] July 16th.

"We have returned thanks to God for our deliverance, have set all the hands I possibly could to work upon the Fortifications, and have sent to the Northward to raise men ready to form another Battalion against His Majesty's Orders shall arrive for that purpose. I have retained Thompson's ship, have sent for Cannon Shott, &c., for Provisions and all kinds of stores since I expect the Enemy, who (tho' greatly terrified) lost but few men in comparison of their great numbers, as soon as they have recovered their fright will attack us with more caution and better discipline.

"I hope His Majesty will approve the measures I have taken, and I must entreat Your Grace to lay my humble request before His Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to order Troops, Artillery and other Necessarys sufficient for the defence of this Frontier and the neighboring Provinces, or give such direction as His Majesty shall think proper, and I do not doubt but with a moderate support not only to be able to defend these Provinces, but also to dislodge the Enemy from St. Augustine if I have but the same numbers they had in this expedition." [1]

To this interesting narrative we append, without comment, two contemporaneous accounts copied from documents on file in the Public Record office in London, and found among the Shaftesbury Papers: —

"The following particular Account of the Spaniards invading Georgia was received by Messrs. Skinner & Simson, Merchants in London, from Mr. John Smith, who was then on board the *Success Frigate*, Captain William Thomson, dated at Charles Town in South Carolina, the 14th of July last.

"This serves to inform you of my safe arrival in Georgia after a Passage of 10 weeks. We met with no Molestation from the Privateers in our way, nor could make no Prizes, tho' we pursued and brought to several Vessels. Our People were all healthy

[1] For further account of this memorable defense, see Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 340, 342. London. 1748 McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 176, 190. Savannah. 1811. Hewitt's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. pp. 114, 119. London. 1779. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 180, 196. New York. 1847. Harris' *Memorials of Oglethorpe*, pp. 250, 268. Boston. 1840. Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*, pp. 299, 317. London. 1867. Spalding's "Life of Oglethorpe," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. i. pp. 275, 284. Savannah. 1840. Ramsay's *History of South Carolina*, vol. i. pp. 144, 147. Charleston. 1809. *London Magazine*, vol. xi. pp. 515, 516, 568. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1742, vol. xii. pp. 494, 496, 550, 561, 693, 694. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1743, vol. xiii. pp. 84, 638, 639.

'till the last three weeks of our Passage, when a Malignant Fev came amongst them and sweeped away several Soldiers, and t best part of our Ship's Company with our Chief Mate, Carpe ter, and Boatswain. I was also visited, but got well over it.

"Three days after our arrival in Georgia we were alarmed b several small Vessels being seen off the Harbour which we toc to be Spaniards. The General sent his Privateer Schooner Fort William which lyes to the Southward of our Harbour to he to defend that Place in case of being attacked, and the next da (being the 22nd of June) sent out his own Barge to make di covery if the Enemy had landed. They returned in the afte noon with Account that the Enemy with eleven Galleys were the Sound called Cumberland, about 20 miles to the Southwa of St. Simon's, where we lay. Upon which the General put tv Companies of Soldiers in three Boats and went along with the himself to the relief of Fort William, so that crossing Cumbe land Sound the Galleys, full of men, bore down upon them. H began the Engagement himself with his own Boats' Crew, and e changed several Volleys with one of the Galleys. In the mea time two Galleys engaged one of the General's Boats where was 50 Soldiers commanded by one Toulson, who thinking hir self hard set, bore away and left the General with the other tv Boats engaged, but they bravely fought their way through wi the loss only of one man, and got to Fort William. Toulson g clear and afterwards came to St. Simon's. That night we hea several great Guns fired, and volleys of small arms to the Sout ward, so that we got all ready for an attack; next day hea nothing of the General, which put everybody under great concer The Day after saw a Sail off the Bar which proved to be t General's Schooner with himself aboard, and a Company of Sc diers, who brought account of all being well at Fort Williar and that they had beat off 9 Galleys which thought to su prize them. The General came ashore and was saluted by with 31 Guns, and by the Fort. He confined Mr. Toulson f leaving him, and sent for Captain Thomson, advised him to ser his Goods to Town, and get all ready for defence, for he thoug of being attacked at St. Simon's. And soon after we had an A count that there were 32 Sail hoisting Spanish Colours where the lay in the same place for 5 days without making the least a tempt, but sent out their small Vessels to sound the Bar. Jul the 4th, they got under sail and came to in the right way off th Channel so that we expected to be attacked next day. The Ge

eral came on board of us and made a very handsome Speech encouraging us to stand by our Liberties and Country. For his part he was resolved to stand it out, and would not yield one inch to them tho' they appeared so formidable. He was convinced they were much superior in Numbers, but then he was sure his men were much better, and did not doubt (with the favour of God) but he would get the better. We having but 10 seamen on board, the General sent us 100 Soldiers, and being well provided with warlike Stores, were ready for twice the number of Spaniards. There were several Vessels in the Harbour which we (as Commodore) placed in the following order, viz: —

"The *Success*, captain Thomson, 20 guns, 100 men, with springs upon our cable.

"The *General's Schooner*, 14 guns, 80 men, on our starboard bow.

"The *St. Philip Sloop*, 14 guns, 50 men, on our starboard quarter.

"8 *York Sloops* close in Shore with one man on board each in case of being overpowered, to sink or run them on shore.

"July 5th. The Spanish Vessels got all under Sail and stood in. They sent two Quarter Galleys carrying 9 Pounders, and one Half Galley with two 18 Pounders in her bow to begin the Attack which were warmly received by the Fort, which exchanged several Shot with them. The Wind and Tide both serving, they soon came up with us and fired upon us, which we returned very briskly. They attempted to come up under our stern, upon which I run out two 6 Pounders at the Stern Ports (they being the Guns I commanded) and fired upon her which made them lye upon their Oars, and drive with the Tide. The Admiral came next and was saluted with our whole broad-side, then by the Schooner and Sloop, which made him sheer off from us. In short we received all their Fire and returned the same very briskly, having fired near 300 Shot out of our Ship, they coming on one by one just gave us time to load, so that I believe there was not one Ship but had some Shot in her. They fired at the York Sloops which had run aground. After, they came to anchor and landed a great many men, of which they had great Plenty.

"The General sent us off Thanks for our brave Resistance and ordered his men ashore and us with what other Vessels could go to make the best of their way to Charles Town or anywhere to save the Vessels; upon which, we gott ourselves in train for

going to sea, and cutting our Cable dropped down with the Tide. The Schooner and Prize Sloop followed us, next morning got over the Bar, and said 4 Galleys standing after us, we got all ready for a second engagement, and having sea-room, would have made a market of them, but they did not care to come over the Bar.

"All that night saw several fires, and a sloop blow up, which proved the General destroying all that might be of service to the Enemy, intending to march all his men to Frederica and there hold it out.

"July 7th. Got all into Charles Town. Captain Thomson petitioned the Assembly for assistance to the General, and to have his own Ship manned to go against the Enemy with the Man of War and what other Merchantmen they can fit out, which they have taken into consideration.

"The Flamborough, Man of War, and two Sloops, with a Galley, have been gone from this place a fortnight, and been drove to the Northward by a Gale of Wind. They yesterday came abreast of this place and had account how the General's Affairs stood: upon which they made sail for the Southward.

"I wish our Fleet had been ready to have gone with them, and I dare say we would have catcht them all. Every minute appears an age to me till we can assist our Friends to the Southward and 'till I have Satisfaction for being left naked: they have got my all amongst them: not having one shirt but as I borrow. I hope next opportunity to write you better news. In the mean time remember me to all our Friends."[1]

"On 28th of June 1742 thirty three Spanish Vessels appeared off the Bar. The General staid at S^{t} Simon's taking all possible measures for the Defence of the Harbour, and opposed them in such a manner that they could not become Masters of the Bar 'till 5th instant when they entered the Harbour in line of Battle ahead. The General's Disposition of the Land Troops prevented the Spaniards from landing. The General's three Vessels, with Capt^{n} Dunbar and a Detachment of the Regiment on board, and Capt^{n} Thomson's Ship, fought stoutly. The Officers and Men in the Merchant Service, as well as those of the Regiment behaved with the greatest courage. After three hours' fight by the Land Batteries as well as the Vessels, the Spanish Fleet broke all through and made for Frederica, but in a very

[1] P. R. O. *Shaftesbury Papers.* The above was published in the *Daily Advertiser.*

Shatter'd condition, which obliged the General immediately to send the Regiment for the defence of that Place, and followed in the rear himself, and before he would leave S^{t} Simon's, had all the Cannon, Magazines, &c. burst and destroyed, and sent out such Vessels as were on float to sea, the Harbour having been left open by the Spaniards running up the River. The loss is very considerable, and chiefly owing to the want of Artillery, Engineers, good Gunners, and Ships of Force, — the Officers of the Regiment, Sailors, Indians &c. having done all that men could do for their numbers. The General himself was everywhere but chiefly at the Main Battery and Shipping, Major Heron being with the Regiment on Shore, and Col. Cook at Charles Town, by leave of Absence by reason of sickness, on his way to England. The General is preparing to make the best defence he can in this Place.

"General Oglethorpe being arrived on the 6th of July by day break, without the loss of a man, having brought up all the wounded on his Horses, he dismounted and marched on foot himself and gave his own Horse to me. He immediately gave Orders for the Defence of this Place, sending out Scouts on all sides and, supplying the broken and lost arms &c. ordered all the Companies to be paraded on the afternoon of the same day. The Creek Indians brought in five Spanish Prisoners on the 7th day: On which day about the hour of ten, the Rangers who had been on the Scout came chased in by the Spaniards, giving an account that the Enemy was within a mile of this Place where they had kill'd one Small. The General leaped on the first Horse and immediately marched the Highland Company, who were then under arms a parading, and ordered sixty from the Guard to follow. He himself galloped with the Indians to the Place which was just within the Woods about a Mile from hence, where he found Captain Sebastian Santio, and Captain Magaleeto with 120 Spanish Troops and forty five Spanish Indians. Captn Grey with his Chickesaws, Capt. Jones with his Tomohetans, and Tooanahowi with his Creeks, and the General with six Highland Men, who outran the rest, immediately charged them. Cap^{tn} Mageleeto was killed, Capt^{n} Sebastian Santio taken, and the Spaniards entirely defeated. The General took two Spaniards with his own Hands. Capt^{n} Mageleeto shot Toonahowi in his right arm as he rushed upon him. Toonahowi, drawing his Pistol with his left Hand, shot him through the Head. The General pursued the Chace for near a mile, when

alting at an advantageous Piece of Ground, stayed till the Guard came up, and then posting the Highlanders on the right, and the guard upon the left of the Road, — hid in a Wood with a large Savannah or Meadow in their Front over which the Spaniards must pass to come to Frederica, — the General returned and ordered the Regiment, Rangers and Companies of Boatmen to march. Whilst they were preparing, we heard Platoons firing. The General immediately got on Horseback, and riding towards it met three Platoons on the left coming back in great disorder, who gave him an account they had been broke by the Spaniards who were extremely numerous. Notwithstanding which, he rallied them and he himself rode on, and to his great satisfaction found Lieut. Sutherland and the Platoon of the Regiment under his command, and Lieut. MacKay with the Highlanders had entirely defeated the Spaniards who consisted of two Companies of Grenadiers, making 100 Men and 200 Foot. Don Antonio Barbara, who commanded them, was Prisoner, but was mortally wounded; they also took several other Grenadiers and the Drum. The General ordered all the Troops to march from Frederica to him. As soon as they arrived he pursued the Enemy four Miles. In the two Actions there were one Captain, one Corporal, and sixteen Spaniards taken, and about 150 killed: the rest are dispersed in the Woods, for the General halted all night at a Pass through the Marshes over which they must go in their return to their Camp, and thereby intercepted them. The Indians are out, hunting after them in the Woods, and every hour bring in Scalps.

"July 8. Before daybreak the General advanced a Party of Indians to the Spanish Camp at S^t^ Simon's who found they were all retired into the Ruins of the Fort, under the Cannon of the Men of War. Upon which the General marched back and arrived here about Noon. About the same time a Party which the General had drawn from Fort William arrived, notwithstanding the Spanish Fleet lyes between us to secure us from that Place.

"July 9. This day was spent in going on with the Works.

"Frederica. July 9th 1742."[1]

That a small force of between six and seven hundred men, a sisted by a few weak vessels, should have put to flight an arm of nearly five thousand Spanish troops, supported by a power fleet and amply equipped for the expedition, seems almost in

[1] P. R. O. *Shaftesbury Papers.*

pable of explanation.[1] General Oglethorpe's bravery and dash, the timidity of the invaders, coupled with the dissensions which arose in their ranks, and the apprehensions caused by the French letter, furnish the only plausible explanation of the victory. Whitefield's commentary was: "The deliverance of Georgia from the Spaniards is such as cannot be paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament." The defeat of so formidable an expedition by such a handful of men was a matter of astonishment to all. Had Don Manuel de Monteano pushed his forces vigorously forward, the stoutest resistance, offered along his short line of march and from the walls of the town, would have been ineffectual for the salvation of Frederica. Against the contingency of an evacuation of this stronghold Oglethorpe had provided, as best he could, by a concentration of boats in which to transport the garrison to Darien[2] by way of the cut previously made through General's Island. This necessity, however, was fortunately never laid upon him. If the naval forces at Charles-

[1] The following is an estimate of the forces engaged: —

Spanish Troops.	
One Regiment of dismounted Dragoons	400
Havana Regiment	500
Havana Militia	1,000
Regiment of Artillery	400
Florida Militia	400
Battalion of Mulattoes	300
Black Regiment	400
Indians	90
Marines	600
Seamen	1,000
Total	5,090

General Oglethorpe's Command.	
His Regiment	472
Company of Rangers	30
Highlanders	50
Armed Militia	40
Indians	60
Total	652

See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 196. Savannah. 1811.

[2] Of the condition of this town in 1743 we find the following account in the *London Magazine* for 1745, page 551: "Our first Stage we made *New Inverness*, or the *Darien*, on the Continent near 20 miles from *Frederica*; which is a Settlement of Highlanders living and dressing in their own Country Fashion, very happily and contentedly. There is an Independent Company of Foot of them, consisting of 70 men who have been of good service. The Town is regularly laid out, and built of Wood mostly, divided into Streets and Squares; before the Town is the Parade, and a Fort not yet finish'd. It is situated upon a very high Bluff, or point of Land, from whence, with a few cannon, they can scour the River, otherwise it is surrounded by Pine-barrens, and Woods, and there is a Rout by Land to *Savannah* and *Fort Argyle*, which is statedly reconnoitred by a Troop of Highland Rangers who do duty here. The Company and Troop, armed in the Highland manner make an extreme good appearance under arms. The whole Settlement may be said to be a brave and industrious People; but were more numerous, planted more, and raised more cattle before the Invasion, with which they drove a good Trade to the Southward; but Things seem daily mending with them. They are forc'd to keep a very good Guard in this Place, it lies so open to the Insults of the *French* and *Spanish Indians*, who once or twice have shewn Straglers some very bloody Tricks."

town had responded to his requisitions, a considerable portion of the Spanish fleet might have been captured. Oglethorpe's success in his military operations may be explained by the fact that he constantly acted on the offensive. He was never content to grant any peace to an enemy who was within striking distance. The temerity and persistency of his attacks inspired his followers, and impressed his antagonist with the belief that the arm delivering the blow was stronger than it really was.

The memory of this defense of St. Simon's Island and the southern frontier is one of the proudest in the annals of Georgia. Thus was the existence of the colony perpetuated. Thus was hurled back in wrath and mortification a powerful army of invasion whose avowed object was to show no quarter,[1] but to crush out of existence the English colonies. Had success attended the demonstration against Frederica, the enemy would have advanced upon the more northern strongholds. Appreciating this, and deeply sensible of their great obligations to General Oglethorpe for the deliverance vouchsafed at his hands, the governors of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina,[2] addressed special letters to him "thanking him for the invaluable services he had rendered to the British-American Provinces, congratulating him upon his success and the great renown he had acquired, and expressing their gratitude to the Supreme Governor of Nations for placing the destiny of the southern colonies under the direction of a General so well qualified for the important trust."

Upon the disappearance of the Spanish forces Oglethorpe at once bent his energies to strengthening the fortifications at Frederica and repairing the damages which had been sustained by the southern forts. For a long time he seems to have counted upon a return of the expedition, and could not bring his mind to believe that the enterprise upon which so much preparation and money had been expended would be thus hastily and almost causelessly abandoned. Within a few months the works upon St.

[1] Samuel Cloake, who was a prisoner on board the Pretty Nancy, taken by the Spaniards from the English and fitted out for the invasion of Georgia, made oath that during the time they lay off the bar the Spaniards often "whetted their swords and held their knives to this deponent's and other English prisoners' throats, saying they would cut the throats of those they should take at Georgia."

Harris' *Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, pp. 342, 343. London. 1748.

[2] The governor of South Carolina did not unite in these congratulations and thanks; but the people of Port Royal did, much to his chagrin.

Simon's, Jekyll, and Cumberland islands were more formidable than ever. What those additional defensive works at Frederica were we shall shortly see.

Not content with having repulsed the Spaniards in their effort to crush the colony, General Oglethorpe was soon engaged in "carrying the war into Africa." Finding the enemy so strong in St. Augustine that they defeated all the parties of Indians he sent against them, ascertaining that a large detachment was marching towards the river St. Mattheo, and concluding that this was a movement to extend their quarters so as to be prepared for the proper location and accommodation of reinforcements expected from Havana in the spring, taking with him a considerable body of Creek warriors, a detachment from the Highland company of rangers, and a portion of his regiment, Oglethorpe landed by night in Florida in March, 1743, and, moving rapidly, drove the enemy, with loss, within the lines of St. Augustine. Having disposed his command in ambush, the general, with a small party, advanced within sight of the town, intending to skirmish and draw the garrison out. The enemy declined to leave their fortifications;[1] and the English, being too weak to attack, and having compelled the Spaniards to abandon their advanced posts in Florida, returned, having performed the extraordinary march of ninety-six miles in four days.[2] This was the last expedition led by the general against the Spaniards.[3]

Still persuaded that the attack upon Frederica would be renewed at an early day, he continued to strengthen the southern frontier. Until he left Georgia on the 23d of July, 1743, never again to return, he resided at his cottage on St. Simon's Island.

[1] In the language of General Oglethorpe, "*they were so meek there was no provoking them.*"

[2] See General Oglethorpe's letters of the 12th and 21st of March, 1743. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. pp. 149, 151. Savannah. 1873.

London Magazine for 1743, vol. xii. pp. 356, 357.

London Gazette, July 9, 1743.

[3] This demonstration had the effect of restraining the enemy within the lines of St. Augustine; and the active cruising of the English guard schooner and scout-boats held in check the privateers which were in the habit of annoying the navigation to the southward. "In fine," writes a Charles-Town merchant to his correspondent in London, under date August 10, 1743, "*Georgia* is a Gibraltar to this Province and *North America*, however insignificant some People may make it."

London Magazine for 1743, vol. xii, p. 567.

While sailing in his shallop to reconnoitre St. Augustine, the general was nearly killed by the bursting of one of his cannon. A piece of a sail-yard struck him with such violence on the head that the blood gushed from his ears and nose. He soon recovered from the shock, however, and remained on deck encouraging and directing his men.

Of all the places planted and nurtured by him, none so warmly enlisted his energies and engaged his constant solicitude as this fortified town at the mouth of the Alatamaha.

Upon the general's departure, William Stephens was left as deputy general of the colony, and Major Horton as military commander at Frederica. With the civil matters of the province the latter had no concern except where his assistance, as commander-in-chief of the military, was occasionally invoked to enforce the measures of the president and council. In such instances he acted with calmness and humanity, securing the respect and esteem of the better class of the colonists.

On the 22d of March, 1743, the magazine at Frederica was blown up, to the general alarm and regret of the inhabitants. Although it contained at the time three thousand bombs, so well bedded were they but little damage occurred. A vagabond Irishman was suspected of having fired the magazine.[1]

We have two descriptions of Frederica in 1743, the period of its greatest prosperity and importance, which we make no apology for transcribing.

The first is from the lips of a captain conversant with the appearance and condition of the town.

Captain John MacClellan, who left Georgia on the 31st of January, 1743, on his arrival in England reported the colonists busily engaged in placing themselves in the best attitude of defense in anticipation of a second attack from the Spaniards; that Fort William had been fortified anew with brick work, and that "great numbers of Men were employ'd in compleating the Fortifications at *Frederica*, the Walls whereof are judged strong enough to be Proof against Eighteen-Pound Shot;" that two towers, one at each corner of the town wall, capable of holding one hundred men each and designed to protect the flanks by means of small arms, had been erected; that the men were "full of spirits and unanimous to make a vigorous Defence to the last Drop of Blood;" that General Oglethorpe had been reinforced by two hundred men from Virginia, raised by Major Heron, many of whom were disciplined soldiers from Colonel Gouge's late regiment, and that thirty horsemen were on their way to Georgia to "recruit the Rangers."[2]

[1] See McCall's *Georgia*, vol. i. p. 203. Savannah. 1811. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1744, vol. xiv. p. 393. *London Magazine* for 1744, vol. xiii. p. 359.

[2] *London Magazine* for 1743, vol. xii. p. 305.

The second is from the pen of an intelligent traveler, who made his observations early in 1743. It reads as follows: —

"Frederica, on the Island of St. Simon, the chief Town in the Southernmost Part of the Colony of *Georgia*, is nearly in Lat: 31° 15′ North. It stands on an Eminence, if consider'd with regard to the Marshes before it, upon a Branch of the famous River *Alatamaha*, which washes the West side of this agreeable little Island, and, after several Windings, disembogues itself into the Sea at *Jekyl Sound*. It forms a kind of a Bay before the Town, and is navigable for Vessels of the largest Burden, which may lie along the wharf in a secure and safe Harbour; and may, upon Occasion, haul up to careen and refit, the Bottom being a soft oozy Clay, intermix'd with small Sand and Shells. The Town is defended by a pretty strong Fort of Tappy,[1] which has several 18 Pounders mounted on a Ravelin in its Front, and commands the River both upwards and downwards; and is surrounded by a quadrangular Rampart, with 4 Bastions, of Earth, well stockaded and turfed, and a palisadoed Ditch which include also the King's Storehouses, (in which are kept the Arsenal, the Court of Justice, and Chapel) two large and spacious Buildings of Brick and Timber; On the Rampart are mounted a considerable Quantity of Ordnance of several sizes. The Town is surrounded by a Rampart, with Flankers, of the same Thickness with that round the Fort, in Form of a Pentagon, and a dry Ditch; and since the famous attempt of the Spaniards in *July* 1742,[2] at the N. E. and S. E. Angles are erected two strong cover'd pentagonal Bastions, capable of containing 100 men each, to scour the Flanks with Small Arms, and defended by a Number of Cannon; At their Tops are Look-outs which command the View of the Country and the River for many miles: The Roofs are shingled,[3] but so contriv'd as to be easily clear'd away, if incommodious in the Defense of the Towers. The whole Circumference of the Town is about a Mile and a Half, including, within the Fortifications, the Camp for General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment at the North Side of the Town, the Parades on the West,

[1] A mixture of lime made of Oyster-shells, with Sand, Small Shells, &c., which, when harden'd, is as firm as Stone. I have observ'd prodigious Quantities of Salt Petre to issue from Walls of this Cement.

[2] See *Lond. Mag.* 1742, pp. 461, 515, 516, 567.

[3] Shingles are split out of many Sorts of Wood, in the shape of Tiles, which, when they have been some Time expos'd to the Weather, appear of the Colour of Slate, and have a very pretty Look; the Houses in America are mostly Shingled.

and a small Wood to the South, which is left for Conveniency of Fuel and Pasture, and is an excellent Blind to the Enemy in case of an Attack; in it is a small Magazine of Powder. The Town has two Gates, call'd the *Land-port*, and the *Water-port*; next to the latter of which is the Guard-house, and underneath it the Prison for Malefactors, which is an handsome Building of Brick. At the North End are the Barracks, which is an extremely well contriv'd Building in Form of a Square, of Tappy work, in which, at present, are kept the Hospital, and *Spanish* Prisoners of War: Near this was situated the Bomb Magazine which was blown up on March 22, 1744,[1] with so surprizingly little Damage.[2]

"The town is situated in a large *Indian* Field. To the East it has a very extensive Savannah (wherein is the Burial Place) thro' which is cut a Road to the other Side of the Island, which is bounded by Woods, save here and there some opening Glades into the Neighboring Savannahs and Marshes, which much elucidate the Pleasure of looking. Down this Road are several very commodious Plantations, particularly the very agreeable one of Capt. *Demery*, and that of Mr. *Hawkins*. Pre-eminently appears Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Settlement, which, at Distance, looks like a neat Country Village, where the consequences of all the various Industries of an *European* Farm are seen. The Master of it has shewn what Application and unabated Diligence may effect in this Country. At the Extremity of the Road is a small Village, call'd the *German* Village, inhabited by several Families of *Saltzburghers*, who plant and fish for their Subsistence. On the River Side one has the Prospect of a large Circuit of Marshes, terminated by the Woods on the Continent, in Form like an Amphitheatre, and interspers'd with the Meanders of abundance of Creeks, form'd from the aforesaid River. At a Distance may be seen the white Post at *Bachelor's* Redoubt, also on the *Main*, where is kept a good Look-out of Rangers. To the North are Marshes, and a small Wood, at the Western Extremity of which are the Plantations of the late Capt. *Desbrisay*, and some others of less note; together with a Look-out wherein a Corporal's Guard is stationed, and reliev'd weekly, called *Pike's*, on the Bank of the River, from whence they can see Vessels a great way to the Northward. On the South is a Wood, which is, how-

[1] See *Lond. Mag.* 1744, p. 359.

[2] I have been told that in this Explosion near 3,000 Bombs burst, which, had they not been well bedded, would have done much Mischief.

ever, so far clear'd as to discover the Approach of an Enemy at a great Distance; within it, to the Eastward, is the Plantation of Capt. *Dunbar;* and to the Westward a Corporal's Look-out. The Town is divided into several spacious Streets, along whose sides are planted Orange Trees,[1] which, in some Time, will have a very pretty Effect on the View, and will render the Town pleasingly shady. Some Houses are built entirely of Brick, some of Brick and Wood, some few of Tappy-Work, but most of the meaner sort, of Wood only. The Camp is also divided into several Streets, distinguished by the names of the Captains of the several Companies of the Regiment; and the Huts are built generally of Clap-boards and Palmetto's, and are each of them capable to contain a Family, or Half a Dozen Single men. Here these brave Fellows live with the most laudable Œconomy; and tho' most of them when off Duty practise some Trade or Employment, they make as fine an Appearance upon the Parade, as any Regiment in the King's Service; and their exact Discipline does a great deal of Honour to their Officers; They have a Market every Day; The Inhabitants of the Town may be divided into Officers, Merchants, Store-Keepers, Artisans, and People in the Provincial Service; and there are often, also, many Sojourners from the neighbouring Settlements, and from *New York*, *Philadelphia* and *Carolina*, on account of Trade. The Civil Government does not seem yet to be quite rightly settled by the Trustees, but is, at present, administered by three Magistrates, or Justices, assisted by a Recorder, Constables, and Tything Men. The Military is regulated as in all Garrison-Towns in the *British* Dominions. In short, the whole Town, and Country adjacent, are quite rurally charming, and the Improvements everywhere around are Footsteps of the greatest Skill and Industry imaginable, considering its late Settlement, and the Rubs it has so often met with; and as it seems so necessary for the Barrier of our Colonies, I am in Hopes of, one Time, seeing it taken more Notice of than it is at present."[2]

For the ensuing few years, and during the retention of Oglethorpe's regiment on St. Simon's Island, but little change oc-

[1] The Inhabitants begin to plant this charming Fruit very much, and 't is to be hop'd will banish their numerous Peach Trees to their Country Settlements, which are Nurseries of *Muskettos* and other *Vermin*. The Season I was there, they had Oranges enough of their own Growth for Home Consumption.

[2] This was written in the beginning of 1743. See *London Magazine* for 1745, vol. xiv. pp. 395, 396. Compare notice in *The North-American and the West-Indian Gazetteer*. London. 1778.

curred in the condition of Frederica. It retained its importance as a military post, and was regarded as the safeguard of the province against Spanish invasion. The expectations, if indeed any were seriously entertained, of elevating this town into commercial importance were practically abandoned previous to the withdrawal of the troops. In fact, even before the existing difficulties with Spain were formally accommodated by treaty and it became manifest that there would in all likelihood occur no further serious demonstrations along the southern frontier, the population of Frederica began to decrease.

The home authorities, however, were loath to acknowledge its manifest tendency to decadence, and for some time, by occasional reports and notices, endeavored to assure the public of the continued prosperity of a town which had attracted such special attention in connection with the progress and perils of the colony of Georgia.

An article having appeared in the "Daily Gazetteer" giving "a most scandalous and untrue account of the present state of the Colony of Georgia, particularly levelled at the Southern Part thereof (which is the Frontier against the French and Spaniards)," in justice to the public, William Thomson and John Lawrence, Jr., who had been trading with the colony for some years and who had left Georgia in June, 1747, on business calling them to England, united in a card to the editor of the "London Magazine"[1] in which they stated: "That instead of the false Representation of the said Gazetteer 'That only seven Houses were in the Town of *Frederica*,' the said Town has several Streets, in every one of which are many good Houses, some of Brick, some of Tappy (which is a Cement of Lime and Oyster Shells); That the High Street is planted with Orange Trees and has good Houses on both sides. That the Fort, besides other Buildings, has two large Magazines three Stories high, and Sixty Feet long; That there are Barracks in the Town, on the North side, ninety Feet Square, built of Tappy, covered with Cypress Shingles, and a handsome Tower over the Gateway of twenty Feet square; That there are two Bastion Towers, of two stories each, in the Hollow of the Bastions, defended on the Outside with thick Earth-Works, and capable of lodging great Numbers of Soldiers, the two long Sides being nearly fifty Feet, and the short Sides twenty-five; And that instead of the Inhabitants removing from thence, several Families were come and more

[1] Vol. xvi. p. 484.

coming from *North Carolina* to settle in *Georgia*, who will certainly establish themselves there unless they are prevented by any Fears which may arise from the Reduction of the Rangers and Vessels which have hitherto made that Frontier safe: That before the Barracks were finished, very good Clap-board Huts were built sufficient for the lodging of two Companies who do Duty at *Frederica* (with their Wives and Families) which by an Accident of Fire were lately burnt down; since which others have been made for married Soldiers; and the Soldiers have the Privilege of cutting Timber and building Houses for their Families, which many have done, and thrive very well, and we know the Soldiers are regularly paid and kindly treated. We also certify that there are several Farms which produce not only *Indian* Wheat and Potatoes, but *English* Wheat, Barley, and other Grain. In short, Provisions in general are plentiful, Venison, Beef, Pork, at Two Pence Half-Penny *per* Pound, and sometimes under. Fish extremely cheap."

Upon the confirmation of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, most of the troops were withdrawn from St. Simon's Island, and the fortifications soon began to fall into decay.

In the departure of General Oglethorpe the province of Georgia lost its best benefactor, surest guide, and ablest defender. His return was influenced neither by rewards offered by the British ministry, alarmed at the rumors of an invasion by the Pretender and eager to conciliate the High-Church and Jacobite parties, nor by the treacherous accusations of Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke and his associates. In truth, his pecuniary resources were dried up, and bills which he had drawn "for his Majesty's Service" had been returned dishonored to the amount of £12,000. For ten years had this "Romulus, father, and founder of Georgia," with no end in view save the enlargement of his majesty's dominion, the propagation of the Christian religion, the promotion of the trade of the realm, and the relief of the indigent and the deserving, voluntarily banished himself from the pleasures of court and metropolis, postponed his parliamentary duties, and exposed himself to dangers and privations incessant and exhausting. Instead of gratifying himself with the pleasures and luxuries which his social position and fortune warranted him in enjoying, of his own free will and influenced by philanthropic and patriotic considerations of the noblest sort, he forsook his home and comforts to share the lot of the emigrant; his couch the earth, his shelter the canopy of the heavens. The success of the coloniza-

tion had been compassed not only by his encouragement, direction, and valor, but also by a liberal expenditure of his private property. The province was now established upon a sure basis. The natives were in amity with the English, and the Spaniards had learned a lesson they were not likely soon to forget. He now returned to England in fulfillment of a desire earnestly entertained, but repressed because of the necessitous condition of the province, and in response to a leave of absence sanctioned by the authorities at home. His separation from the colony he regarded, at the time, as only temporary. Arrived in London he demanded that the charges preferred against him by Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke, of his regiment, should be immediately investigated. That officer having named several parties as witnesses who resided in America, the inquiry was adjourned until the 4th of June, 1744, "when a Board of General Officers scrutinized the charges article after article; and after sitting three days, pronounced the whole to be groundless, false, and malicious." The finding of the court-martial was approved, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke was dismissed from the service. In the language of Dr. Holmes[1] the character of General Oglethorpe "now appeared in resplendent light, and his contemporaries acknowledged what impartial history must record, that to him Carolina was indebted for her safety and repose, as well as Georgia for her existence and protection."

Promoted to a major-generalcy, and then to a lieutenant-generalcy, and finally commissioned as general in the British army, retaining his seat in Parliament until 1754, recognized as governor of the colony of Georgia until the surrender of the charter of the province by the trustees in 1752, and always manifesting the liveliest interest in the welfare of that plantation, the companion and friend of Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Miss Hannah More, Boswell, Horace Walpole, Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Garrick, Mrs. Boscawen, Mrs. Carter, and of many others scarcely less distinguished for their social and intellectual qualities, the patron of learning, the soul of honor, the embodiment of loyalty and valor, and the model of manly grace and courtesy, he died on the 1st of July, 1785, full of years and crowned with universal respect. The morning of his life had been stormy, the noon tempestuous, but the evening of his days was full of happiness and tranquillity.

"I have got a new admirer," writes Miss Hannah More from

[1] *The Annals of America*, vol. ii. p. 19. Cambridge. 1829.

Mrs. Garrick's house in the Adelphi, "and we flirt together prodigiously; it is the famous General Oglethorpe, perhaps the most remarkable man of his time. He was foster-brother to the Pretender, and is much above ninety years old; the finest figure of a man you ever saw. He perfectly realizes all my ideas of Nestor. His literature is great, his knowledge of the world extensive, and his faculties as bright as ever. He is one of the three persons still living who were mentioned by Pope; Lord Mansfield and Lord Marchmont are the other two. He was the intimate friend of Southern, the tragic poet, and all the wits of his time. He is perhaps the oldest man of a gentleman living. I went to see him the other day and he would have entertained me by repeating passages from Sir Eldred. He is quite a *preux chevalier*, heroic, romantic, and full of the old gallantry." Dr. Johnson wished to write his life, and Edmund Burke regarded him as the most extraordinary person of whom he had ever read, because he had founded a province and lived to see it severed from the empire which created it and erected into an independent state. A short time before his death he paid his respects to Mr. John Adams, who had arrived in London as the first minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America near the Court of St. James. There was something peculiarly interesting in this interview. He who had planted Georgia and nurtured it during the earliest stages of its dependent condition as a colony held converse with him who had come to a royal court as the representative of its separate national existence.

His body reposes within Cranham church, and a memorial tablet there proclaims his excellences; but here the Savannah repeats to the Alatamaha the story of his virtues and of his valor, and the Atlantic publishes to the mountains the greatness of his fame, for all Georgia is his living, speaking monument.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MR. WILLIAM STEPHENS APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCE. — CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT AT FREDERICA. — STATE OF THE COLONY. — SILK CULTURE. — INCREASE AND THRIFT OF THE GERMAN POPULATION. — AFFAIRS AT NEW EBENEZER. — GRAPE CULTURE.

UPON the settlement and fortification of the southern frontier of the province a new county was carved out and named Frederica. Hitherto, Georgia had contained but one county, and that was known as Savannah. In April, 1741, Colonel William Stephens, who for several years had been acting in the colony as secretary to the trustees, was by them appointed president of the county of Savannah. In the administration of public affairs he was aided by four assistants. As General Oglethorpe spent most of his time in Frederica, the designation of a presiding officer for that division of the province was regarded as superfluous. Bailiffs were constituted whose duty it was, under the immediate supervision of the general, to attend to the concerns of that county.

At Augusta, Captain Richard Kent was, in November, 1741, commissioned as "Conservator to keep the peace in that town and in the precincts thereof."

In anticipation of the return of General Oglethorpe to England, and in order to provide for the government of the entire colony, the trustees decided that the president and assistants who had been appointed for the county of Savannah should be proclaimed president and assistants for the whole province, and that the bailiffs at Frederica should be considered simply as local magistrates; their powers being subordinate to those conferred upon the president and assistants. They further advised that the salary of the recorder of Frederica be raised, and that he correspond regularly with the president and assistants at Savannah, and transmit to them from time to time the proceedings of the town court, and an account of such transactions and occurrences in the southern part of the province as it might be necessary for them to know.[1]

[1] *Journal of the Trustees*, 1736–1745, pp. 239, 243, 244.

Thus, upon the departure of General Oglethorpe, he was succeeded in the office of colonial governor by the honest-minded and venerable Colonel William Stephens, whose devotion to the welfare of the colony and fidelity to the instructions of the trustees had been for more than five years well approved.[1] In association with his members of council or assistants, he was directed to hold in Savannah, each year, four terms of the general court for the regulation of public affairs and the accommodation of all differences affecting person or propety. Public moneys could be distributed only under warrant signed and sealed by the president and a majority of his assistants in council assembled. Monthly accounts were to be exhibited to the Board of Trustees showing the amounts disbursed and the particular purposes to which they had been applied.

Although General Oglethorpe's regiment was retained for the defense of the colony, the militia of the province was organized, and all citizens capable of bearing arms were regularly trained and disciplined. Major William Horton remained in command of the troops in Georgia, with his headquarters at Frederica. In the administration of the civil affairs of the province he did not intervene, except where his assistance was invoked to enforce the measures of the president and council. On all occasions he acted with prudence, calmness, and humanity, winning the esteem, confidence, and friendship of law-abiding citizens.

Bailiffs or magistrates were commissioned in various and remote parts of the province whose duty it was to act as "conservators of the peace," hear and determine "petit causes," and commit, for trial by the general court, offenders whose transgressions exceeded their limited jurisdictions.

The colony was still at a low ebb. The distractions caused by Spanish incursions, the refusal of the trustees to permit the importation and sale of rum, to sanction the introduction of slave labor and to enlarge the tenure of land, and the failure of crops, disheartened many and induced them to avail themselves of the greater privileges offered in South Carolina where similar restrictions were unknown. Intent upon the cultivation of silk and wine, the home authorities discouraged the tillage of rice, cotton, and indigo, from which profit might more readily have been realized. The trouble lay chiefly with the English colonists; not a few of whom, unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits and manual occupations, were easily discouraged and could illy suppress their feelings of disappointment.

[1] See *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, vols. i. ii. iii. London. MDCCXLII.

Notwithstanding the losses sustained during the siege of St. Augustine, and the distractions consequent upon their terms of active service during the hostilities between Georgia and Florida, the Highlanders at Darien made commendable progress and were, year by year, surrounding themselves with comfortable abodes and remunerative fields. The Salzburgers too, at Ebenezer, mindful of the thrift and industry to which they had been accustomed at home, were prospering in many ways. Already were they producing more than they could consume, and a spirit of contentment pervaded their community. Through the assistance of friends in Germany they had been enabled to build two comfortable and substantial houses for public worship, one at New Ebenezer called *Jerusalem Church*, and the other, about four miles below, on the public road leading from that town to Savannah, named *Zion Church*. The joy experienced upon the dedication of these sacred buildings was soon turned to grief by the death of one of their faithful pastors, the Rev. Israel C. Gronau, who, in the supreme moments of a lingering fever, desiring a friend to support his hands uplifted in praise of the Great Master whom he had so long and so truthfully served, exclaimed, "Come, Lord Jesus! Amen!! Amen!!!" and with these words, the last upon his lips, entered into peace.

Rev. Mr. Bolzius continued to be the principal pastor and, as an assistant, the Rev. Mr. Lembke was associated with him.

With that industry and patience so characteristic of them as a people, the inhabitants of New Ebenezer were among the earliest and the most persevering in their efforts to carry into practical operation Mr. Oglethorpe's wishes in regard to the production of silk. In 1736 each Salzburger there was presented with a mulberry-tree, and two of the congregation were instructed by Mrs. Camuse in the art of reeling.

Under date of May 11, 1741, Mr. Bolzius, in his journal, records the fact that within the preceding two months twenty girls succeeded in making seventeen pounds of cocoons which were sold at Savannah for £3 8*s*. The same year five pounds were advanced by General Oglethorpe to this clergyman for the purchase of trees. With this sum he procured twelve hundred, and distributed them among the families of his parish.

On the 4th of December, 1742, five hundred trees were sent by General Oglethorpe to Ebenezer, with a promise of more should they be needed. Near Mr. Bolzius' house a machine for the manufacture of raw silk was erected and the construction of a

public Filature was contemplated. Of the eight hundred and forty-seven pounds of cocoons raised in the colony of Georgia in 1747, about one half was produced by the Salzburgers at Ebenezer. Two years afterwards this yield was increased to seven hundred and sixty-two pounds of cocoons and fifty pounds and thirteen ounces of spun silk. Two machines were in operation in Mr. Bolzius' yard, capable of reeling twenty-four ounces per day. It was apparent, however, that while, by ordinary labor, about two shillings could be earned, scarcely a shilling *per diem* could be expected by one engaged in the manufacture of silk. This fact proved so discouraging to the colonists that, except at Ebenezer, silk culture was generally relinquished. The Germans persevered, and, as the result of their energy, over a thousand pounds of cocoons and seventy-four pounds and two ounces of raw silk were raised in 1750, and sold for £110 sterling. The community was now pretty well supplied with copper basins and reeling machines. Considerable effort was made in England to attract the notice of the home government to this production of silk in Georgia, and to enlist in its behalf the fostering care of those in authority. In 1755 a paper was laid before the Lords of Trade and Plantations, signed by about forty eminent silk throwsters and weavers, declaring that "having examined about 800 wt. of Georgia raw-silk they found it as good as the Piedmontese, and better than the common Italian silks." Assurance was given that there was the "utmost reason to afford all possible encouragement for the raising of so valuable a commodity."[1]

In 1764 fifteen thousand two hundred and twelve pounds of cocoons were delivered at the Filature in Savannah, then under the charge of Mr. Ottolenghe, of which eight thousand six hundred and ninety-five pounds were contributed by the Salzburgers. Two years afterwards, the production of silk in Georgia reached its acme, and from that time, although encouraged by Parliament, continued to decline until it was practically abandoned a little while before the inception of the Revolution. Operations at the Filature in Savannah were discontinued in 1771. Sir James Wright, in his message to the Commons House of Assembly, under date 19th of January, 1774, alludes to the fact that the Filature buildings were falling into decay, and suggests that they be put to some other use.

Disregarding the disinclination existing in other portions of

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1755, p. 185. *London Magazine* for 1755, p. 186.

the colony to devote much time and labor to the growing of trees and the manufacture of silk, the Salzburgers, incited by their worthy magistrate, Mr. Wertsch, redoubled their efforts, and in 1770, as the result of their industry, shipped two hundred and ninety-one pounds of raw silk. At the suggestion of the Earl of Hillsborough, who warmly commended the zeal of these Germans and interested himself in procuring from Parliament a small sum to be expended in aid of the more indigent of the community, Mr. Habersham distributed among them the basins and reels then being in the unused public Filature in Savannah.

"So popular had the silk business become at Ebenezer that Mr. Habersham, in a letter dated the 30th of March, 1772, says: 'Some persons in almost every family there understand its process from the beginning to the end.' In 1771 the Germans sent four hundred and thirty-eight pounds of raw silk to England, and in 1772 four hundred and eighty-five pounds: — all of their own raising. They made their own reels, which were so much esteemed that one was forwarded to England as a model, and another taken to the East Indies by Pickering Robinson."[1]

In the face of the distractions experienced upon the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, silk culture languished even among these Germans, and was never afterwards revived to any considerable degree. The unfriendliness of climate, the high price of labor, the withdrawal of all bounty, which had been the chief stimulus to exertion, and the larger profits to be derived from the cultivation of rice and cotton, combined to interrupt silk-raising, and, in the end, caused its total abandonment.

The construction of a bridge over Ebenezer Creek materially promoted the interests and the convenience of those residing at Ebenezer, and the erection of churches at Bethany and Goshen, the former about five miles northwest of Ebenezer, and the latter some ten miles below and near the road leading to Savannah, indicated the growth of the German plantations along the line of the Savannah River.

The settlement at Bethany was effected in 1751 by John Gerar William DeBrahm, who there located one hundred and sixty Germans. Eleven months afterwards these colonists were joined by an equal number, "the Relations and Acquaintance of the former." The Salzburgers then numbered about fifteen hundred

[1] *Silk Culture in Georgia*, by Dr. Stevens. Harris' *Memorials of Oglethorpe*, pp. 410, 411. Boston. 1841.

souls.[1] Alluding to the location and growth of these plantations, and the agricultural pursuits of their cultivators, Surveyor-General DeBrahm says: "The German Settlements have since Streatched S: Eastwardly about 32 miles N: W-ward from the Sea upon Savannah Stream, from whence they extend up the same Stream through the whole Salt Air Zona. They cultivate European and American Grains to Perfection; as Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats; also Flax, Hemp, Tobacco and Rice, Indigo, Maize, Peas, Pompions, Melons — they plant Mulberry, Apple, Peach, Nectorins, Plumbs and Quince Trees, besides all manner of European Garden Herbs, but, in particular, they Chose the Culture of Silk their principal Object, in which Culture they made such a Progress, that the Filature, which is erected in the City of Savannah could afford to send in 1768 to London 1,084 Pounds of raw Silk, equal in Goodness to that manufactured in Piemont; but the Bounties to encourage that Manufactory being taken off, they discouraged, dropped their hands from that Culture from year to year in a manner, that in 1771 its Product was only 290 Pounds in lieu of 1,464, which must have been that year's Produce, had this Manufactory been encouraged to increase at a 16 years rate. In lieu of Silk they have taken under more Consideration the Culture of Maize, Rice, Indigo, Hemp & Tobacco: But the Vines have not as yet become an Object of their Attention, altho' in the Country especially over the German Settlements, Nature makes all the Promises, yea gives yearly full Assurances of her Assistance, by her own Endeavours producing Clusture Grapes in Abundance on its uncultivated Vines: yet there is no Person, who will listen to her Addresses, and give her the least Assistance, notwithstanding many of the Inhabitants are refreshed from the Sweetness of her wild Productions. The Culture of Indigo is brought to the same Perfection here, as in South Carolina, and is manufactured through all the Settlements from the Sea Coast, to the Extent of the interior Country."[2]

On the 19th of November, 1765, the Ebenezer congregation was called upon to mourn the loss of its venerable spiritual guide, the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, who had been at once teacher and magistrate, counselor and friend, during the thirty years of poverty and privation, labor and sorrow, hope and joy, passed in the wilds of Georgia. He was interred, amid the lamentations of his people, in the cemetery near Jerusalem Church and no stone marks his grave.

[1] *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc., p. 20. Wormsloe. 1849.

[2] *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc. pp. 21, 22. Wormsloe. 1849.

After his demise the conduct of the society devolved upon Messrs. Lembke and Rabenhorst. This involved not only the spiritual care of the people, but also the preservation and proper management of the mill-establishments and public property belonging to the Ebenezer Congregation. "These two faithful men," writes the Rev. P. A. Strobel,[1] "labored harmoniously and successfully in the discharge of their heavy civil and religious obligations, and gave entire satisfaction to those with whose interests they were intrusted." During their administration the large brick house of worship, known as Jerusalem Church, was built. The materials used in its construction were, for the most part, supplied by the Salzburgers, while the funds necessary to defray the cost of erection were contributed by friends in Germany.

Upon the death of Mr. Lembke, the Rev. Christopher F. Triebner "was sent over by the religious fathers in Germany as an adjunct to Mr. Rabenhorst. Being a young man of talents, but of an impetuous and ambitious disposition, he soon raised such a tumult in the quiet community that all the efforts of the famous Dr. Muhlenburg, who was ordered on a special mission to Ebenezer in 1774 to heal the disturbances which had arisen, barely saved the congregation from disintegration. The schism was, however, finally cured, and peace was restored." For the better government of the society, articles of discipline were prepared by Dr. Muhlenburg, which were formally subscribed by one hundred and twenty-four male members. This occurred at Jerusalem Church on the 16th of January, 1775, and affords substantial evidence of the strength of the congregation.

The property belonging to the church, according to an inventory made by Dr. Muhlenburg in 1775, consisted of the following items: —

"1. In the hands of Pastor Rabenhorst a capital of £300 16*s*. 5*d*.

"2. In the hands of John Casper Wertsch, for the store, £300.

"3. In the mill treasury, notes and money, £229 16*s*. 2*d*.

"4. Pastor Triebner has some money in hands, (£400), the application of which has not been determined by our Reverend Fathers.

"5. Belonging to the Church is a Negro Boy at Mr. John Flöerls', and a Negro Girl at Mr. David Steiner's.

"6. A town-lot and an out-lot, of which Mr. John Triebner has the grant in his hands.

[1] *The Salzburgers and their Descendants*, etc., p. 149. Baltimore. 1855.

"7. An inventory of personal goods in the mills belonging to the estate.

"8. And, finally, real estate, with the mills, 925 acres of land."

Including certain legacies from private individuals and donations from patrons of the colony in Germany, it is conjectured that this church property was then worth not much less than twenty thousand dollars.

So long as the congregation at Ebenezer preserved its integrity, direct allegiance to the parent church in Germany was acknowledged, its precepts, orders, and deliverances were obeyed, its teachers welcomed and respected, and accounts of all receipts, disbursements, and important transactions regularly rendered. Its pastors continued to be charged with the administration of affairs, both spiritual and temporal, and were the duly constituted custodians of all church funds and property. Upon their arrival in Georgia these Salzburgers, wearied with persecutions and stripped of the small possessions which were once theirs, were at first quite dependent upon public and private charity for bare subsistence. They were then unable, by voluntary contributions, to sustain their pastors and teachers and to build churches. Foreign aid arrived, however, from time to time, and this was supplemented in a small yet generous way by the labor of the parishioners and by such sums and articles as could be spared from their slow accumulations. With a view to providing for the future, all means thus derived were carefully invested for the benefit of church and pastor. This system was maintained for more than fifty years, so that in the course of time not only were churches erected, but reasonable provision was made for clergyman, teacher, and orphan. The education of youths was not neglected; and DeBrahm assures us that in his day a library had been accumulated at Ebenezer in which "could be had Books wrote in the Caldaic, Hebrew, Arabec, Siriac, Coptic, Malabar, Greek, Latin, French, German, Dutch and Spanish, beside the English, viz: in thirteen Languages."[1]

The efforts of the trustees to encourage the cultivation of the grape proved even more futile than those expended in the production of silk. No practical results were reached except such as entailed loss and disappointment. From the experiment of Abraham DeLyon, who procured vines from Portugal and planted them upon his garden-lot in Savannah, much good was anticipated. Although encouraged by the trustees, the business did not expand

[1] *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc., p. 24. Wormsloe. 1849.

into proportions sufficient to claim public attention, and the colony, as a wine-producing community, proved an utter failure.

As illustrating the early hopes entertained, and as presenting the only picture of a Georgia colonial vineyard which has been handed down to us, we reproduce the following from Colonel William Stephens' "Journal of Proceedings in Georgia:"[1] "Tuesday, December 6th, 1737. After dinner walked out to see what Improvement of Vines were made by one Mr. Lyon a *Portugese Jew*, which I had heard some talk of; and indeed nothing had given me so much Pleasure since my Arrival as what I found here; though it was yet (if I may say it properly), only a Miniature, for he had cultivated only for two or three Years past about half a Score of them which he received from Portugal for an Experiment; and by his Skill and Management in pruning &c. they all bore this Year very plentifully a most beautiful, large Grape as big as a Man's Thumb, almost pellucid, and Bunches exceeding big; all which was attested by Persons of unquestionable Credit (whom I had it from) but the Season now would allow me only to see the Vines they were gathered from, which were so flourishing and strong that I saw one Shoot, of this last Year only, which he allowed to grow from the Root of a bearing Vine, as big as my Walking-Cane, and run over a few Poles laid to receive it, at least twelve or fourteen Foot, as near as I could judge. From these he has raised more than a Hundred, which he has planted all in his little Garden behind his House at about four Foot Distance each, in the Manner and Form of a Vineyard: They have taken Root and are about one Foot and a half high; the next Year he says he does not doubt raising a Thousand more, and the Year following at least five Thousand. I could not believe (considering the high Situation of the Town upon a Pine Barren, and the little Appearance of such Productions in these little Spots of Ground annexed to the House) but that he had found some proper Manure wherewith to improve the sandy Soil; but he assured me it was nothing but the natural Soil, without any other Art than his Planting and Pruning which he seemed to set some Value on from his Experience in being bred among the Vineyards in *Portugal;* and, to convince the World that he intends to pursue it from the Encouragement of the Soil proving so proper for it, he has at this Time hired four Men to clear and prepare as much Land as they possibly can upon his forty-five Acre Lot, intending to convert every Foot of the whole that is fit

[1] Vol. i. p. 48. London. MDCCXLII.

for it into a Vineyard: though he complains of his present Inability to be at such an Expence as to employ Servants for Hire. From hence I could not but reflect on the small Progress that has been made hitherto in propagating vines in the publick Garden where, the Soil being the same, it must be owing to the Unskilfulness or Negligence of those who had undertaken that Charge."

CHAPTER XXIV.

OGLETHORPE'S INTERCOURSE WITH AND INFLUENCE OVER THE INDIAN NATIONS. — PLOT OF CHRISTIAN PRIBER. — EXPLOSION OF THE BOMB-MAGAZINE AT FREDERICA. — MARY MUSGROVE. — THOMAS BOSOMWORTH. — MEMORIAL OF MARY BOSOMWORTH. — MALATCHE OPIYA PROCLAIMED KING. — HOSTILE DEMONSTRATION ON THE PART OF MARY BOSOMWORTH, HER HUSBAND, AND A LARGE RETINUE OF INDIANS. — ADJUSTMENT OF THE BOSOMWORTH CLAIM.

DURING General Oglethorpe's residence in Georgia amicable relations were maintained between the colonists and the Indians. Traffic was conducted upon an equitable basis, and all complaints were patiently considered and satisfactorily adjusted. Wherever cessions of territory occurred, the rights of the natives to reserved lands were duly respected. Any assistance rendered by the aborigines was acknowledged, and generous compensation allowed for their services, whether in war or in peace. Most potent was the influence exerted by General Oglethorpe over the Creeks, the Cherokees, and neighboring nations. So upright and liberal was he in all his intercourse with them, so far removed from deceit, injustice, and cruelty, so frank, manly, and confiding in his conduct and utterances, so opposed to everything savoring of meanness or duplicity, that these primitive peoples regarded him with respect and affection. To his expressed wishes they responded promptly, whether they related to a grant of land, the transmission of intelligence, or a detail of warriors to aid him in his operations against the Spaniards in Florida. The friendship of these Indians was readily won, and at that early day they were observant of plighted faith. Invaluable were they to the general in keeping him advised of the secret machinations of the Spaniards and French, and in assisting him to subvert the plans of his adversaries. "We love him," responded the Creek chief Similly to the Spaniards, as they endeavored to seduce him from his alliance with Oglethorpe, "because he gives us everything we want that he has. He has given me the coat off his back and the blanket from under him." Beyond doubt a liberal distribution of presents and a constant care exercised in relieving

their wants, contributed in no small degree to the acquisition and retention of the friendship of these sons of the forest. However much we may be inclined to criticise the conduct of this native race when demoralized by contact with the vices of Europeans, cheated by traders, despoiled of their ancient domains, and inflamed by outrage, robbery, and murder, it must be admitted that in the beginning the Indians were hospitable, kind, and generous. In an hour of feebleness and want they were stanch friends of the colony of Georgia. During all the early years of its existence the province suffered no violence at the hands of the original proprietors of the soil. Let this fact be remembered with gratitude, and let it not be forgotten that General Oglethorpe, by his wisdom, justice, moderation, and liberality, was largely instrumental in bringing about and maintaining this fortunate state of affairs.

While he was engaged in warding off the heavy blow delivered by the Spaniards against St. Simon's Island, a dangerous plot was discovered which seriously menaced the security of the Southern provinces.

In 1736 a German Jesuit, named Christian Priber, was employed by the French to alienate the Cherokees from their affiliation with the English. Proceeding to the chief town of the nation he there assumed the garb of an Indian, acquired the Cherokee language, familiarized himself with the customs of that people, and by his superior address and intelligence succeeded in winning general favor. Rendering himself eminently useful in the employments both of peace and war, he acquired an ascendency over the minds of the Cherokees and neighboring tribes which amounted almost to absolute sway. Then it was that he revealed his dire hatred of the English, and strove to bring about an open rupture between the Indians and the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia. Acting upon his suggestion, the chief of the Cherokees was crowned king of the confederated towns. Pompous titles were conferred upon the head men and distinguished warriors, and Priber himself was appointed royal secretary to the king of the Cherokees. Under this official title he corresponded with the Indian agents and the colonial authorities. His communications were insulting and dictatorial. They spoke of the native rights of the Indians and of their resolution to repossess themselves of ceded territory. They breathed love for the French and hatred of the English. Warned of the career of this strange person, and of the prejudicial influence he was ex-

erting upon the Cherokee nation, the authorities of South Carolina dispatched Colonel Fox to demand him of the Cherokees. This officer was courteously received and led into the great square where stood the council house of the tribe. There, to his surprise and regret, he perceived that the person whom he had come to arrest was treated on all sides with the greatest respect, and was surrounded by a strong body-guard. His errand having been announced, with his demand the Indians refused to comply, and Colonel Fox was ordered to withdraw himself from the Cherokee territory, Priber offering a detail from his body-guard to insure the safe conduct of the English officer. In 1743, however, while journeying toward Mobile, unarmed and attended by only a few warriors, he was arrested at Tallipoose Town by some traders, and sent down, with all his papers, under strong Indian guard, to Frederica, to be examined and disposed of by General Oglethorpe.

In his Indian guise Priber was brought before the general upon his return from Florida. Not a little was he surprised to find, under this coarse attire of deer-skins, a man of polished address, great abilities, and extensive learning. He was versed in the Cherokee language, of which he had prepared a vocabulary. Latin, French, German, Spanish, and English he spoke fluently. When interrogated, he hesitated not to admit that he was a member of the Society of Jesus, and that he had been deputed by his superior to bring about a confederation of all the Southern Indians, to inspire them with industry, to instruct them in the useful arts, and to induce them to throw off their allegiance to the British Crown. He proposed to form a settlement at Cusseta, where all disaffected English, French, and German colonists, and all runaway negro slaves, might find a refuge. There criminals were to be sheltered. This place was designed as an asylum for fugitives from justice, and for the cattle and effects they might bring with them. All crimes and licentiousnesses were to be tolerated, except murder and idleness. Among his manuscripts was found a well-digested plan of government for the Indian confederacy which he hoped to establish. So firmly persuaded was he of the ultimate success of his scheme, he boldly stated to his interrogators his belief that before the lapse of the current century "Europeans would have a very small footing on the American continent." Upon his person was a private journal revealing in part his designs, and containing various memoranda relating to his project. In it he mentions that he had a secret treasurer

in Charlestown, and that he expected great assistance from the French and from another nation, whose name is left blank. Letters addressed to French and Spanish governors, demanding protection for the bearer, Mr. Priber, and referring to him for further particulars, were also in his possession. Among the privileges to be accorded to the citizens of his town were a community of women, the right to dissolve marriage at pleasure, and freedom to indulge every appetite.

When it was suggested to him that his plan of government was lawless, dangerous, and difficult, and that it would require long years for its establishment, he replied: "Proceeding properly, many of these evils may be avoided; and, as to length of time, we have a succession of agents to take up the work as fast as others leave it. We never lose sight of a favorite point; nor are we bound by strict rules of morality in the employment of means when the end we pursue is laudable. If we err, our general is to blame, and we have a merciful God to pardon us." He hinted that there were other Jesuits laboring among the Indians for the accomplishment of a like result.

Regarded as a dangerous enemy to Georgia, Priber was confined in the barracks at Frederica. His captivity he bore with stoical indifference. Conversing freely, and conducting himself with extreme politeness, he attracted the notice of many of the citizens of the town and was the recipient of favors at their hands. While thus a prisoner, a fire occurred in the bomb-magazine which was very near his quarters. Several thousand shells were exploded. General was the alarm. It was confidently believed that Priber had perished, — slain by fragments of the exploded projectiles. By those who ventured first into his apartment he was found unhurt, calmly reading a favorite Greek author. When asked why he had not endeavored to make his escape from so dangerous a locality, he coolly responded that in his opinion the safest place was just by exploding shells, as few, if any, would return to the precise spot whence they were expelled, and therefore he quietly remained where he was and passed unharmed through the disaster.

Fortunately for the peace of the Southern provinces Priber died suddenly during his captivity, and thus was his nefarious design frustrated.[1]

[1] See inclosure in General Oglethorpe's letter of the 22d of April, 1743, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 164. New York. MDCCCXLVII. *Romance of American History*, p. 22. New York.

We turn now to another Indian trouble instigated and conducted by an avaricious, designing, and unscrupulous white man, which seriously imperiled, and almost compassed the destruction of, the colony.

It will be remembered that Oglethorpe, in his earliest interview with Tomo-chi-chi and his tribe, secured the services of Mary Musgrove, the wife of an Indian trader, as an interpreter. Finding that she possessed considerable influence with the Creek nation, and that her inclinations towards the English were very friendly, he retained her in that capacity, allowing her, as compensation for her services, one hundred pounds sterling per annum. Her assistance was invaluable, and her aid, not only in concluding treaties but also in securing warriors from the Creek confederacy during the conflict between Georgia and Florida, indispensable. Promptly did she respond on all occasions to any request made of her, and for her General Oglethorpe entertained and expressed a sincere regard. She was certainly of great use to him and to the colony. Had he remained, the trouble which will now be mentioned would probably have been avoided.

Mary Musgrove afterwards became Mary Matthews, and subsequently married Thomas Bosomworth, at one time chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment. On the 4th of July, 1743, he was commissioned by the trustees "to perform all religious and ecclesiastical affairs in Georgia." He had accepted a grant of lands from the common council and taken up his residence in the colony. "Hitherto," in the language of Stevens, "the career of Mary had been one of generous self-denial and of unremitted labours for the good of the Colony. She had not indeed received the full reward of her services, but she rested on the faith of the government and was, until her marriage with Bosomworth, quiet in her conduct and moderate in her demands. But, from 1744, her whole character was changed, and the Colony which her services had kept in peace and security was now, through her misdirected influence, to feel the dreadful horrors of expected massacre and extermination."

The year after his marriage, Bosomworth returned to England and informed the trustees that he did not purpose residing any longer in Georgia. In 1746, he came again to Savannah and indicated his contempt for the regulations of the trustees by in-

1872. Compare Logan's *History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, vol. i. pp. 406 *et seq.* Charleston 1859. MS. documents in the office of the Secretary of State, Columbia, S. C.

troducing six negro slaves on the plantation of his wife on the south side of the forks of the Alatamaha River, known as Mount Venture. This affront the trustees promptly resented, and instructed President Stephens and his assistants to cause the immediate removal of those slaves. The execution of this order provoked the wrath of Bosomworth. He resolved upon revenge. Having first conciliated the Indians, with much cunning and caution he began to develop his plans, which embraced not only compensation from the general government for the losses sustained and the services rendered by his wife, but also absolute possession of Ossabaw, St. Catherine, and Sapelo islands, and of a tract of land near Savannah which the Indians had reserved for themselves in former treaties with the colonists.

Placing his demand at the exorbitant sum of £5,000, and casting aside every restraint which might have been expected from one of his profession, he "put on the iron features of the extortioner, determined rather to light up through the nation the fires of the war-dance than cancel one claim or relinquish one acre." That something more was due to Mrs. Bosomworth for losses sustained and labors performed in the service of the colony could not be doubted; but, moved by her avaricious and unscrupulous husband, her claim was magnified beyond measure. By his address he secured the sympathy of several of the officers of Oglethorpe's regiment resident at Frederica, and prepared the following memorial which he induced his wife to sign: —

"*To the Honorable Lieut: Col^n^ Heron, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in the Province of Georgia.*

"The Memorial and representation of Mary Bosomworth[1] of the said Province, humbly sheweth:

"That your Memorialist was born at the Coweta Town on the Oakmulgee River, which is a branch of the Alatamaha, and the chief-town of the Creek Indian nation.

"That she is by descent on the Mother's side (who was sister to the old Emperor) of the same blood with the present Micos and chiefs now in that nation, and by their laws and the voice of the whole people is esteemed their rightful and natural Princess.

"That her ancestors tho' under the appellation of savages, were a brave and free-born people who never owed allegiance to, or acknowledged the sovereignty of, any crowned head whatever, but have always maintained their own possessions and independence against all opposers by war at the expense of their blood;

[1] Her Indian name was Cowsaponckesa.

as they can shew by the many trophies of victory and relicts of their enemies slain in defence of their natural rights.

"That they have entered into several treaties of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce with persons properly empowered in behalf of the Crown of Great Britain.

"That they have made several concessions of land, their natural right, in behalf of his Majesty, and have for several years past, on their parts strictly and faithfully observed the treaty of friendship and alliance entered into with hon: Maj. Gen. Oglethorpe in behalf of his Brittanick Majesty, and have on all occasions been ready to fight against his Majesty's enemies, which they have much annoyed.

"That both the French and Spaniards well know, by dear experience, how terrible they are to their enemies in war. They are so highly sensible of the vast importance of the friendship and alliance of the Creek Nation to the British interest that they have for some time past and are at this juncture laboring by all the artifices imaginable to seduce that nation from their alliance with his Majesty's subjects; which will be certainly a great addition of strength and power to his Majesty's enemies: and the dangerous consequence may be the hazard of the safety of his Majesty's Southern Frontier.

"That your Memorialist hath by her interest since the first settlement of the Colony of Georgia, for the space of 14 years, continued that important nation steady and steadfast in their alliance with the English at the expense of her own private fortune, to the ruin of herself and family, as will appear by a plain narrative of matters of fact.

"That whereas your Memorialist by the laws of Great Britain is a subject of that Crown, and has given many signal proofs of her zeal and loyalty as such; amongst the many blessings she hopes to enjoy under his Majesty's government is a right of complaining of the grievances which she at present labors under, which are now become too great for her any longer to bear; and the hopes of redress she esteems none of the least.

"Your Memorialist therefore humbly begs leave to represent unto you a state of her deplorable case which she hopes will appear to be such that the justice of a British Parliament will be extended to her relief.

"That your Memorialist about the age of 7 years was brought down by her father from the Indian Nation to Pomponne in South Carolina, and there baptized, educated, and bred up in the principles of Christianity.

"That she was in South Carolina when the Indian war broke out in the year 1715: that the cause thereof was the acts of injustice which the Indians had received from the Traders as she has been informed by old Chichilli, her mother's brother, who, at the head of the Creek Indians, at that time advanced as far as Stono River.

"That in the year 1716 Col. John Musgrove, your Memorialist's father-in-law, was sent into the Nation as Agent of South Carolina, who entered into a treaty of alliance with the Creek Nation in behalf of that Government, the conditions of which were that traders should be sent up among them &c., and that none of his Majesty's subjects should live, hold any lands, or claim any right or title to any cattle &c. to the South of the River Savannah, which was to be the boundary between the Creeks and his Majesty's subjects.

"That after she was married to Mr. John Musgrove she was settled in Carolina upwards of 7 years, till June 1732, at which time she and her husband, at the request of the Creek Nation and by the consent of Governor Johnson, moved all their goods, cattle, &c. to the South of the river Savannah and settled a trading-house at Yamacraw, near the place where Savannah now stands, where they took from the Indians very large quantities of deer-skins, and had large credit and supplies of goods to carry on that traffic from Merchants in Charlestown.

"That upon the arrival of James Oglethorpe with the first embarkation of the settlement of the Colony of Georgia, the Indians that were then settled at Yamacraw were very uneasy and threatened to take up arms against them, which they certainly would have done as they looked upon all white people settling here as a breach of the treaty with Carolina, had not your Memorialist used the utmost of her influence to bring about a treaty between Mr Oglethorpe and the Indians that were then there; which treaty was provisionary till the consent of the Nation could be obtained, which was effected with difficulty by your Memorialist's influence.

"That her husband, John Musgrove, carried considerable effects into Georgia; that as there was at that time no other house in the Colony, they supplied the first settlers with every necessary their plantation afforded, or that they could purchase on credit from Charlestown.

"That she and her husband having then little experience of the world and the designs of bad people, have greatly suffered by

giving large credit to sundry persons in public service in Georgia, and out of mere compassion relieving their necessities, most of whom have either left the Colony, or are not able to pay her.

"She further declareth that in the years 1733 and 1734 she took from the Indians near 1200 weight of deer-skins each year, as she can make appear by remittances made to Charlestown, and that the trade would have very much increased, as great numbers of Indians were daily coming from the Nation to trade with her; by which trade alone she could soon have made a very large fortune, had she pursued the same methods that the rest of the traders did in persuading the Indians to constantly go out hunting, which she had influence enough to have done.

"But as at that time there was no other defence for this Infant Colony and the Southern parts of Carolina which lay exposed to the incursions of the Spanish and Indians in amity with them, but the alliance of the Creeks, she so far preferred the lives and property of the Colonists to her own interests that she not only used her influence to keep the Creeks steady in their alliance with his Majesty's subjects, but constantly supported at her own expence numbers of her friends and other war Indians who were always ready to go against his Majesty's enemies; by which means her trade daily decreased and almost went to ruin: the Indians, who were her hunters, being almost daily employed in some expedition for the British service, and thereby rendered unable to pay their debts to her, which amounted to several thousand weight of leather, which remains unpaid to this day, some being dead, and others killed in his Majesty's service, particularly her own brother and other near relatives at the Siege of Augustine in the year 1740.

"That in the years 1736 and 1737 when Mr. Oglethorpe thought proper to strengthen the southern parts of the Province by a settlement at the Island of Simon and on the Alatamaha, the assistance of the Creek Indians became more necessary, as there were advices that the Spaniards were then making preparations to dislodge this Colony.

"That she was then sent for on all occasions to Frederica whenever any Indians came there, as they did not choose to talk of affairs of consequence unless she was there; which has often occasioned her absence from home for several months at a time, by which means her own affairs daily went to ruin, being, in her absence on public affairs, entirely left to the care of servants.

"That as these frontiers lay exposed to the ravages of the ene-

mies Indians, buoyed up by the extensive promises and rewards which so signal a service would merit, at the request of Gen. Oglethorpe, she settled a trading house on the south side of the Alatamaha River, about 60 miles up in the country: the intention of which was that the Creek Indians that would be constantly with them there, would be an outgard to prevent any incursion of Indians in friendship with the Spaniards, and be always ready when his Majesty's service required, which answered the intention of the Public, but was a heavy burden upon your Memorialist.

"That after the war with Spain, the services of the Indians were so constantly needed, that no advantage could be made by the trade there; that she constantly employed her interest to bring down her friends from the nation to fight against his Majesty's enemies, which, since the war they have so annoyed, that they have been a strong barrier against the designs of the Spaniards, as must be allowed by every person.

"That by her, and her then husband's absence at their settlement on the Alatamaha, all their affairs at Savannah, which were very considerable, went to ruin.

"That in the year 1742 her then husband, Jacob Matthews, being taken sick, was brought from the Alatamaha to Savannah and there soon after died: that her affairs being in great confusion occasioned her stay there longer than she expected: that the Indians at her settlement on the Alatamaha being uneasy that she did not return left the place, which the Yamassees taking advantage of, came in a party, committed several murders, and entirely destroyed her settlement.

"That in the year 1743 when his Excellency General Oglethorpe returned to England he then paid her £180 which, with £20 before received, made £200, which was all she received for her services from 1732 to that time, whereas, notwithstanding the fatigue she has undergone in frequently travelling several hundred miles by water in open boats, exposed to both heat and cold, and no covering but the canopy of the heavens, the losses sustained in her own private affairs by the neglect thereof on his Majesty's service from the settlement of the Colony will, upon moderate computation, amount to £5,714, 17 shillings and eleven pence sterling.

"That as she has hitherto relied in vain on General Oglethorpe's promises to make her restitution for all her losses sustained in his Majesty's service, to solicit redress for her grievances and to obtain from the Government at home such rewards for

her services as were adequate to the consequence thereof, as you Sir, have the deserved honor to command his Majesty's forces in this Province, and may have personal knowledge of the truth of several facts herein stated, viz. the merit of your Memorialist's past services, the necessity of a strict alliance with the Creeks, the danger that at present threatens the peace of Carolina and Georgia from the loss of that friendship, the causes whereof, and the consequence of her present interest, (if she is not deprived of the means of using it): she therefore humbly begs that you will make a statement of those things to the Government at home in such a light as you will think conducive to the welfare of the Colony and his Majesty's service.

"That whereas his Majesty in the Preamble of the Royal Charter to the Honorable the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia has been graciously pleased to declare that the intention of the settlement of said Colony was partly as a protection to South Carolina, whose Southern frontier lay exposed to the frequent ravages of enemies, which signal instance of his Majesty's care for that Province is gratefully acknowledged by a Memorial from the Governor and Council of said Province dated 9th April 1734;

"And whereas, his Majesty's intentions in the settlement of Georgia have so far answered that no out-settlement has been cut off, boats taken, or men killed since that time; your Memorialist therefore humbly hopes that upon a statement of her case to the Governor and Council of South Carolina how far the inhabitants of that Province have been enabled to improve its Southern part by your Memorialist's influence in continuing the Indians in alliance with his Majesty's subjects, that that Government would be induced to make her some restitution for losses sustained in his Majesty's service, as she is now largely indebted to merchants in Charlestown and to other persons in South Carolina.

"And lastly your Memorialist cannot help repeating with an equal mixture of grief of heart and indignation that her wrongs have scarcely a parallel in the history of the British Government. Language is too weak to represent her present case. She labors under every sense of injury and circumstance of distress, being insulted, abused, and despised by the ungrateful people who are indebted to her for every blessing they enjoy.

"The only return she has met with for her past services and maternal affection has been unjust loads of infamy; — branded by the name of traitor for making pretension to rights to which she

is entitled by the laws of God and Nature. She has in vain made application for a grant from the Crown, and is desirous and willing to hold what possessions she is entitled to by the laws of Nature and Nations as a subject of Great Britain.

"It is with reluctance that your Memorialist declares that the Colony of Georgia was settled by her interest with the Creeks; that it has in a great measure been supported by it; and that she has now interest to command 1,000 fighting men to stand in the face of his Majesty's enemies and to countermine the designs of the French and Spaniards, if suitable encouragement is given her to prevent her the necessity of her flying to her Indian friends for bread which will greatly exasperate them.

"The French emissaries are at this moment trying every scheme to debauch their faith from the English. They magnify the power of France, and are loading them with presents.

"They study to render the English contemptible which is greatly confirmed by your not being able to give them presents as usual.

"Your Memorialist therefore humbly begs leave to represent that the expence of our safety must be considerable if you think the alliance of the Creeks worth preserving. These ends cannot be effected by any other means but by extraordinary presents being allowed them,—a proper person being sent among them in whom they repose confidence, and who can remove every insinuation of his Majesty's enemies.

"That whereas your Memorialist is highly sensible that it is not in your power to redress her grievances, and of the difficulties you labor under in not being allowed funds for continuing the Creeks in Alliance, and how far his Majesty's service may suffer thereby, she therefore humbly begs that you will lay this Memorial before his Grace the Duke of New Castle with the assurance that if the Government should think proper to allow a certain sum per annum to be applied amongst the Indians that she, on her part, would engage by her interest among them to do every duty that was ever done by Rangers &c. in Georgia, which have lost the Government so many thousand pounds; and with the Regiment under your command and her interest with the Creeks she believes that every foot of his Majesty's possessions in this important frontier could be maintained against his Majesty's enemies.

"All which is humbly Submitted, &c.

"MARY BOSOMWORTH.

"August 10th, 1747."

This earnest, inflated, and yet respectful petition was framed, as we have intimated, by the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth, the then husband of the applicant. Fortified by sundry letters commendatory of the past services and present influence of the Memorialist (among which may be mentioned communications from General Oglethorpe, Major William Horton, Captain Richard Kent, Colonel William Stephens, and Colonel Alexander Heron, and also by translations of eulogistic talks by Chickilli Tuskeestonnecah, king of the warriors of the Creek nation, and Malatche Opiya, mico), this document was forwarded for the consideration of the home authorities. Colonel Heron appears to have sympathized in this scheme of the Bosomworths for additional compensation. Colonel Stephens in one of his letters to the trustees does not hesitate to affirm that this officer was to participate largely in the expected remuneration, and that his support of the memorial had been thus purchased.

Not content with prevailing upon his wife to take the step just indicated, the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth resorted to an additional expedient to compass his ambitious, grasping, and sordid purposes. On the 14th of December, 1747, an Indian king, Malatche by name, of the Creek nation, and sixteen companions, chiefs of various towns composing that confederacy, chanced to be on a visit to Frederica. Bosomworth, who was very friendly to Malatche, was also there. Exerting his influence with this mico he persuaded him to have himself then and there formally acknowledged as the head of the Creek nation, with full power to cede lands, conclude treaties, and transact any other business connected with the kingly administration of the affairs of his people.

This suggestion meeting with the approval of his companions, appropriate ceremonies were performed wherein Malatche was proclaimed and saluted as the supreme chief of the Muscogulgee confederacy. At the suggestion of Bosomworth the following document was prepared and signed:—

"FREDERICA IN GEORGIA, *December 14th*, 1747.

"Know all men by these presents that we Simpeopy, war-king of the Cowetas, Thlockpalahi, head warrior of the said town, Moxumgi, king of the Etchitas, Iswige, head warrior of the Etchitas, and Actithilki, beloved man of the said town, Ciocoliche, king of Osuchees, Appalya and Ischaboagy, beloved men of Nipky, and Himmopacohi, warriors of said town, Tokeah, war-king of the Chehaws, Whyanneachi and Etowah, warriors of the

said town, Mahelabbi, beloved man of the Cusetas, and Scheyah, warrior of the said town, and Estchothalleachi Yahulla, Mico of the Tiskugas, having full power by the laws of the nation to conclude everything for the towns we represent, do hereby acknowledge Malatche Opiya Mico to be our rightful and natural prince. And we likewise further acknowledge that by the laws of our nation we think ourselves obliged to stand by, ratify, and confirm every act and deed of his as much as if we ourselves were present, and we therefore make this public declaration to all subjects of the Crown of Great Britain that Malatche Opiya Mico has full power and authority, as our natural prince, to transact all affairs relating to our Nation as firmly and fully to all intents and purposes as we the whole nation might or could do if present. In confirmation of which presents we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals in behalf of the different towns we represent, the day and date above written."[1]

Of this document, signed and sealed by the declarants, and witnessed by Colonel Heron, Sir Patrick Houstoun, and four others, Malatche requested that a copy should be sent over to the king of England, and that due record should be made of the original. Having thus far succeeded in his design, Bosomworth next prepared, and prevailed upon Malatche to execute a deed by which, as emperor of the Upper and Lower Creek nations, he conveyed to Thomas and Mary Bosomworth, of the Colony of Georgia, the three islands on the coast, known as Hussoope or Ossabaw, Cowleggee or St. Catharine, and Sapelo. The consideration mentioned was "ten pieces of stroud, twelve pieces of duffles, two hundred weight of powder, two hundred weight of lead, twenty guns, twelve pairs of pistols, and one hundred weight of vermilion." It was an absolute conveyance, with full covenant of warranty, to Bosomworth and his wife, their heirs, and assigns, so long as the sun should shine or the waters run in the rivers. This transaction followed hard upon the other. In fact the first was simply a prelude to the second. In the existing treaties with the Creek Indians these three beautiful and extensive islands had always been reserved by the natives as their special property for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and bathing.

The reverend gentleman having thus acquired title to this attractive and princely domain proceeded to utilize it by stocking these islands with cattle purchased in Carolina. To the planters in that province he became largely indebted. His stock-raising

[1] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 367. Savannah. 1811.

not proving as remunerative as he anticipated, this ambitious clergyman, with a view to attaining greatness and acquiring a fortune rapidly, encouraged his wife to announce herself as a sister of Malatche, descended in a maternal line from an Indian king who held from nature the entire territories of the Creeks. He persuaded her also to assert her right to them as superior both to that of the trustees and of the king. Mary accordingly assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all allegiance or subjection to the British Crown, and summoned a general convocation of the Creeks, to whom, in a long speech prepared for the occasion, she explained the justice of her claim, the great injury which they, her beloved subjects, had sustained at the hands of the English by the loss of their territories, and the necessity which was laid upon them to regain them by force of arms. Inflamed by her harangue, the assembled Indians admitted her claims, and pledged themselves to defend to the last extremity her royal person and lands. Putting herself at the head of a large body of warriors, she set out for Savannah to demand from the president and council a formal acknowledgment of her assumed rights. A messenger was dispatched to convey in advance to the president of the colony a notification of her approaching visit, and to acquaint him with the fact that she had assumed the sovereignty over the entire territory of the Upper and Lower Creeks. This notification was accompanied with a demand for the immediate evacuation by the whites of all lands lying south of the Savannah River, and was coupled with a threat that, in case of refusal, every settlement within the specified limits should be extirpated.

Alarmed at these bold pretensions, and sensible of her influence over the Creeks, President Stephens ordered the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savannah upon shortest notice, and at once proceeded to put the town in the strongest attitude of defense. Its whole force amounted to only one hundred and seventy men capable of bearing arms. A messenger, dispatched to meet Mary while she was still several miles from the town to inquire whether she was serious in her intentions, and to endeavor to persuade her to dismiss her followers and abandon her pretensions, found her resolute and inflexible.

Nothing remained but to receive the Indians boldly. The militia were ordered under arms, and, as the Indians entered the town, Captain Noble Jones, at the head of a troop of horse, stopped them and demanded whether their visit was of a friendly

or a hostile character. Receiving no reply, he commanded them to ground their arms, declaring that his instructions were not to suffer an armed Indian to set foot in the town, and that he was determined to enforce those orders at every hazard. The Indians reluctantly submitted. Thomas Bosomworth in his canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the kings and chiefs according to their respective rank, marched into Savannah on the 20th of July, making a formidable appearance. The citizens were terror-stricken at the sight. Advancing to the parade they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them. They were saluted with fifteen cannon, and conducted to the president's house.

Bosomworth being commanded to withdraw, the Indian chiefs in a friendly manner were required to declare their object in paying this visit in so large a body without being convened by any person in authority. Having been previously taught what reply to make, they responded that Mary would speak for them, and that they would abide by what she said. They further stated that they heard she was to be sent captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen; that they intended no harm, and wished that their arms might be restored to them. They gave the assurance that after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife they would amicably settle all public affairs. Their guns were accordingly returned to them, and strict orders issued to allow them no ammunition until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs. The day following, the Indians, having had some private conferences with Mary, with sullen countenances marched about the streets in a tumultuous manner, apparently determined on mischief. All the men being obliged to mount guard, the women and children, afraid to remain in their houses by themselves, were greatly terrified, expecting every moment to be murdered and scalped. During this period of confusion a false rumor was circulated that the Indians had cut off President Stephens' head with a tomahawk. So exasperated were the inhabitants that it was with great difficulty the officers could restrain the troops from firing upon the savages. Bosomworth was arrested and made to understand that in the event of hostilities he should be marked as the first victim. So soon as he was carried into close confinement Mary became frantic, threatening vengeance against the magistrates and the entire colony, ordering all white persons to depart immediately from her terri-

tories, cursing Oglethorpe, and pronouncing his treaties fraudulent. Furiously stamping her foot upon the earth, she swore by her Maker that the whole globe should know the ground she stood upon was her own. To prevent the whites from acquiring any ascendency over the chiefs and warriors, she kept the leading men constantly under her eye, and would not suffer them to utter a sentence on public affairs except in her presence.

Finding it utterly impossible to pacify the Indians while under the baleful influence of their pretended queen, President Stephens privately laid hold of her and put her in close confinement with her husband. In order to facilitate a reconciliation, a feast was prepared for all the chiefs and leading warriors, at which they were informed that Bosomworth had involved himself in debts which he was unable to pay; that he wanted not only their lands but also a large share of the presents which the king had sent over for the chiefs and warriors as a compensation for their useful services and firm attachment to him during the war against their common enemy; that Bosomworth wished to obtain these presents to satisfy, at their expense, his creditors in Carolina; that the lands adjoining Savannah had been reserved for them to encamp upon when they should visit their beloved white friends, and the three maritime islands for them to fish and hunt upon when they came to bathe in the salt waters; that neither Mary nor her husband had any right to those lands, but that they were the common property of the whole Creek nation, and that the great King George had ordered the president to defend their right to them, expecting that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren.

Many of the chiefs, convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared they would no longer be controlled by his advice. Even Malatche, the leader of the Lower Creeks, appeared for the moment satisfied, and was greatly delighted to hear that presents were to be distributed. Taking advantage of this favorable change in their sentiments, President Stephens determined to make immediate distribution of the royal bounty and to dismiss the Indians. While preparations were being made to carry this intention into effect, Malatche, whom the Indians compared to the wind because of his fickle and variable temper, having sought and intermediately obtained a personal interview with Bosomworth and his wife, rose up in the midst of the chiefs and warriors assembled to receive their respective shares of the king's gifts, and, with frowning countenance and in a violent manner,

delivered an inflammatory speech abounding in dangerous insinuations and threats, asserting the paramount claims of Mary, as queen of the Creeks, to all the lands in question; declaring that her words were the voice of the nation, that three thousand warriors were prepared to maintain with their lives her rights; and finally concluding by drawing from his pocket a document which he delivered to President Stephens in confirmation of what he said. This paper had evidently been prepared by Bosomworth, and was an ambitious and violent assertion of the pretensions and designs of Mary. When the paper was read in council the members were struck with astonishment. Perceiving the effect which had been produced, Malatche became uneasy, and begged a return of the paper that he might hand it back to the party from whom he received it. President Stephens discerning more clearly than ever how sadly the Indians had been duped by the ambitious, mercenary, and designing Bosomworth, addressed the chiefs and warriors in the following language: —

"Friends and brothers: When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw; he had a license from the governor of South Carolina to trade with the Indians. She then appeared to be in a poor, ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks; but General Oglethorpe, finding that she could speak both the English and the Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her a woman of the consequence she now appears. The people of Georgia always respected her until she married Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatche, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man. General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, for she had none, but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king. The Indians at that time having much waste land which was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants." He further told them that the present discontents had been artfully infused into the minds of the Creeks by Mary, at the instigation of her husband who demanded a third part of the royal bounty in order to rob the naked Indians of their rights; that he had quarreled with the president and council of Georgia for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and

had filled the heads of the Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies in order to ferment mischief and induce them to break their alliance with their best friends who alone were able to supply their wants and defend them against their enemies.

At this point the Indians acknowledged that their eyes were opened and that they were ready and anxious to smoke the pipe of peace. Pipes and rum were brought, and all, joining hand in hand, drank and smoked in friendship. The distribution of the royal presents — except the ammunition, with which it was deemed imprudent at this moment to entrust them — was made, and even Malatche seemed fully satisfied with the share he received.

While an amicable adjustment of existing difficulties had thus been effected, and while all were rejoicing in the reëstablishment of friendly intercourse, Mary, drunk with liquor, rushed like a fury into the midst of the assembly, telling the president that these were her people and that he had no business with them. The president calmly advised her to retire to her lodgings and to forbear poisoning the minds of the Indians, as otherwise he would order her again into close confinement. Turning to Malatche in a great rage, she repeated to him with some ill-natured comments what the president had said. Malatche thereupon sprang from his seat, laid hold of his arms, called upon the rest to follow his example, and dared any man to touch his queen. In a moment the whole house was filled with tumult and uproar. Every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death. During this confusion Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, with wonderful courage interposed and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms. This they reluctantly did. Mary was conveyed to a private room where a guard was placed over her, and all further communication with the Indians was denied her during their stay in Savannah.

The natives were finally persuaded to leave the town peaceably and to return to their settlements. Mary and her husband were detained until about the first of August, when, having fully confessed their errors and craved pardon, they were allowed to depart.[1]

[1] *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 152 *et seq.* London. MDCCLXXIX.

McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 214 *et seq.* Savannah. 1811.

Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 227 *et seq.* New York. MDCCCXLVII.

Letter of Wm. Stephens and Others to the Trustees, dated Savannah, September 8, 1749.

Outrageous as had been the conduct of Bosomworth and his wife, Mary's demand was still pressed in London. Her claim to the islands of Ossabaw, St. Catharine, and Sapelo proved a source of constant annoyance to the colonists. After years of negotiation the affair was finally adjusted in 1759 by paying to Mrs. Bosomworth £450 for goods alleged to have been expended by her in his majesty's service during the years 1747 and 1748, by allowing her a back salary at the rate of £100 per annum for sixteen years and a half, during which she acted in the capacity of government agent and interpreter, and by confirming to her and her designing husband full right and title to St. Catharine Island, in consideration of the fact that they had fixed their residence and planted there.[1]

In the mean time both the brothers Thomas and Abraham Bosomworth had been dismissed in disgrace from the service of the trust.

[1] When visited by an English traveler in 1743, this island was inhabited by eight or ten families of Indians, who had considerable tracts of open land, and were largely engaged in the cultivation of corn. It abounded with game, "on which," says the writer, "the good *Indians* regaled us, and for Greens boiled us the Tops of China Briars, which eat almost as well as Asparagus." *London Magazine* for 1745, pp. 551, 552.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD. — HON. JAMES HABERSHAM. — BETHESDA ORPHAN HOUSE. — WHITEFIELD'S EXERTIONS IN ITS BEHALF. — ANECDOTE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. — PLAN TO CONVERT THE ORPHAN HOUSE INTO A SEMINARY OF LEARNING. — WHITEFIELD'S MEMORIAL. — ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — GOVERNOR WRIGHT'S RESPONSE. — BARTRAM'S DESCRIPTION OF BETHESDA. — FATE OF THIS ELEEMOSYNARY SCHEME.

AMONG the prominent names associated with the colonial history of Georgia few, if any, are more widely known than that of the Rev. George Whitefield. Among the charitable schemes devised for the support and the education of the penniless and bereaved children of the province, none acquired a more permanent reputation or served a more valuable purpose than the Bethesda Orphan House. Natural and most fitting was it that the beneficent capabilities of a plantation, itself the offspring of benevolence, should have enlisted the sympathies and secured the coöperative labors of a noted philanthropist. Since the days of Luther and Calvin no one has appeared better qualified than Whitefield to bear messages of mercy to suffering humanity. None more eloquent in utterance, or powerful in commending his convictions to the apprehension of the thousands who flocked to hear him, has attracted the attention of English-speaking peoples.

Above medium stature, slender, finely formed, graceful in every movement, of fair complexion and regular features, with dark blue eyes lively and expressive, possessing a voice excelling alike in melody and compass, — its modulations accompanied by gestures most appropriate and impressive, — with an intellect quick and strong, a memory very retentive, and a courageous deportment which evinced no fear in the discharge of duty: such is the pen-portrait of the Fellow of Pembroke College, the chosen companion of the Wesleys and of Ingham, and one of the Oxford club of fifteen, the originators and first champions of Methodism.

To him, a young clergyman in London, earnestly laboring and yet "waiting to see what Providence would point out," came letters from John Wesley written from Savannah. "Only Mr.

Delamotte is with me till God shall stir up the hearts of some of His Servants who, putting their lives in His hands, shall come over and help us where the harvest is so great and the laborers are so few. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield? Do you ask me what you shall have? Food to eat and raiment to put on; a house to lay your head in such as your Lord had not, and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." Upon reading these lines his heart leaped within him and echoed to the call. Neither the tears of an aged mother nor the hope of preferment at home swerved him from his purpose. Accepted by Oglethorpe and the trustees, he embarked for Georgia in December, 1737. The ship which bore him and his companion, the Hon. James Habersham, one of the sweetest, purest, most useful, and noblest characters in the long line of colonial worthies, touched at Gibraltar to take in a detachment of troops for the province. And now the vessel proceeded on her voyage filled with soldiers caring little for spiritual things.

Colonel Cochrane, the commanding officer, and Captain Mackay were polite to the missionary and afforded him every opportunity for preaching and holding religious conferences. Incessant were his ministrations and eloquent his discourses. Before the ship reached Charlestown, swearing had well-nigh ceased, cards were exchanged for Bibles, oaths were supplanted by prayers, and the great cabin had been converted into a bethel.

Arriving in Savannah he was, in the absence of Mr. John Wesley, entertained at the parsonage by Mr. Delamotte, the school-master.

Prior to his departure from London the idea of founding an orphan house in Georgia had been suggested to Mr. Whitefield by the Rev. Charles Wesley. Upon an inspection of the condition of the colony becoming firmly convinced of the necessity for and the utility of such an institution, he resolved at once and in earnest to compass its foundation. Reflecting upon the laws which denied to the colonists the use of rum and negro slaves and declined to invest them with a fee simple title to land, he expressed the opinion that while such regulations were well meant at home and were designed to promote the good order and integrity of the plantation, they were incapable of enforcement in so hot a country. To locate people in Georgia on such a footing, he declared, was little better than tying their legs and bidding them walk. Thus early was he persuaded that one of the chief causes which retarded the development of the colony was

the prohibition placed upon the introduction of negro labor. That restraint he sought to remove, and, at a later period, was largely instrumental in securing such a modification of existing laws that the employment and ownership of African slaves were allowed within the province. The experience of Wesley and Ingham taught him there was small hope of converting the Indians. With the discharge of the priestly duties which devolved upon a clergyman in Savannah he was not content. A visit to the Salzburgers' orphan house at Ebenezer, a short sojourn at Frederica and at Darien, and a personal acquaintance with the resources of the colony convinced him that aid for the erection and support of his contemplated orphan house must come from abroad. He therefore sailed for London on the 6th of September, 1738.

Upon unfolding his project to the trustees, they were pleased to grant five hundred acres of land in Georgia as a home for his purposed institution. Funds were needed for the erection of buildings, and Whitefield went abroad in the land to solicit them. Although many churches were closed against him, in imitation of his Divine Master, "who had a mountain for His pulpit and the Heavens for a sounding board," he commenced preaching in the fields. So wonderful were these open-air ministrations, so eloquent was he in utterance, and so powerful in thought and argument, that multitudes flocked to hear him. His audiences not infrequently numbered twenty thousand. Their singing could be heard for two miles, and his magnificent voice often reached nearly half that distance. Lord Chesterfield said of him, "He is the greatest orator I ever heard, and I cannot conceive of a greater." From the common people who came to listen to him at Moorfields, Kennington Common, Blackheath, and elsewhere, he collected for his orphan house more than £1,000. The willingness with which his hearers gave, and the prayers they offered when throwing in their mites, were very encouraging to him.

Accompanied by a family of eight men, one boy, two children, and his friend Mr. Seward, he sailed for America on the 14th of August, 1739. His fame had preceded him. Upon his landing in Philadelphia invitations to preach were extended in all directions. So occupied was he in responding to them that he did not reach Savannah until the 11th of January, 1740.

Previous to his arrival, his friend Mr. Habersham had located the grant of five hundred acres about ten miles from Savannah,

James Habersham

Engd by John Sartain 1861 after Copley

James Habersham

and had begun to clear and stock the land. Meanwhile, such orphans as he had collected were entertained and instructed in a house hired for that purpose. Years afterwards, in reviewing his conduct in connection with the inception of the institution, Mr. Whitefield remarked: "Had I proceeded according to the rules of prudence I should have first cleared the land, built the house, and then taken in the orphans; but I found their condition so pitiable and the inhabitants so poor, that I immediately opened an infirmary, hired a large house at a great rent, and took in, at different times, twenty-four orphans. To all this I was encouraged by the example of Professor Franck. But I forgot to recollect that Professor Franck built in Glaucha, in a populous country, and that I was building in the very tail of the world, where I could not expect the least supply, and which the badness of its constitution, which every day I expected would be altered, rendered by far the most expensive part of his Majesty's dominions. But had I received more and ventured less, I should have suffered less, and others more."

The first collection made in America in aid of the orphan house was at the church of the Rev. Mr. Smith, in Charlestown, early in March, 1740. Mr. Whitefield was on a vist to that place, having gone there to meet his brother, who was a ship-captain. He was invited to deliver a public address in behalf of his Georgia orphans, and the contribution amounted to £70. On the 25th of that month, with his own hand he "laid the first brick of the great house which he called *Bethesda*, i. e. house of mercy." At this time the orphans under his charge numbered forty. Besides them, there were about sixty servants and workmen to be paid and fed. Having but little to his credit in bank, he again departed to influence subscriptions of money and provisions. By the 5th of June he was welcomed in Savannah, bringing for Bethesda money and supplies valued at more than £500. His family, as he termed them, now numbered one hundred and fifty, and their subsistence and compensation depended entirely upon his exertions. He could take no rest, and in a little while was off for Charlestown on his way to the populous Northern provinces. While in this town the Rev. Alexander Garden, a man of learning and an Episcopal clergyman, took occasion to denounce Whitefield for what he termed his wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. To keep his flock from straying after this migratory and brilliant shepherd, Mr. Garden discoursed from the passage, "Those that have turned the world upside down are

come hither also." In his reply, which was delivered with abundant wit and humor, Whitefield selected as his text, "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works." "In short," says the Rev. Mr. Hewitt, "the pulpit was perverted by both into the mean purposes of spite and malevolence, and every one, catching a share of the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected."[1] Whitefield carried the day in the popular esteem, and made a clever collection, too.

The rest of the year was consumed in preaching in the Northern provinces, whence he returned to the orphan house on the 14th of December, having, during his absence, delivered one hundred and seventy-five discourses in public, and secured "upwards of seven hundred pounds sterling in goods, provisions, and money for the Georgia Orphans." Having spent a happy Christmas with his charge, committing the management of the temporal affairs to Mr. Habersham, and leaving Mr. Jonathan Barber as superintendent of spiritual concerns at Bethesda, he departed, early in January, 1741, for England.

With the dispute which about this time waxed warm between Whitefield and John Wesley, wherein the former declared himself a Calvinist and the latter an Arminian, we have no present concern. Debts to the amount of £1,000 were outstanding against Whitefield. They had been incurred in the construction of buildings at Bethesda, in clearing lands, in the employment of servants, and in the support of orphans. He "had not £20 in the world." Many of his white servants deserted to South Carolina, and the trustees would not permit him to bring in slave labor for the cultivation of his plantation. Sore perplexed, yet not despairing, his appeals for aid were more potent than ever. Seward, the wealthiest and the most devoted of his disciples, was dead. In dying he left no legacy to Bethesda. To add to Whitefield's distresses, he was threatened with arrest. "Many, very many of my spiritual children who, at my last departure for England, would have plucked out their own eyes for me, are so prejudiced by the dear Messrs. Wesleys dressing up the doctrine of election in such horrible colors that they will neither hear, see, nor give me the least assistance; yea, some of them send threatening letters that God will speedily destroy me." These are his own words. He appealed to Scotland, to

[1] *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 167. London. MDCCLXXIX.

England, to America, to the Bermudas, to Ireland, and they all contributed at the hands of the common people. In 1747 he purchased a plantation of six hundred and forty acres of excellent land in South Carolina, and placed several negro slaves upon it. The profits and products of this investment were applied to the support of the orphan asylum at Bethesda.

The next year he advises the trustees that, although he had expended more than five thousand pounds upon Bethesda, very little progress had been made in clearing and cultivating the lands appurtenant to it. This he attributes to the inefficiency of white labor, and confidently asserts that if he had been allowed the use of negroes the plantation would long since have been self-supporting. Alluding to his interests in Carolina, he continues: "Blessed be God, this plantation has succeeded; and though at present I have only eight working hands, yet, in all probability, there will be more raised in one year, and with a quarter the expense, than has been produced at Bethesda for several years last past. This confirms me in the opinion I have entertained for a long time that Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed."

While Mr. Habersham attended to the disbursement of the sums remitted, and administered the temporal affairs of the settlement, the entire burthen of Bethesda's support rested upon Mr. Whitefield's shoulders. The routine of duties observed by the orphans is thus described by an eye-witness: "The bell rings in the morning at sunrise to wake the family. When the children arise they sing a short hymn, pray by themselves, go down to wash, and by the time they have done that, the bell calls to public worship, when a portion of Scripture is read and expounded, a psalm sung, and the exercises begin and end with prayer. They then breakfast, and afterwards some go to their trades and the rest to their prayers and schools. At noon they all dine in the same room, and have comfortable and wholesome diet provided. A hymn is sung before and after dinner. Then, in about half an hour, to school again; and between whiles they find time enough for recreation. A little after sunset the bell calls to public duty again, which is performed in the same manner as in the morning. After that they sup, and are attended to bed by one of their masters who then prays with them, as they often do privately."

That this orphan house, in the face of many disappointments connected with its advancement to the stage of usefulness and

prosperity anticipated and predicted for it, was an institution of great benefit to the colony, and that its sheltering arms ministered to the comfort of many homeless orphans and pointed the way to future industry, respectability, and independence, cannot be questioned. True it is that several persons who exercised a controlling influence over Georgia affairs during the last quarter of the eighteenth century were wards of this charity.[1]

Mr. Whitefield's energy surpassed his prudence. In his enthusiasm he lost sight of his better judgment. Thus, so eager was he to complete the construction of his orphan house that he engaged the services of all the brick-layers and sawyers and of most of the carpenters in Georgia, when he was not in funds to pay for their labor, and when a smaller number might have been employed to greater advantage. His zeal was so great that he collected orphans long before his premises were ready for occupation, in the mean time engaging David Douglass' house, at an exorbitant rent, for their reception. So eager was he to multiply the objects of charity under his charge that he, on more than one occasion, undertook to transfer to Bethesda lads of considerable age who were already employed in satisfactory positions. Charging the Rev. Mr. Norris with preaching false doctrines and setting the Charlestonians by the ears, he was not always himself acceptable in the presentation of his religious views. Hear what Colonel Stephens says: "The service of the Day was performed again by Mr. Whitefield who, since his return this Time, thought fit to make Use of the Surplice again that had for some Time before been laid aside by him. The main Drift of his Sermons, Morning and Afternoon, was to maintain the Doctrine of a peculiar Election of such as were predestinated to be saved, condemning utterly an universal Redemption by Christ's Blood; which terrible Doctrine was shocking to all such as by a sincere Repentance and true Faith in Christ hoped for Salvation thro' His Mediation."

Of Mr. Whitefield's persuasive oratory and magnetic influence we can cite no illustration more apt than that furnished by the calm, calculating utilitarian, Benjamin Franklin. Multitudes were then flocking to hear him preach in Philadelphia. "It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hear-

[1] Among them may be mentioned Milledge, Ewen, and Langworthy.

ing psalms sung in different families of every street." The sight of many helpless children unprovided for "inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House in Georgia in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward he preached up this charity and made large collections, for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers of which I, myself, was an instance.

"I did not disapprove of the design, but as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia, at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house at Philadelphia and brought the children to it. This I advised; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came from home. Toward the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbor, who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose. The request was fortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, 'At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy right senses.'"

Dr. Franklin in alluding to the suggestion of Mr. Whitefield's enemies that he applied these collections to his private uses continues: "I who was intimately acquainted with him, being employed in printing his Sermons and Journals, never had the least suspicion of his integrity, but am to this day decidedly of opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly *honest man;* and methinks my testimony in his favor ought to have the more weight as we had no religious connection. He used indeed, sometimes

to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death." [1]

Conceiving the design of converting the Bethesda Orphan House into "a seminary of literature and academical learning," Mr. Whitefield, on the 18th of December, 1764, submitted to his excellency James Wright, Esq., "Captain General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province in Georgia," and to "the members of his Majesty's Council in the said Province," the following memorial: —

"That about twenty-five years ago your Memorialist, assisted by the voluntary contributions of charitable and well-disposed persons, at a very great expence, and under many disadvantages did erect a commodious house with necessary out-buildings, suitable for the reception of orphans and other poor and deserted children; and that with the repair of the buildings, purchase of negroes, and supporting a large orphan family for so many years, he hath expended upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling as appears by the accounts which have from time to time been audited by the magistrates of Savannah.

"That your Memorialist, since the commencement of this institution, hath had the satisfaction of finding that by the money expended thereon, not only many poor families were assisted and thereby kept from leaving the colony in its infant state, but also that a considerable number of poor helpless children have been trained up who have been and now are useful settlers in this and the other neighbouring provinces.

"That in order to render the institution aforesaid more extensively useful, your Memorialist, as he perceived the Colony gradually increasing, hath, for some years past, designed within himself to improve the original plan by making further provision for the education of persons of superior rank who thereby might be qualified to serve their king, their country, or their God either in Church or State. That he doth with inexpressible pleasure see the present very flourishing state of the Province; but with concern perceives that several gentlemen have been obliged to send their sons to the northern provinces, who would much rather have had them educated nearer home, and thereby prevent their affections being alienated from their native country, and also considerable sums of money from being carried out of this into other provinces.

[1] *Benjamin Franklin: his Autobiography*, etc., p. 166. New York: Harper & Brothers.

"Your Memorialist further observes that there is no Seminary for Academical Studies as yet founded southward of Virginia; and consequently if a college could be established here (especially as the last addition of the two Floridas renders Georgia more centrical for the southern district) it would not only be highly serviceable to the rising generation of this colony, but would probably occasion many youths to be sent from the British West India Islands and other parts. The many advantages accruing thereby to this province must be very considerable.

"From these considerations your Memorialist is induced to believe that the time is now approaching when his long expected design for further serving this his beloved Colony shall be carried into execution.

"That a considerable sum of money is intended specially to be laid out in purchasing a large number of negroes for the further cultivation of the present Orphan House and other additional lands, and for the future support of a worthy, able president, professors, and tutors, and other good purposes intended.

"Your Memorialist therefore prays your Excellency and Honours to grant him in trust for the purposes aforesaid two thousand acres of land on the north fork of Turtle River, called the Lesser Swamp, if vacant, or where lands may be found vacant south of the river Alatamaha."

Both Houses of Assembly, being then in session in Savannah, promptly considered the memorial, and on the second day after its receipt united in the following address to Governor Wright: —

"*May it please your Excellency.*

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and Commons House of Assembly of Georgia in General Assembly met, beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that with the highest satisfaction we learn that the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield has applied for lands in order to the endowment of a College in this Province. The many and singular obligations Georgia has continually laid under to that Reverend Gentleman, from its very infant state, would in gratitude induce us, by every means in our power, to promote any measure he might recommend: but in the present instance, where the interest of the Province, the advancement of Religion, and the pleasing prospect of obtaining proper education for our youth so clearly coincide with his views, we cannot in justice but request your Excellency to use your utmost endeavours to promote so desirable an event, and to transmit

home our sincere and very fervent wishes for the accomplishment of so useful, so beneficent, and so laudable an undertaking.

"By order of the Upper House,

"JAMES HABERSHAM, *President.*

"By order of the Commons House,

"Alex: WYLLY, *Speaker.*"

On the same day his excellency Governor Wright was pleased to return the following answer:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am so perfectly sensible of the very great advantage which will result to the Province in general from the establishment of a Seminary for Learning here, that it gives me the greatest pleasure to find so laudable an undertaking proposed by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield. The friendly and zealous disposition of that gentleman to promote the prosperity of this Province has been often experienced, and you may rest assured that I shall transmit your address home with my best endeavours for the success of the great point in view.

"*20th December*, 1764. JAMES WRIGHT."

Having thus secured unqualified approval by the Georgia authorities of his design to convert the orphan house[1] into a college, Mr. Whitefield went to England that he might, by personal influence, obtain from the Crown the necessary sanction and assistance. The address of the Georgia Houses of Assembly was laid before the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. That the matter might be brought directly to the notice of his majesty, Mr. Whitefield prepared and delivered into the hands

[1] William Bartram, who visited this institution on the 25th of September, 1765, describes the orphan house as a "neat brick Building well finished and painted both within and without: its dimensions 60 x 40 with cellaring all the way through, two stories high, with good garrets and a turret, and bell on the top. Piazzas ten feet wide project on every side, and form a pleasant walk both winter and summer round the house. The inside apartments are well divided. On the ground floor a passage runs from end to end, at the extremities of which a stair-case of red bay, not unlike mahogany, leads to the upper story. On one side of this passage are three rooms, a parlour, chappel, and library. On the other side a long dining room and parlour. The upper story corresponds with the lower, and the garrets are also conveniently divided. This celebrated building stands on an acre and a half, well fenced: one side of which fronts a salt water creek which is dry when the tide is out, but flows eight feet high when the tide rises. On the opposite side is a garden handsomely laid out and planted with oranges, pomegranates, figs, peaches, and other fruit trees, and at a small distance the school-house, stables, and other outbuildings are regularly disposed. To all this Mr. Whitefield has added a plantation well stocked with negroes for the use of a College." *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1767, p. 168.

of the clerk of the Privy Council another memorial in which he prayed for a charter upon the plan of the college of New Jersey, and expressed his readiness "to give up his present trust and make a free gift of all lands, negroes, goods, and chattels which he now stands possessed of in the Province of Georgia, for the present founding and towards the future support of a College to be called by the name of Bethesda College in the Province of Georgia."

By the Lord President of the Privy Council this memorial was referred to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. A correspondence ensued during the course of which, in response to an inquiry from his grace respecting the present endowment and future pecuniary expectations of the proposed institution, Mr. Whitefield writes: "Upon a moderate computation I believe its present annual income is between four and five hundred pounds sterling. The house is surrounded with eighteen hundred acres of land. . . . The number of negroes, young and old, employed on various parts of these lands in sawing timber, raising rice for exportation, and corn with all other kinds of provision for the family, is about thirty. Besides these the College will be immediately possessed of two thousand acres of land near Alatamaha which were granted me by the Governor and Council when I was last at Georgia, and a thousand acres more, left, as I am informed, by the late Reverend and worthy Mr. Zubberbuler. So that, by laying out only a thousand pounds in purchasing an additional number of negroes, and allowing another thousand for repairing the house and building the two intended wings, the present annual income may very easily and speedily be augmented to a thousand pounds *per annum*. Out of this standing fund may be paid the salaries of the Master, professors, tutors, etc., and also small exhibitions be allowed for some orphan or other poor students who may have their tutorage and room-rent gratis, and act as servitors to those who enter commoners. What these salaries and exhibitions ought to be may, at a proper season, be submitted to your Grace's future consideration. At present I would only further propose that the negroe children belonging to the College shall be instructed in their intervals of labor by one of the poorest students, as is done now by one of the scholars in the present Orphan House. And I do not see why an additional provision may not likewise be made for educating and maintaining a number of Indian children, which I imagine may easily be procured from the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees,

and other neighbouring nations. Hence the whole will be a free gift to the Colony of Georgia: — a complex extensive charity be established; and at the same time not a single person obliged by any publick act of assembly to pay an involuntary forced tax towards the support of a seminary from which many of the more distant and poorer Colonists' children cannot possibly receive any immediate advantage, and yet the whole Colony, by the Christian and liberal education of a great number of its individuals, be universally benefitted."

The presidency of the institution Mr. Whitefield did not crave for himself. His shoulders he did not regard as suited to the support of such an academical burthen. His capacity he pronounced too limited for such a scholastic trust. To be a presbyter at large was his mission. His earnest wish was to obtain a college charter "upon a broad bottom," to provide proper masters to instruct and prepare for literary honors many youths who in Georgia and the adjacent provinces were desirous of superior educational advantages, to inaugurate a liberal trust which would endure long after he was gathered to his fathers, and to know that his beloved Bethesda would not only be continued as a house of mercy for poor orphans, but would also be confirmed to the latest posterity "as a seat and nursery of sound learning and religious education."[1]

Pleasing as were these anticipations, they were never realized. Pending these efforts for the consummation of this cherished scheme, Mr. Whitefield again visited Georgia; and, writing from Bethesda in January, 1770, declares that everything there exceeded his most sanguine expectations. Two wings had been added to the orphan house for the accommodation of students, and Governor Wright had in person laid the foundation of the college.

As indicating the respect entertained for Mr. Whitefield by the colonial authorities, and their deep interest in his labors, we reproduce the following from the "Georgia Gazette:" "Savannah, January 31, 1770. Last Sunday his Excellency, the Governor, Council, and Assembly having been invited by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, attended at divine service in the chapel of the Orphan-house Academy where prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and a very suitable sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield from Zachariah iv. 10, 'For who has despised

[1] *A Letter to his Excellency, Governor Wright*, etc., etc., pp. 1–30. London. MDCCLXVIII.

the day of small things?' to the great satisfaction of the auditory; in which he took occasion to mention the many discouragements he met with, well known to many there, in carrying on the institution for upwards of thirty years past, and the present promising prospect of its future and more extensive usefulness. After divine service the Company were very politely entertained with a handsome and plentiful dinner, and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house, the two additional wings for apartments for students, one hundred and fifty feet each in length, and other lesser buildings in so much forwardness; and the whole executed with taste and in so masterly a manner; and being sensible of the truly generous and disinterested benefactions derived to the Province through his means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."

Before leaving for the Northern provinces Mr. Whitefield conversed fully with Governor Wright in regard to the provisions of an act for the establishment of the intended Orphan House College, for which application was to be made at the next session of the General Assembly, and arranged for the completion of the structures in process of erection at Bethesda.

Early on the morning of the 30th of September, 1770, he whose voice had so long and so eloquently filled the land died of an acute attack of asthma in the village of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Shortly afterwards the buildings at Bethesda were consumed by fire. So rapid was the conflagration that but little of the furniture and only a few of the books were saved. "Happy was it," exclaims Captain McCall,[1] "for the zealous founder of this institution that he did not survive the ruins of a fabric on which his heart was fixed, and to the completion of which he had devoted so much time and labor." Profound was the impression produced in Savannah by the intelligence of his death. Church and state house were draped in black, and the governor and council arrayed themselves in the habiliments of mourning. Funeral discourses were pronounced and the entire population bemoaned his loss.

In his will appears the following devise: "In respect to my American concerns, which I have engaged in simply and solely for His great name's sake, I leave that building commonly called the Orphan House, at Bethesda, in the Province of Georgia, together with all the other buildings lately erected thereon, and likewise all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 162. Savannah. 1811.

every other thing whatsoever which I now stand possessed of in the Province of Georgia aforesaid, to that elect Lady, that Mother in Israel, that Mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon: desiring that as soon as may be after my decease, the plan of the intended Orphan-House Bethesda College may be prosecuted: if not practicable or eligible, to pursue the present plan of the Orphan-House Academy on its old foundation and usual channel; but if her Ladyship should be called to enter her glorious rest before my decease, I bequeath all the buildings, lands, negroes, and everything before mentioned which I now stand possessed of in the Province of Georgia aforesaid, to my dear fellow-traveller and faithful, invariable friend, the Honorable James Habersham, President of His Majesty's honorable Council; and should he survive her Ladyship I earnestly recommend him as the most proper person to succeed her Ladyship, or to act for her during her Ladyship's life time in the Orphan-House Academy."

In pursuance of this devise Lady Huntingdon sent over a housekeeper to manage the domestic affairs of the institution, continued the Rev. Mr. Crosse as teacher, and constituted Mr. Percy president and general manager. Her plans, however, were violently frustrated by the fire to which reference has already been made.

With her private means she erected new buildings sufficient to accommodate the few pupils in attendance upon the school. Moribund was the condition of the institution during her life, and still more unsatisfactory its administration under the Board of Trustees appointed by the state when Georgia exercised dominion over this property. Another devastating fire occurred, which converted into ashes the greater portion of the main structure; and a hurricane, uplifting the tides, desolated the rice-fields. The trustees were powerless to make the needed repairs, and the legislature, by an act assented to on the 22d day of December, 1808,[1] directed the sale of the estate and provided for the distribution of its proceeds among certain eleemosynary institutions in the city of Savannah.

In 1854 the Board of Managers of the Union Society purchased a part of the original Bethesda tract, and upon the very spot formerly occupied by Whitefield's orphan house erected buildings for the accommodation and instruction of the boys committed to their charitable care. Thus happily is the phil-

[1] *Clayton's Digest*, p. 463.

anthropic scheme of the most noted of English pulpit orators, who "loved to range in the American woods," who was never happier than when "holding a levee of wounded souls," and whose generous arms were ever open to succor the poor and the orphan, perpetuated in the living present.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE COLONY UNDER PRESIDENT STEPHENS. — PRACTICAL EVASION OF THE REGULATION PROHIBITING THE INTRODUCTION OF NEGRO SLAVES. — THE PRESIDENT, ASSISTANTS, AND PEOPLE REPEAT THEIR PRAYER FOR THE ALLOWANCE OF SLAVERY. — RESPONSE OF THE TRUSTEES. — SLAVERY PERMITTED. — PROPOSITION TO SUBORDINATE GEORGIA TO SOUTH CAROLINA. — CASE OF CAPTAIN DEMETREE. — ABROGATION OF THE ACT FORBIDDING THE IMPORTATION AND MANUFACTURE OF RUM AND OTHER DISTILLED LIQUORS. — LAND TENURES ENLARGED. — SOLA BILLS. — FIDELITY OF THE TRUSTEES. — COMMERCIAL HOUSE OF HARRIS & HABERSHAM.

DEEMING it conducive to the convenience of the inhabitants and promotive of good government, the trustees, on the 15th of April, 1741, divided the province of Georgia into two counties, — Savannah and Frederica. The former included all settlements upon the Savannah River and upon both banks of the Great Ogeechee River, and such additional territory south of the latter stream as should be designated when a proper map of the country could be prepared. Within the latter were embraced Darien, Frederica, and the entire region lying south of the Alatamaha River. Over each a president and four assistants were to bear rule, constituting a civil and judicial tribunal for the administration of affairs and the adjudication of all controversies. For the county of Savannah Colonel William Stephens was selected as president, with a salary of £80 per annum, and Henry Parker, Thomas Jones, John Fallowfield, and Samuel Marcer were named as his assistants. No nominations were made for Frederica, although General Oglethorpe was requested to suggest a suitable president. The local bailiffs there remained in charge. So long as General Oglethorpe continued to reside in Georgia all disagreements between the counties and their respective officials could be readily settled, because he exercised a controlling influence throughout the entire province.

In anticipation of his return to England, and to avoid the erection of separate governments, the trustees, on the 18th of April, 1743, abrogated so much of the constitution as provided for the appointment of a board for Frederica, and empowered the presi-

dent and assistants at Savannah to administer the civil affairs of the whole colony. Thus, upon the departure of General Oglethorpe, Colonel Stephens became president of Georgia. He was the son of Sir William Stephens, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight. For many years had he been a member of Parliament. Because of his friendship for Oglethorpe was he induced, in 1737, to accept the position of secretary in Georgia to the trustees. In discharging the duties appertaining to this office he exercised a general supervision over colonial affairs, advised the trustees of all noteworthy occurrences, assisted General Oglethorpe, and acted as counselor to the magistrates. His loyalty to the trustees and his prompt obedience to all their commands were conspicuous. His interest in everything appertaining to the good order and prosperity of the plantation was pronounced. A zealous member of the Established Church, he declined to sympathize with the peculiar doctrines advanced by the Wesleys and by Whitefield. So pleased were the common council with his fidelity that in 1741 he was advanced to the presidency of Savannah County; and, two years afterwards, was made president of the colony. Although his experience, attainments, good judgment, and probity of character admirably fitted him for the execution of the important trust, so advanced was he in years, and so great were his physical infirmities, that he was incapable of dispatching, with becoming rapidity, the public business. As the years rolled on he himself became quite sensible of his feebleness, and in 1750 consented that his assistants should, in the main, proceed without him. Henry Parker was on the 19th of March in that year appointed vice-president, and attended to the duties of president, although Colonel Stephens continued to hold the office until April or May of the following year, when he resigned and was succeeded by Mr. Parker. He then carried into effect his intention of retiring into the country where he would "be at liberty to mind the more weighty things of a future state, not doubting but the Trustees would enable him to end his few remaining days without care and anxiety." In this expectation he was not disappointed, for the common council, "in consideration of his great age and infirmities, and his past services," granted him a comfortable annuity.

The evening of his days was peacefully spent at his plantation near Savannah, which he named Bewlie[1] because of a fancied

[1] This plantation consisted of five hundred acres at the mouth of Vernon River. Its grant to Mr. Stephens was confirmed by General Oglethorpe on the 19th of

resemblance which it bore to the manor of his grace the Duke of Montague in the New Forest: a locality in after years rendered memorable by the debarkation of Count d'Estaing on the 12th of September, 1779, and by the erection of formidable batteries for the protection of this water approach to the city of Savannah during the war between the States. Here he lingered until about the middle of August, 1753, when, at the tea table, having just tasted the proffered cup, he remarked with great composure, "I have done eating and drinking in this world." Conducted to his bedroom, he lay upon his couch, unable either to speak or to receive nourishment, until the next day, when this venerable servant of the trust and firm friend of the colony rested from his labors and entered into peace.[1]

During the early part of President Stephens' administration Georgia did not prosper. The trustees still enforced their regulations regarding land tenures, slaves, and rum. Failing to appreciate the true difficulties of the situation, they sacrificed the material interests of the plantation to their notions of policy and propriety. The present was utterly unsatisfactory, and the future appeared devoid of hope. The acres planted in mulberries were so neglected that they scarcely evinced any token of their former cultivation. Offered bounties failed to stimulate the production of silk, and of vines there were none. Rice was planted only in small quantities; cotton was a curiosity; indigo seldom seen; and the corn crop was insufficient for home consumption. The malaria of the swamps poisoned the white laborer, and the hot sun robbed him of all energy. As a general rule the articled servants, upon the expiration of their terms, deserted the colony, and none appeared to supply their places. Immigration had almost ceased. Money was scarce and labor high. Farms were neglected and the inhabitants were dejected. The only commer-

April, 1738. Of this place Mr. Stephens, on the 21st of March, 1739, writes as follows: "I was now called upon to give the Place a Name; and thereupon naturally revolving in my Thoughts divers Places in my native Country, to try if I could find any that had a Resemblance to this, I fancied that *Bewlie*, a Manor of his Grace the Duke of *Montague* in the *New Forest*, was not unlike it much as to its Situation; and being on the Skirts of that Forest, had Plenty of large Timber growing everywhere near; moreover a fine Arm of the Sea running close by, which parts the *Isle of Wight* from the main Land, and makes a beautiful Prospect; from all which Tradition tells us it took its Name and was antiently called *Beaulieu*, though now vulgarly *Bewlie*; only by leaving out the *a* in the first Syllable, and the *u* in the end of the last." *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 166, 318, 319. London. 1742.

[1] *The Castle-Builders, or the History of William Stephens*, p. 128. London. MDCCLIX.

cial house in Savannah of any repute was that of Harris & Habersham, and its shipments at first were chiefly confined to deer-skins, lumber, cattle, hogs, and poultry.

At the request of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, Mr. James Habersham, who then possessed and exerted a decided political, moral, and commercial influence in the colony, prepared a letter in which he carefully reviewed the condition of the province, commented upon the chimerical plans of the trustees, and suggested wise changes in their policy. Contrary to his expectations, this communication found its way into the hands of the common council. When he ascertained this fact Mr. Habersham feared that all hope of favor and countenance from that honorable body was at an end, and that, taking umbrage at the views he had expressed and the strictures in which he had indulged, the trustees would be disposed to visit upon him their displeasure. On the contrary, his forcible presentation of the case and his cogent reasoning attracted their particular notice, and gave rise to deliberate discussion. Instead of incurring their wrath, he was, to his surprise, appointed by them as an assistant in Savannah, in the place of Samuel Marcer who had proved faithless to his trust.

Although frequently memorialized on the subject, the trustees uniformly refused to sanction the introduction of negro slavery into the province.[1] They could not be persuaded to allow the Georgia colonists even to hire negroes owned in Carolina. The impolicy of an adherence to this course of administration had long been apparent to many. It was now more evident than ever that if the employment of the African laborer was not per-

[1] As late as March 17, 1748, the following minute appears in the Journal of the Trustees: "That after so many declarations that the introduction and use of Negroes in the Colony is not only inconsistent with the intention of his Majesty's Charter, but also directly contrary to an express Act approved by his Majesty in Council in the year 1735, for the year 1735, for prohibiting the Importation and Use of Negroes, declaring the meaning and intention of the said Charter; the Trustees are surpris'd any expectations of them can yet remain at Savannah and in other parts of the Colony, and therefore it must be, and is upon that foundation a resolution of the Trustees never to permit the introduction of Negroes into the Colony of Georgia, as the Danger which must arise from them in a Frontier Town is so evident, and as the People who continue to clamour for Negroes declare that the Colony can never succeed without the use of them, it is evident they don't intend by their own Industry to contribute to its success, and must therefore rather hinder than promote it, the Trustees therefore require it may be signified to all the Inhabitants of the Colony that if any of them persist in declaring they cannot succeed without Negroes, it would be of service to the Colony as well as themselves for them to retire into any other Province, where they will be freely allow'd the use of Negroes."

mitted the development of the province would be fatally obstructed. The colonists determined, therefore, to disregard the injunctions of the trustees. The terms for which European servants had been engaged had generally expired, and there was no way of remedying this deficiency in labor except by hiring negro slaves from their masters in South Carolina, with the proviso that if any attempt was made on the part of the Georgia authorities to enforce the regulations of the trustees the owner of the slave should be promptly notified so that he might come forward and claim his property. Finding that this evasion of the law succeeded, the colonists went one step further and hired negro slaves for a hundred years, or during life, paying in advance the full value of the slaves; the former owners covenanting to intervene and claim them in case such action was rendered necessary by any proceedings on the part of the Georgia authorities.

Finally, purchases from negro-traders were openly concluded in Savannah. "Some seizures," says Captain McCall,[1] "were made by those who opposed the principle, but as a majority of the Magistrates favored the introduction of slaves into the Province, legal decisions were suspended from time to time, and a strong disposition was evidenced by the courts to evade the operation of the law. So great was the majority on that side of the question that anarchy and confusion were likely to be kindled into civil war. Several negro servants had been purchased for the Orphan House, and Mr. Habersham declared that the institution could not be supported without them. The servants sent over from England by Mr. Whitefield, after a few months, refused to yield to the menial duties assigned to them. Many ran away, and were supported and secreted in Carolina by their countrymen until an opportunity offered to escape further north, where they were secured against a compliance with the conditions of their indentures. The few who remained were too old, too young, or too much afflicted with disease to render services equal to a compensation for their clothing and subsistence. Those who had fled soon found that they could procure land in the other colonies on easy terms, and engage in employments less degrading and more advantageous."

Thomas Stephens, son of President Stephens, who had been sent as special agent of the land-owners in Savannah to secure a redress of grievances from the Crown, and obtain a repeal of

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 206. Savannah. 1811.

the law prohibiting the introduction of negro slaves, had signally failed in accomplishing his mission.[1]

These violations and evasions of the regulations in regard to the employment of negroes within the colony having been brought to the notice of the trustees, the common council sharply reprimanded the president and assistants, and ordered them at once to put an end to these encroachments. In their response those gentlemen expressed a fear that the trustees had been misinformed in regard to their conduct. They confidently asserted that the board had always discouraged the use of black slaves in the province, and had charged those to whom lands were granted not to attempt the introduction or use of negroes.[2] It is more than hinted, however, that while the president and his assistants were indulging in these protestations to the trustees they stimulated popular clamor and secretly connived at the accession of negroes. They were charged by Mr. Dobell with duplicity and dissimulation, and Colonel Alexander Heron boldly averred: "It is well known to every one in the Colony that Negroes have been in and about Savannah for these several years past: that the magistrates knew and winked at it, and that their constant toast is 'the one thing needful,' by which is meant Negroes."

Those who supported the plans of the trustees in this regard were denounced, "and the leading men both of New Inverness and Ebenezer were traduced, threatened, and persecuted" for their opposition to the introduction of negro slavery. Such was

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 300–305. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

[2] On the 2d of October, 1747, President Stephens and his assistants wrote as follows to the trustees: "We are afraid from what you have wrote in relation to Negroes that the Honorable Trustees have been misinformed as to our conduct relating thereto, for we can with great assurance assert that this Board has always acted an uniform part in discouraging the use of Negroes in this Colony well knowing it to be disagreeable to the Trust as well as contrary to an Act existing for Prohibition of them, and always give it in charge to those whom we have put in possession of lands not to attempt the introduction or use of Negroes, but notwithstanding our great Caution some people from Carolina soon after their settling Lands on the Little Ogechee found means of bringing and employing a few negroes on the said Lands some time before it was discovered to us. Upon which discovery they thought it high time to withdraw them for fear of their being seized, and soon after withdrew themselves and families out of the Colony, which appears to us at present to be the Resolution of divers others, particularly the whole Inhabitants of Augusta who have had Negroes among them for many years past and now declare that if they cannot obtain that Liberty they will remove to the Carolina side where they can carry on their Trade and Plantations with the same advantage as where they now are, and several others of late, finding us strenuous in endeavoring to see the Trustees' orders fulfilled, express themselves in the same strain."

the excitement on this subject that the opponents of the scheme for the employment of African labor shrunk from further contest with its advocates. The magistrates were intimidated; and even good Mr. Bolzius, who, with his followers, had always protested against the admission of negro slaves, wrote to the trustees on the 3d of May, 1748: "Things being now in such a melancholy state, I must humbly beseech your Honors not to regard any more our or our friends' petitions against Negroes."

No two individuals were so instrumental in prevailing upon the trustees to relax this prohibition as the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and the Honorable James Habersham. The former boldly asserted that the transportation of the African from his home of barbarism to a Christian land, where he would be humanely treated and be required to perform his share of toil common to the lot of humanity, was advantageous, while the latter affirmed that the colony could not prosper without the intervention of slave labor.

On the 10th of January, 1749, the president and assistants and a considerable number of the inhabitants of Georgia forwarded to the trustees a petition, to which the town seal was affixed, suggesting certain restrictions and regulations under which they prayed that negro slaves might be admitted into the colony. This petition having been read and considered by the trustees, it was resolved to memorialize his majesty in council for a repeal of the act prohibiting the importation and use of black slaves within the province of Georgia. A committee, of which the Earl of Shaftesbury was appointed chairman, was raised to prepare an act repealing the former act on this subject.

Persuaded that the time had now come when their consent must perforce be given to the introduction of slave labor, and desirous of guarding its employment by wholesome and humane regulations, the trustees authorized the following communication:

"GEORGIA OFFICE, *July 7th*, 1749.

"SIR AND GENTLEMEN, — I acquainted you in my Letter dated May 19th last that the Trustees had resolved to petition his Majesty that the *Act for rendering the Colony of Georgia more defencible by prohibiting the Importation and Use of black Slaves or Negroes into the same* might be repeal'd, and to prepare a Law by which Negroes may be admitted under several Restrictions and Regulations. They have this now under their Consideration, and as you took into Consultation with you upon this Affair several of the principal People of the Colony when you

propos'd the Regulations which occurr'd to you, you must assemble such again that they may see the Regulations upon which the Trustees think proper to form the Act, which do not differ widely from those which you transmitted, but there are some additional Ones which the Trustees look on as absolutely necessary.

"In the first place they can never lose sight of the Colony being a Frontier, of the Danger which must attend too great a Disproportion of Blacks and White Men, and the Facility with which the Negroes may make their Escape from Georgia to Augustine. They have resolv'd therefore that every Man who shall have four Male Negroes above the age of 14 shall be obliged to have and constantly keep one indented White Male Servant aged between 20 and 55. If he shall have eight Male Negroes he shall constantly keep two indented White Male Servants of the aforesaid age, and for every four Negroes upwards he shall keep one additional White Male Servant of the aforesaid age, — his Sons not to be reckon'd among such White Servants. If any Person having such Numbers of Negroes as aforesaid shall refuse or neglect to provide such Male Servants in proportion within twelve Calendar Months, he shall forfeit for every Negro above the Number for which he has White Male Servants so aged, the sum of £10 Sterl^{g}, and the further sum of £5 Sterl^{g} each Month after, during which he retains such Negro.

"No Artificer shall be suffer'd to take any Negro as an Apprentice, nor shall any Planter lend or let out a Negro or Negroes to another Planter, to be employ'd otherwise than in manuring and cultivating the Plantations in the Country.

"Proprietors of Negroes shall not be permitted to exercise an unlimited Power over them.

"All Negroes imported into or born in the Province of Georgia shall be register'd; and no Sale of Negroes from one man to another shall be valid unless register'd. Inquisitions shall be made once in every year, or oftener if need be, into the Registers by Juries in the several Districts, who shall immediately afterwards make their Report to the Magistrates.

"As other Provinces have greatly suffer'd by permitting Ships with Negroes to send them on shore when ill of contagious Distempers (as particularly South Carolina has often by the Yellow Fever) proper places must be appointed for such Ships as bring Negroes to Georgia to cast anchor at, in order to their being visited, and to perform such Quarentain as shall be order'd by the President and Assistants, and no Ships must be suffer'd to come

nearer than those Places before they are visited by proper Officers and a Certificate of Health is obtain'd. And in case of any contagious Distempers on board, proper places must be appointed at a Distance from the Towns for Lazarettos where the whole Crew of the Ship and the Negroes may be lodg'd and supplied with Refreshments and assisted towards their Recovery. You must acquaint the Trustees by the first Opportunity with the Names and Descriptions of the proper Places for the Ships to stop at, and likewise where to perform a Quarentain if there are contagious Distempers on board, that those Places may be specified in the Act.

"No Master shall oblige or even suffer his Negro or Negroes to work on the Lord's Day, but he shall permit or oblige them to attend at some time in that Day for Instruction in the Christian Religion, which the Protestant Ministers of the Gospel must be oblig'd to give them. The Minister or Ministers shall on all occasions inculcate in the Negroes the natural Obligations to a married state where there are Female Slaves cohabiting with them, and an absolute Forbearance of blaspheming the Name of God by profane Cursing or Swearing. No Inter Marriages between White People and Negroes shall be deem'd lawful Marriages: and if any White Man shall be convicted of lying with a Female Negro or any White Woman of lying with a Male Negro He or She shall on such Conviction be . . . and the Negro shall receive a Corporal Punishment.

"As the Culture of Silk is the great object of the Trustees, and they are determin'd to make it, as far as lyes in their Power, the object of all the People in Georgia by never ratifying any Grants in which the Conditions for planting, fencing, and keeping up the proper Number of Mulberry Trees are not inserted, and by insisting on the forfeiture of all Grants where those Conditions are not perform'd, they have resolv'd that every Man who shall have four Male Negroes, shall be oblig'd to have, for every such four, one Female Negro instructed in the Art of winding Silk. The Conditions, as mentioned in my other Letter are that 1000 Mulberry Trees shall be planted on every hundred Acres, the same proportion to be observ'd in less Grants; and that for the Preservation of the Trees against Cattle, the Planter shall fence in his Mulberry Trees or plant them in Places already fenc'd.

"As there are several Publick Works which are absolutely necessary, such as maintaining the Light-house, providing for the

Pilot and Pilot Boat, the Repairs of the Church, the Wharf, and the Prison, and building Lazarettos, and other publick Services such as the Support of the Minister when other Supports shall fail, and several Officers of Civil Government, as Constables, Tythingmen &c. and as some Funds will be requisite for these, the Trustees think nothing can be more reasonable than a Duty upon Negroes at Importation, and an annual Tax P^r^ Head upon the Possession of them, which Tax and Duty must be paid, for the use of the Trust, into the hands of proper persons appointed by the Trustees. It will therefore be requisite for you in your Consultation to consider what Duty and Tax may, in your opinion, be proper for the aforesaid Services, and other necessary public Uses of the Colony, and transmit your opinion hereon under the Seal as before, by the first opportunity.

"I am, Sir, and Gentlemen

"Your very humble Serv^t^

"BENJ. MARTYN, *Sec^tary^.*

"To W^m^ STEPHENS Esq^r^ President
and the Assistants.
"By the Charles-Town Galley, — Capt. Bogg." [1]

A convention was called in due course, and Major Horton, the military chief of the colony, presided over its deliberations. A conclusion was speedily reached. The suggestions of the trustees were substantially adopted; and on the 26th of October, 1749, a representation was signed by twenty-seven persons of the highest respectability in the province, requesting that slavery be at once allowed under the limitations mentioned. This document,[2] properly attested, was forwarded by the earliest opportunity to the trustees who, with a few trifling modifications and additions, approved its provisions. Among the latter were enactments that a penalty of £10 should be paid by every master

[1] P. R. O., *Georgia, B. T.*, vol. x.

[2] Presiding over this convention and signing this document were the last public acts performed by Major Horton. A few days afterwards he was seized with a malignant fever which soon terminated his useful life. In a letter to General Oglethorpe Mr. Habersham pays this merited compliment: "Major Horton's unwearied and generous exertions in the service of this Colony have perhaps contributed not a little to abridge the number of his days. By particular desire he came to Savannah to meet the President, Assistants, and other representatives to consult on an affair of the greatest importance to the Colony. His conduct and opinions gave renewed specimens of his wisdom and prudence. Your Excellency knew him well, therefore it would be vain in me to attempt a description of his merits. Envy itself is obliged to confess that he shined in war and in peace, in public and in private stations." See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 210. Savannah. 1811.

who either forced or permitted his negro slave to work on the Lord's day, and that if the owner omitted to compel his slave to attend at some time on Sunday for instruction in the Christian religion he should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, on conviction, should be find not less than £5 for each offense.

Thus did the trustees abandon one of their most cherished theories, and thus did Georgia, after a struggle of sixteen years, acquire the right, long enjoyed by her sister English colonies in America, of owning and using negro slaves.

When General Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded at Frederica on the 29th of May, 1749, one company was retained for the defense of the province. Such of the soldiers, mustered out of service, as desired to remain enjoyed the lands allotted to them in fulfillment of a promise made by the trustees at the time of their enlistment. Others, who preferred to go to England, were transported in boats to Charlestown whence passages were provided for them at the charge of the general government.

Returning in these boats came Captain Daniel Demetree and a small detachment of ten or twelve men. They landed at Causton's Bluff, where the captain mentioned to some of the inhabitants that he was on his way to Frederica. He further stated that he was about to assume command at that point. As he failed to report to the president and his assistants, and disclosed to them neither his orders nor his intentions, they were at a loss to understand his extraordinary conduct, and ordered Captain Noble Jones to wait upon him and demand both an explanation of and an apology for this discourtesy. Captain Demetree's reply to Captain Jones was that he was acting under instructions from his grace the Duke of Bedford, communicated with the consent of the trustees, and that he was to receive his orders from and to report only to the governor of South Carolina. He reluctantly appeared before the council in answer to their summons. Mortified at this contemptuous treatment, Governor Stephens addressed a communication to the trustees in which he intimated that Governor Glen's influence had been improperly exerted with the duke, that to all appearances it was contemplated either to lower the dignity of Georgia or to place that province under the control of Carolina, and that the small party which Captain Demetree had brought with him would be of little use to the province if placed under his control, and of none at all if subject to the orders of the governor of South Carolina. Colonel Stephens probably did not know the fact at the time, but so it was,

that the expediency of subordinating Georgia to Carolina was in certain quarters seriously discussed. Some went so far as to propose that the former province should be merged in the latter. The trustees protested at the suggestion, however, claimed their vested rights, and so put the hint to flight. President Stephens conjectured that Governor Glen was using his influence to bring Georgia into contempt, and was seeking to gratify a private pique because of a misunderstanding which had arisen in consequence of his interference with the Indian trade at Augusta.

Persevering in his determination to preserve his official dignity and maintain the colonial sovereignty of Georgia, President Stephens directed the troops and citizens at Frederica to seize the boats which Demetree had in charge, to hold them as the property of Oglethorpe's regiment, and, until further orders, to take no notice of the captain either in a civil or military capacity. A copy of this letter of instructions to the authorities at Frederica and a statement of Demetree's conduct were forwarded to Governor Glen. While it is true that his reception was not such as his rank in the army merited, or such as, under ordinary circumstances, he was warranted in expecting from the Georgia authorities, his lack of courtesy had been so notorious that the president and assistants, to preserve their self-respect, maintain the dignity of the colonial government, and bring that officer to terms, found it necessary to adopt this course. Taking counsel of his better judgment, and acknowledging the error he had committed, Captain Demetree soon made ample apology to the colonial council. This done, he was permitted to assume command of the military force stationed at Frederica.[1]

Another regulation of the trustees, to which they tenaciously clung, was now abrogated. By a vote of the House of Commons they were directed to repeal the act which prohibited the introduction of rum [2] and other distilled liquors. Certain sumptuary laws, also, forbidding the use of gold and silver in apparel, furniture, and equipage, had become wholly obsolete. Such legislation, well meant, perhaps, was entirely unnecessary, for the poverty of the colonists did not allow of personal display or domestic extravagance.

[1] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 211. Savannah. 1811.

[2] President Stephens, in writing to the trustees, expressed the opinion that less rum was consumed in the colony after its use was permitted than when it was obtained and drunk clandestinely. He further stated that "a beverage compounded of one part of rum, three parts of water, and a little brown sugar, was very fit to be taken at meals," and that it was, "during the warm season, far more wholesome than malt liquors."

We have had occasion from time to time to note the petitions of the colonists, and the disappointments experienced by them in their efforts to secure from the trustees an enlargement of the tenure by which lands were holden. We have also considered the reasons advanced by them in justification of their determination to grant only qualified estates. As the province grew older and stronger, as its liability to destruction by the Spaniards on the one hand and the Indians on the other appeared less imminent, and as the disadvantages under which its citizens labored when contrasted with the privileges enjoyed by peoples of neighboring English plantations became more apparent, the trustees concluded to modify their regulation on the subject, and finally gave publicity to the following resolution in regard to the tenure of lands in Georgia: —

"GEORGIA OFFICE, WESTMINSTER,
"*May 25th*, 1750.

"Whereas the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America thought it necessary in the first establishment of that Colony to restrain the Grants they made of Lots of Land to limited Tenures only, in order thereby to prevent many abuses which at that time might probably have defeated the good ends proposed by that establishment, and during the late War it might have been of dangerous consequence to have alter'd the Tenures; but as a general peace and tranquillity happily prevail, the said Trustees are of opinion that the intended enlargement of the Tenures may now be safely made, and have come to the following resolution, viz^{t}:

"That the Tenures of all Grants of Land whatsoever already made to any person within the Province of Georgia be enlarged and extended to an absolute Inheritance, and that all future Grants of Land shall be of an absolute Inheritance to the Grantees, their Heirs and Assigns."

Thus had the trustees been compelled, by force of circumstances to abrogate, one after another, several fundamental regulations which they at first promulgated for the government of the colony. All restrictions, formerly imposed in obedience to their peculiar views, were now removed. Lands were held in fee simple, and the power of alienation was unrestricted. The ownership and employment of negro slaves were free to all, and the New England manufacturer here found an open market for his rum.

The trustees also misinterpreted the capabilities of the cli-

mate and soil of Georgia. Although substantial encouragement had been afforded to Mr. Amatis, to Jacques Camuse, to the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, to Mr. Pickering Robinson, to Mr. Habersham, and to Mr. Lloyd; although copper basins and reeling-machines had been supplied and a Filature erected; although silk-worm eggs were procured and mulberry-trees multiplied, silk culture in Georgia yielded only a harvest of disappointment. The vine too languished. The olive-trees from Venice, the barilla seeds from Spain, the kali from Egypt, and other exotics, obtained at much expense, after a short season withered and died in the public garden. The hemp and flax, from the cultivation of which such rich yields were anticipated, never warranted the charter of a single vessel for their transportation, and indigo did not commend itself to general favor. Exportations of lumber were infrequent. Cotton was then little more than a garden plant, and white labor had been unable to compete successfully with Carolina negroes in the production of rice. Up to this point the battle had been with nature for life and subsistence; and upon the stores of the trust did many long rely for food and clothing. Of trade there was little, and that was confined to necessaries. With the exception of occasional shipments of copper money for circulation among the inhabitants, sola bills[1] constituted the currency of the province. These were issued by the trustees and placed in the hands of their Georgia agents to be by them paid out as occasion required. They were redeemable in England, and, when not specially indorsed, passed current as any Bank of England notes. When presented for payment and redeemed they were canceled in the presence of one common-council man and two trustees. A careful record was preserved of all bills issued and redeemed.

[1] The following is a copy of one of these bills, with its indorsement: —

"Georgia Bill of Exchange } payable in England. }

A. No. 13,464. Westminster 29th May, 1749. Thirty days after sight hereof, we the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America Promise to pay this our Sola Bill of Exchange to W^m^ Stephens Esq^r^, Henry Parker, W^m^ Spencer, and Ja^s^ Habersham or the order of any two of them, the Sum of One Pound Sterling at our Office in Westminster, to answer the like value received in Georgia on the Issue hereof, as testified by Indorsement hereon, sign'd by the said two who shall Issue this Bill.

£1.

Sealed by order of the Common Council of the said Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

HARMAN VERELST, Acco^tant^.

(Endorsed)

Georgia, October 13th, 1749.

This Bill was then Issued to William Stephens Esq^r^ for value received. Therefore Please to Pay the Contents to him or order. HENRY PARKER,

WM SPENCER.

1749.

WILL STEPHENS."

While General Oglethorpe remained in Georgia, to him was confided the issuing of them, and after his departure this duty devolved upon the president and assistants. The trustees required that specific report should be made of the purpose for which each bill was issued. More than one hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars were thus sent over to the colony at different times and disbursed in payment of salaries and in discharge of other expenses connected with the execution of the trust. At the expiration of their charter the accountant reported to the trustees that sola bills to the amount of £1,149 had not been returned for payment. Whereupon, the common council placed that sum in the hands of Mr. Lloyd, a reputable silk merchant, who engaged to redeem them when presented. Public notice was also inserted in the American gazettes requiring their presentation before the 1st of January, 1756.[1]

In their administration of the financial affairs of the colony the trustees exhibited the utmost prudence, care, and economy. In all their labors they were exact. No body of men could have executed a trust with greater fidelity or in a manner further removed from personal gain or the hope of private emolument. They were philanthropists all, and in the consciousness of duty discharged, in the scrupulous distribution of blessed charities, in honest efforts for the amelioration of the condition of their own unfortunate fellow citizens and of the oppressed Protestants of Europe, in the dissemination of the truths of Christianity upon distant shores, and in the patriotic extension of British dominion did they find honor and reward. Commercial, industrial, and governmental mistakes they did commit, but their errors were all of the head and not of the heart. For more than a century and a quarter has their record been made up, and it stands today without a single stain.

To the house of Harris & Habersham is Georgia indebted for the establishment of her earliest commercial relations not only with Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, but also with London. They were the first merchants here engaged in exporting and importing. By them was the first ship chartered for a Georgia cargo. This was in 1749, and the articles exported consisted chiefly of pitch, tar, staves, rice, and deer-skins. Liberal in their dealings, possessing a commercial credit and correspondence beyond any others in the province engaged in mercantile pursuits, and eager to promote the prosperity of the metropolis of Geor-

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 315. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

gia, these gentlemen sought to stimulate the inhabitants to such a degree of industry that their home products would suffice not only for consumption within the plantation but also for exportation. Their effort was, by an accumulation of needed supplies, to secure the trade of the Carolina planters and sell their crops for them. By attracting English shipping to the port they increased the growth and importance of Savannah and furnished a direct outlet for all articles seeking a foreign market. So successful were the operations of this enterprising firm that the colony materially increased in wealth and in the enjoyment of comforts to which its inhabitants had hitherto been strangers. Within a very few years after the establishments of its relations with England, and after the introduction of negro slaves, a member[1] of this house thus writes: "My present thoughts are that the colony never had a better appearance of thriving than now. There have been more vessels loaded here within these ten months than have been since the Colony was settled. Our exportations for a year past are an evident proof that if proper labouring hands could have been had years before, this Colony before now would have demonstrated its utility to the Mother Country and the West India Islands. Two days ago a large ship arrived here addressed to my partner and myself, which is the fifth sea vessel which has been here to load within a year; more, I may affirm, than has ever been loaded in this Colony before since its first settlement, with its real produce."

[1] The Honorable James Habersham.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MISSION OF PICKERING ROBINSON AND JAMES HABERSHAM. — FILATURE ERECTED IN SAVANNAH. — ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE SILK CULTURE. — A PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY AUTHORIZED AND CONVENED. — ITS FIRST SESSION, ITS COMPOSITION, AND ITS PROCEEDINGS. — THE TRUSTEES PROTEST AGAINST THE ANNEXATION OF GEORGIA TO SOUTH CAROLINA. — ORGANIZATION OF THE COLONIAL MILITIA. — FIRST GENERAL MUSTER. — CONSERVATORS OF THE PEACE NAMED. — THEIR POWERS. — MARY BOSOMWORTH'S DEMAND. — RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. — RUMORED UPRISING OF THE CHEROKEES. — REVIEW OF THE POLICY OF THE TRUSTEES. — THEIR NAMES, OCCUPATIONS, AND CONDUCT. — CLERGYMEN. — CHURCHES. — RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS.

ON the 26th of June, 1750, Henry Parker was commissioned as vice-president of the colony of Georgia, and James Habersham appointed secretary. The same day provision was made for holding at Savannah, "between Michaelmas and Lady Day next," an assembly of the people of Georgia "to propose, debate, and represent to the trustees what shall appear to them to be for the benefit not only of each particular settlement but of the Province in general."

That he might acquaint himself with the construction and management of filatures, with the most approved mode of propagating the silk-worm, and the best method of preparing silk for market, Mr. Pickering Robinson had been sent to France at the expense of the trust. Upon his return, being regarded as competent to assume the general charge and management of this important branch of industry, he was granted a salary of £100 per annum, with £25 additional for a clerk, and ordered to proceed to Georgia, and there, by every available means, stimulate the production of silk.[1] Mr. James Habersham was named as a

[1] Mr. Robinson was further instructed to make a careful inspection of the province, and to prepare a detailed report of its condition. He was to examine the church, the light-house, the prison, the town house, the public and private wharves; visit the several settlements in Georgia; ascertain their respective populations, both white and black, the amount of land cultivated and the crops grown thereon, the condition of the fences, the relative distances of towns and plantations, the situation and status of the forts, their respective garrisons, armaments, and storehouses, the present appearance of the vineyards and mulberry groves; and

commissioner to act with him in the discharge of the duties appertaining to this matter. Mr. Robinson carried with him a quantity of silk-worm eggs, but none of them, save about half an ounce, could be vitalized. It was determined to erect a filature in Savannah as a sort of normal school for the instruction of the inhabitants in the art of silk culture. This building was constructed of rough boards, was thirty-six feet long by twenty wide, and had a loft upon the flooring of which the green cocoons were spread. It was commenced on the 4th of March, 1751. Basins were put up on the 1st of April, and about a month afterwards the reeling began.

To encourage the colonists the trustees proposed to purchase all the balls and wind them at their own expense, paying from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.* per pound for green cocoons.

This compensation proving unsatisfactory to some of the residents in Savannah and Purrysburg, the vice-president and assistants, at the request of Messrs. Robinson and Habersham, issued a proclamation on the 26th of April, in which they promised to pay for cocoons delivered in Savannah the following prices: for cocoons made by one worm, hard, weighty, and of good substance, 2*s.* per pound; for such as were of an inferior quality, pointed, spotted, or bruised, 1*s.* 3*d.* per pound; and for dupions, 6*d.* per pound. For raw silk from cocoons of the first quality they agreed to give 14*s.* per pound; for that reeled from cocoons of the second quality, 12*s.* per pound; and for the product of double cocoons, 6*d.* per pound. These prices were most extravagant. In their efforts to elicit from Georgia some respectable yield of the article upon which they had so long fixed their hopes of profit, the trustees took little note of the cost of production. Present expenditures, they trusted, would be justified by the labors and the rewards of the future. Camuse and his son and daughter, who by their perverse conduct had given the commissioners no little trouble, returned to Savannah and found employment in the Filature.

All these exertions, outlays, and bounties eventuated in little else than continued disappointment. After incurring an expense — including the passages of servants, the cost of provisions from the public store, bounties on cocoons, salaries, machines, basins, and filatures — of nearly £1,500, the trustees, at the date

explain why the culture of the grape and of silk had not progressed more favorably. In a word, he was to inform the trustees fully with regard to the province. See *Shaftesbury Papers* in Public Record Office, London.

of the surrender of their charter, had succeeded in raising scarcely a thousand pounds of raw silk, — a costly experiment, truly, demonstrating the vanity of that expectation in the realization of which they believed England would be saved £500,000, and that employment would be given to forty thousand of her subjects.[1]

On the 8th of April, 1751, as we have seen, Mr. Parker was appointed president of the colony in the room of Colonel William Stephens who retired upon a pension of £80 per annum. Mr. Noble Jones was commissioned as register of the province, and Pickering Robinson and Francis Harris were named as assistants to the president.

In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the trustees in June, 1750, writs of election had been issued for the selection of delegates to a provincial assembly to convene at Savannah on the 15th of the following January. Sixteen delegates composed that assembly, and they were "proportioned to the population of the different parishes or districts." For the convocation, apportionment, and qualification of these assemblymen, the following regulations were established by the common council.

The assembly was to convene in the town of Savannah once a year at such time as should be designated as most convenient by the president of the colony and his assistants, and remain in session not longer than one month.

Every town, village, or district in the province, containing a population of ten families, was empowered to send one deputy. Any settlement embracing thirty families could appoint two delegates. To the town of Savannah four deputies were allowed; to Augusta and Ebenezer two each; and to Frederica two, provided there were thirty families resident there.

As the privilege of enacting laws was, by charter, vested solely in the trustees, this assembly could not legislate. Its powers were limited to discussing and suggesting to the trustees such measures as they might deem conducive to the welfare of particular communities and important for the general good of the province.

Within three days after their assembling these deputies were required to submit in writing a statement showing the number of inhabitants, both white and black (specifying sex and age in every instance), the quantity of land cultivated by each inhabitant and in what crop planted, the number of negroes owned

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 275. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

and employed, the quantity of mulberry-trees standing and fenced on each plantation, and the progress made by each man or family in the culture of silk, indigo, cotton, etc., in the several towns or parishes represented by them.

These accounts, and also the suggestions of the assembly when signed by its presiding officer, were to be delivered to the president and assistants for prompt transmission to the trustees.

The presiding officer was to be chosen by the delegates. When selected by them, he must be presented for the approval or disapproval of the president of the colony. Should the president decline to sanction the choice of the assembly, if demanded by any three of the members, he was required to give his reasons for such disapproval and to transmit the same in writing for the consideration of the trustees.

For delegates to the first assembly, which was convened at the earliest practicable moment, no qualifications were prescribed; but after the 24th of June, 1751, no inhabitant could be elected a deputy who had not one hundred mulberry-trees planted and properly fenced upon every tract of fifty acres which he possessed. From and after the 24th of June, 1753, no one was capable of being a delegate who had not strictly conformed to the prescribed limitation of the number of negro slaves in proportion to his white servants, who had not in his family at least one female instructed in the act of reeling silk, and who did not annually produce fifteen pounds of silk for every fifty acres of land owned by him.

Such were the curious qualifications prescribed for membership of the first quasi-deliberative, quasi-legislative body which ever assembled in Georgia. They were evidently intended to stimulate the production of silk, that commodity which blinded the eyes of the trustees and warped their judgment in directing the industrial pursuits of the colonists.

The assembly convened at Savannah on the day appointed, and organized by the election of Francis Harris as speaker. The following members appeared, and, having taken the "oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjurgation" were duly seated: —

From the *Savannah District:* Francis Harris, speaker, John Milledge, William Francis, and William Russel.

From the *Augusta District:* George Cadogan and David Douglass.

From the *Ebenezer District:* Christian Reidlesperger and Theobald Keiffer.

From *Abercorn and Goshen Districts:* William Ewen.
From *Joseph's Town District:* Charles Watson.
From *Vernonburg District:* Patrick Houstoun.
From *Acton District:* Peter Morell.
From *Little Ogeechee District:* Joseph Summers.
From *Skidaway District:* John Barnard.
From *Midway District:* Audley Maxwell, and
From *Darien District:* John Mackintosh.

Noble Jones and Pickering Robinson were, by the president of the colony and his assistants, appointed a committee to inquire into the general condition of the province and to present a special report thereof to the assembly.

After an exchange of courtesies with Vice-President Parker, the assembly proceeded to business and, having deliberated some two weeks, submitted the following "heads of grievances" which they thought the president and his assistants were able to redress.

1st. The want of a proper pilot-boat.

2d. The want of leave to erect a building under the Bluff for the convenience of boats' crews, negroes, etc, — such building to be erected by subscription.

3d. The want of standard weights, scales, and measures.

4th. The want of a survey of the river.

5th. The want of an order to prevent the masters of vessels from discharging ballast into the river.

6th. The want of a commissioner to regulate pilots and pilotage.

7th. The want of an inspector and sworn packer to inspect the produce of the colony.

8th. The want of a clerk of the market.

9th. The want of proper regulations for the guard.

10th. The want of suitable officers to command the militia.

11th. The want of repairs to the court-house.

To these suggestions the following answers were returned:

1st. The Board not having funds with which to purchase a substantial pilot-boat, this matter would be referred to the trustees.

2d. The Board would provide a location for the boat-house.

3d. The Board had already applied to the trustees for standard weights and measures, and hoped soon to be furnished with them.

4th. The Savannah River shall be surveyed so soon as the services of a competent party can be secured.

5th. A prohibitory order would be at once promulgated.

6th. This want would soon be supplied by the appointment of a suitable person.

7th. The appointment would be made without delay.

8th. A clerk should be named.

9th. Suitable regulations would be established.

10th. Competent officers would be commissioned.

11th. Materials had already been provided for these repairs and workmen designated to make them.

The assembly remained in session until the 8th of February, 1751, and, before adjourning, submitted an address and additional representations touching the magistracy, Indian affairs, the introduction of negroes, silk culture, the continuance of the charter, and other matters, all of which were forwarded for the consideration of the trustees. Among these was one representation which specially attracted the notice of the trustees and evoked from them the following "Objections to annexing Georgia to South Carolina," which are now of file among the Shaftesbury Papers in the public record office in London: —

"As the Assembly of the Province of Georgia have set forth in a Representation dated Jan^{y} 15, 1751, that the annexing of this Province to South Carolina will soon reduce it to the same desolate condition in which the Southern Parts of South Carolina were before the Establishment of Georgia, the Trustees think it their Duty in behalf of the People to represent the same to your Lordships: and the Assembly having given us one Reason for this, the great Distance they are at from Charles-Town, and consequently the hazards and intolerable Expence and Inconveniences of attending so remote a Seat of Government as Representatives, and Seat of Justice as Jurymen or Clarks, the Trustees think it incumbent on them to state to your Lordships that the nearest Part of Georgia is at least 80 Miles by Land and 100 Miles by Water from Charles-Town, that the Travellers by Land have many Rivers to cross, and the Roads thro' the Southern Parts of Carolina are in the Winter almost impassable: That the Passage by Water is over Sounds which in Winter are very dangerous, and Boats must be hired at a great Expence for this Passage, and that many of the Inhabitants of Georgia in the Southern Parts are above 170 Miles by Land and above 200 Miles by Water from Charles-Town.

"Another Objection which the Trustees beg leave to mention to your Lordships is the Jealousy which some of the Charles-

Town Merchants have of the Town of Savannah becoming from the superior fitness of its situation the great Mart for the Indian Trade, to prevent which they will distress the present Inhabitants of Georgia by all the means in their power, and particularly by reviving old claims to large tracts of Land in Georgia which they never did cultivate and which the Indians would never suffer them to cultivate. By getting these they must dispossess great Numbers of the Inhabitants of Lands which they have long been in possession of and have cultivated under his Majesty's Charter, and this will consequently expose the Inhabitants of South Carolina to another Indian War for the same reasons that that Province was involved in one in the Year 1718 when the Indians laid South Carolina in a manner waste with fire and sword.

"The Trustees think it needless to observe to your Lordships that annexing the Colony is absolutely repugnant to his Majesty's Charter which does expressly declare that it shall be a separate and independent Province and that the Inhabitants shall not be subject to the Laws of South Carolina.

"As the Trustees' Power of governing the Colony will expire on the 9th of June, 1753, but their Trust for granting the Lands is to remain in them, and their successors (to be chosen by them) forever; and as these two Powers being unconnected, and independent of each other may be attended with many unforseen difficulties, the Trustees are ready to accommodate the Administration with a surrender of their Trust on such Terms as they think themselves obliged, in behalf of the People, to stipulate for, which Terms they are ready to offer to his Majesty's Council.

"As the Trustees ought not to surrender their Trust but on such Conditions only as will secure to the Inhabitants of Georgia those Rights and Privileges which were promised them at their first going thither, they hope if such surrender is not accepted of, that for the security of their large property in the Lands as Trustees, they shall be allowed the Alternative, viz of recommending to his Majesty the Persons to be employed in the Government of Georgia."

This project for the annexation of Georgia to South Carolina originated with the citizens and friends of the latter province. Among Georgians it was regarded with extreme disfavor. So manifestly unjust was it and so thoroughly at variance with the provisions of the charter, the scheme of the colonization, and the vested rights both of the trustees and of the colonists, that so soon as it was seriously considered it was heartily repudiated.

Responding to the promise made to the assembly in their reply to the tenth representation, President Parker and his assistants, on the 16th of April, 1751, proceeded to organize and officer the militia of the province. This action was all the more important because General Oglethorpe's regiment having been disbanded, and there being but few military organizations within the limits of the plantation, the citizens were forced to rely upon themselves for police duty at home, and for the protection of the frontiers against any incursions of the Indians. All adult white male inhabitants who possessed three hundred acres of land and more were ordered to appear, well accoutred and with horses, to be organized as cavalry. White male proprietors of less property were armed as infantry. The militia force was thus organized into four companies, one of horse and three of foot, numbering in all some three hundred men. The first general muster in the lower districts was held at Savannah on Tuesday the 13th of June, 1751, when about two hundred and twenty men, infantry and cavalry, armed and equipped, paraded under the command of Captain Noble Jones. In the language of the record of the day, they "behaved well and made a pretty appearance."[1]

Conservators of the peace were named for the most populous districts in the province which did not enjoy the privileges of established courts. Thus, Captain John McIntosh was appointed at Darien, Audley Maxwell for the district of Midway and the Great Ogeechee, and James Fraser at Augusta. Each conservator of the peace, with the assistance of three reputable freeholders in his neighborhood, was empowered to hold what at a later period would have been designated a justice's court, for the trial of trifling misdemeanors and for the determination of civil suits where the amount involved did not exceed forty shillings. The courts at Savannah and Frederica were regularly holden for the adjudication of weightier complaints both civil and criminal.

The day after the adjournment of the assembly Mary Bosomworth, attended by her husband, waited upon President Parker, renewed her application for compensation, complained of the injustice done to her reputation, endeavored to vindicate her conduct in asserting a claim to the ceded lands, expressed a determination, in the event that she failed in obtaining justice at the hands of the colonial authorities, of proceeding to England and bringing her grievances to the notice of the Crown, and demanded a sum of money sufficient to defray her expenses thither.

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 250. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

Deeming it best to take no notice of her representations and her threats the council refused her request. Thereupon Bosomworth sold his wife's alleged interest in the lands lying between Pipe-Maker's Creek and Savannah, and her house and lot in that town. With the funds thus realized, the two went to Charlestown whence they sailed for London. While they were absent and engaged in prosecuting that vexatious suit which so long engaged the attention of the government, the islands of Ossabaw, St. Catharine, and Sapelo, and also the lands on the Savannah River lying between Pipe-Maker's Creek and the town of Savannah,—all of which were claimed by Mary Bosomworth as her individual property,— were, on the 22d of April, 1758, formally ceded by the Creek nation to his majesty the king of England. A year or two afterwards, as has been stated, the pretensions and demands of the Bosomworths were finally accommodated in England by a payment to Mary of some £2,100, and by a surrender to her of all title held by the Crown to the island of St. Catharine where she had fixed her home and where she subsequently died and was buried.

Every religious belief, the Roman Catholic excepted, was tolerated in Georgia. While the Church of England was held in special favor and was encouraged, the colony numbered among its inhabitants Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, Moravians, Anabaptists, and Hebrews. And now certain Quaker families entered the province and formed a settlement about seven miles above Augusta upon a tract of land known to this day as the Quaker Spring. The territory within which they fixed their abodes had been formerly owned by a tribe of Indians called the Savannahs. Thence were they expelled by the Uchees who occupied adjacent lands. Peaceably inclined as they were, these Quakers hoped to dwell in amity with the neighboring Indians. While engaged in clearing lands and in building comfortable homes they were alarmed by the intelligence that the Cherokees were on the eve of invading the white settlements. Without pausing to ascertain the truth of the report, they hastily abandoned the country, leaving behind them no trace of their short occupancy save a spring and a slender memory.

The fortifications at Augusta were now in a ruinous condition and were incapable of affording protection to the inhabitants. The soft airs of spring invited to the fields and all were busy with their agricultural pursuits, when the report of an uprising of the Cherokees was proclaimed everywhere. About the middle

of May, 1751, an express from Augusta, sent by Patrick Graham, reached Savannah with the information that James Maxwell and a number of Indian traders, who fled precipitately from the Cherokee nation to save their lives, had just entered that town. They brought news that two traders had been murdered and that they themselves had been robbed of all their goods. It was apprehended that the Indians would soon be upon the war-path. Fleeing from their plantations the inhabitants of Augusta and its vicinity took refuge in a church. Detachments of mounted militia were sent in every direction, but no traces of the enemy could be discovered in the neighborhood of the town. A letter was received from James Fraser inclosing a copy of an affidavit made by Maxwell which unfolded more fully the hostile temper of the Indians.

Uncertain whether the whole affair was not a trick on the part of the traders to bring on a war with the Indians and thus screen themselves from the payment of their debts, the president and assistants determined to adopt the more prudent course and to place the colony in a state of defense. The magazine was examined and officers were ordered to muster and discipline the militia. Noble Jones was appointed colonel, and Noble W. Jones, who had been a cadet in General Oglethorpe's regiment, was assigned to the command of a troop of horse. Bourquin and Francis were commissioned as captains of infantry companies, and Captain McIntosh at Darien and the officers at Frederica and on Cumberland Island were warned of the impending danger. The governor of Carolina strengthened his outposts in the neighborhood of the Cherokees and supplied Fort Moore with ammunition. It transpired subsequently that some of the young warriors of the Cherokee nation had insulted some of the traders because they had not brought with them a large supply of ammunition. The chiefs, however, condemned this conduct and were disposed to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the traders, who were suffered to depart. On their return, having again failed to bring as much ammunition as the Indians desired, they were all seized. The Cherokees, then threatened with hostilities by the Notteweges who were in alliance with the French, charged that the neglect on the part of the traders to supply them with ammunition would disqualify them from offering suitable resistance. The traders proposed, if liberated, to go to Augusta and procure a liberal quantity of powder and lead. The Indians consented to release only two of them, who were to

obtain the ammunition and return within thirty days. For the fulfillment of this engagement their companions were detained as hostages. Finding that no more favorable conditions could be secured, the traders acceded to them and two of their number, James Beamor and Richard Smith, set out for Augusta. Immediately upon their arrival at that town they made oath to the facts as they had transpired, and their affidavits were at once forwarded to the governor of South Carolina whose business it was to look after the behavior of the Cherokees, as most of the traders with those Indians were inhabitants of the province over which he presided. The apprehension was generally entertained that the Cherokees had been seduced by the French, and that they were seeking a pretext to declare war against Georgia and Carolina.

Various circumstances tended to confirm this suspicion. The Cherokees and Notteweges not long afterwards were found as friends attacking the Uchees. Bands of Indians wandered near the settlements, some venturing within a few miles of Savannah and creating wide-spread alarm. Fortunately, however, all disturbances soon ceased, and the colony escaped the anticipated horrors of savage warfare.[1]

The time approached when the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America resolved to surrender their charter and relieve themselves from the further execution of a trust which had grown quite beyond their management. For twenty years had they supported its provisions with an earnest solicitude, a philanthropic zeal, and a loyal devotion worthy of every commendation. The careful conception and the honest development of the scheme for the colonization of Georgia and the restrictions so long imposed upon alienations of land and the employment of slave labor have claimed our attention. The mistakes committed in encouraging the agricultural capabilities of the province have not passed unnoticed, and, upon a more intimate acquaintance with the character of the soil and the nature of the climate, we have been able to account for the sad disappointments experienced in the effort to cultivate the vine and propagate the silkworm. The skill and the honesty with which the finances of the province were administered have excited our admiration, and we have seen ample cause to applaud the tact, liberality, and fairness with which the aborigines were propitiated and their friendships won. Upon the brave chapter which commemorates the

[1] Consult McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 240–247. Savannah. 1811.

struggle between the gallant Oglethorpe and the envious Spaniard we have lingered with pride, and the illustrious names and good deeds associated with the primal settlement and development of this colony have found safe lodgment in our grateful recollection. We have seen a feeble plantation upon Yamacraw Bluff expanding, year by year, until it now assumes the proportions of a permanent colony and discloses the potentialities of a future nation. The English drumbeat on the banks of the Savannah is answered by the Highland bagpipe on the Alatamaha, and the protecting guns of Frederica are supplemented by the sentinel field-pieces at Augusta. At every stage of progress and in every act, whether trivial or important, these trustees, capable and worthy, evinced a clear conception of duty, a patience of labor, a singleness of purpose, an unselfish dedication of time and energy, an integrity, and a rigid adherence to all that was pure, elevated, and humanizing, which become quite conspicuous when their proceedings are minutely and intelligently scanned. That they erred in their judgment in regard to the best method of utilizing many of these marish lands, smitten by sun and storms and pregnant with fevers and fluxes, may not now be doubted. That the theory upon which they administered the trust was in some respects narrow and retarding in its influences is equally certain. That they were unfortunate in the selection of some of their agents excites no surprise. But that they were upright, conscientious, observant, and most anxious to promote the best interests of the colony as they comprehended them will be freely admitted.

A few words more and we turn to those proceedings which withdrew the province from the guardianship of its earliest friends and placed it under the dominion of a royal governor.

To the spiritual welfare of the colonists the trustees were sensibly alive. They also hoped to accomplish much in civilizing and christianizing the Indian nations. With the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts" they were in happy accord. Several of their number were distinguished clergymen of the Church of England. Of one, the Rev. Dr. John Burton, it was said he was a man of acknowledged talents and of most amiable and winning virtues. Another, the Rev. Dr. Richard Bundy, was prebend of Westminster and chaplain in ordinary to the king. A third, the Rev. Arthur Bedford, was chaplain to the Prince of Wales, and the author of several interesting and valuable works. A fourth, the

Rev. Samuel Smith, LL. B., was rector of All Hallows on the Wall. A fifth, the Rev. Dr. Stephen Hales, was equally renowned as a naturalist and as a divine. "Perhaps," says Dr. Aiken, "the records of biography can produce no character more marked by the union of blamelessness with active benevolence." A sixth was the Rev. Thomas Rundle, prebendary of Durham, and afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Derry; while the seventh, the Rev. Thomas Wilson, was the senior prebendary of Westminster. The associates of these gentlemen in the Board of Trustees were prominent in station and of acknowledged virtue. Let their names be perpetuated in honor: John, Lord Percival, first president of the trustees and first Earl of Egmont; Edward, the sixth Baron Digby; George, Lord Carpenter; James Oglethorpe, M. P.; George Heathcote, M. P.; Thomas Tower, M. P.; Robert Moore, M. P.; Robert Hucks, M. P.; Roger Holland, M. P.; William Sloper, M. P.; Sir Francis Eyles, Bart., M. P.; John Laroche, M. P.; James Vernon, Esqr., a commissioner of excise; William Belitha; Adam Anderson, the author of a clever work upon Trade and Commerce; Captain Thomas Coram, the special patron of the Foundling Hospital and always busied with schemes of charity and of public utility; James Stanley, tenth Earl of Derby; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, grandson of the first earl of that name; John, Lord Tyrconnel; James, Lord Limeric; James, Lord D'Arcy; Richard Chandler, Esqr.; Thomas Frederick, M. P.; Henry L'Apostre, Esqr.; Sir William Heathcote, Bart., M. P.; John White, Esqr.; Robert Kendall, Esqr., alderman of London; John Page, M. P.; William Hanbury, Esqr.; Christopher Tower, M. P.; Sir Erasmus Phillips, Bart., M. P.; Sir John Gonson, Knight; George Tyrer, Esqr., alderman of Liverpool; William, Lord Talbot, afterwards Earl Talbot and Baron Dynevor; Richard Coope, Esqr.; William Wollaston, Esqr., M. P.; Robert Eyre, Esqr.; Thomas Archer, Esqr., M. P., elevated to the peerage in 1747 as Baron Archer of Umberslade; Hon. Henry Archer, M. P.; Robert Tracy, Esqr., M. P.; Francis Wollaston, Esqr.; Sir Robert Cater, Knight, alderman and sheriff of London; Sir Jacob de Bouverie, Bart., elevated to the peerage as Lord Longford, Baron of Longford and Viscount of Falkestone; Sir Harry Gough, Bart., M. P.; Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart., M. P., one of the commissioners of the Navy; Lord Sidney Beauclerk, M. P., one of his majesty's Privy Council; Henry, Earl Bath-

urst, afterwards Baron Apsley and Lord Chancellor of England; Hon. Philip Percival; Sir John Frederick, Bart., M. P.; Hon. Alexander Hume Campbell, M. P., Solicitor-General to the Prince of Wales and Lord Registrar of Scotland; Sir John Barrington, Bart., M. P.; Samuel Tufnell, Esqr., M. P.; Sir Henry Calthorpe, K. B., M. P.; Sir John Philipps, Bart., M. P., one of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; Velters Cornewall, Esqr., M. P., "a steady patriot, whom no promises, rewards, titles or expectations could seduce from the true interests of his country;" John Wright, Esqr.; Francis Cokayne, Esqr., Lord Mayor of London; Samuel Lloyd, Esqr., a prominent silk merchant; Second Earl of Egmont, one of the postmasters-general, first Lord of the Admiralty, and, when sworn as a member of the Privy Council, enrolled in the English peerage as Lord Lovel and Holland; Anthony Ewer, Esqr.; Edward Hooper, Esqr., M. P., a commissioner of customs; the Right Hon. Sir John Cust, Bart., M. P., afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons and a member of his majesty's Privy Council; the Right Hon. Slingsby Bethel, M. P., alderman and Lord Mayor of London; Right Hon. Stephen Theodore Jansen, M. P., Lord Mayor of London; and Richard Cavendish, M. P., one of his majesty's commissioners of customs.[1]

At their suggestion many rectors and vestrymen in the United Kingdom interested themselves in obtaining subscriptions of money in aid of the charity and in procuring donations of bibles, prayer-books, and other religious works for the edification and instruction of the colonists. Moreover, funds were raised to pay the fixed salaries of the clergymen and missionaries sent over to minister in spiritual things to the settlers, and to assist in the erection of religious temples at the prominent points of colonization. Glebe lands also were set aside for the use of parish churches and for the sustentation of the clergy in charge. All Protestant denominations participated. Papists only were excluded from the benefits of the benevolent design. The Rev. Dr. Herbert, who volunteered his services, accompanied the first embarkation and comforted the emigrants as they pitched their tents beneath the tall pines on Yamacraw Bluff. The vessel which bore them was richly freighted with bibles, testaments, common prayer-books, psalters, catechisms, and other religious

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. appendix. New York. MDCCCXLVII. MS. Minutes of the Trustees.

works. Comfortable provision was made for the support of the missionary and the dissemination of spiritual reading. He was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Quincy, who for more than two years was the only clergyman at Savannah. Then came the brothers Wesley, of whose labors, trials, and disappointments we have already spoken. The Rev. Benjamin Ingham and Delamotte were their assistants, but their labors for the conversion of the Indians, the instruction of the children of the province, and the guidance of its inhabitants in the paths of righteousness were not crowned with flattering success. At Darien the Rev. John McLeod led the Highlanders most acceptably in prayer, and guarded the ark of the covenant amid the solemn cypress groves of the Alatamaha.

Responding to the invitation of the Rev. John Wesley, and accepting the offers of the trustees, the Rev. George Whitefield lifted his eloquent voice in behalf of the moral, intellectual, and spiritual education of the Georgia colonists, and expended some of the best energies of his noble life in founding and maintaining the orphan house at Bethesda. And there too was James Habersham who, amid his engagements as teacher, secretary, legislator, and merchant, exhibited the crowning virtues of a Christian and contributed the valuable services of a catechist and reader.

Recommended by the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of London, and bearing the blessings of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the Rev. William Norris for some time discharged the duties of missionary at Savannah and Frederica. During his ministry he is said to have baptized one hundred and forty-two persons, of whom seventy-one were soldiers. He left Georgia under a cloud, and was followed by the Rev. Christopher Orton, who in August, 1742, died at Savannah when his ministrations were little more than fairly commenced.

The next clerical appointment was unfortunate. On the 4th of July, 1743, the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth was commissioned to perform all religious and ecclesiastical offices in Georgia. At Frederica he officiated as chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, but marrying the Indian woman Mary Matthews soon became involved in schemes for personal aggrandizement and the accumulation of property which seriously impaired the tranquillity of the province and necessitated his recall.

The Rev. Bartholomew Zouberbuhler was sent over in his place. Although a native of St. Gall in Switzerland, at an early

age he accompanied his father to Carolina and acquired a good education in Charlestown. Visiting England he was ordained as a deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. His ability to speak the French and German languages recommended him to the trustees, who had been recently memorialized by the inhabitants of Vernonsburg and the adjacent villages to furnish them with a minister of Calvinistic principles. They had suggested the employment of the Rev. John Joachim Zubly, of St. Gall, as a suitable religious teacher, but as proper terms could not be agreed upon the trustees substituted Mr. Zouberbuhler in his stead. Although he spoke English rather imperfectly, the labors of this parson were generally acceptable. Out of the six hundred and thirteen inhabitants which Savannah contained in 1748, three hundred and eighty-eight are said to have been Dissenters. After preaching and teaching diligently for three years he returned to England "with ample testimonials to his good behavior." At the close of 1749 he was again in Georgia where, with great zeal, he resumed his labors. The church edifice in Savannah, which was commenced on the 11th of June, 1740, was not completed until the 7th of July, 1750. The day of its dedication was the anniversary of the establishment of the first court in Savannah seventeen years before, and also of the defeat of the Spaniards by General Oglethorpe when they attempted to capture the island of St. Simon. Although this sacred structure has been supplanted by another of stronger materials and more august proportions, the lot upon which Christ Church in Savannah now stands was the earliest dedication to ecclesiastical uses made within the confines of the province of Georgia. The blessings of nearly a century and a half rest upon it, and five generations of worshipers have here learned the way to heaven.

In 1750 the gentlemen of Augusta built "a handsome and convenient church" opposite one of the curtains of the fort and so near that its guns afforded ample protection. This was the furthest point the Church of England had thus far advanced into the Indian territory. In order to attract a minister, the inhabitants of this town promised to erect a parsonage, cultivate the glebe lands, and contribute £20 a year toward his maintenance. The Rev. Jonathan Copp, a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale College, having in December, 1750, been ordained in England as a deacon and priest by Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, came to Augusta the following year and there entered upon

his ministry. His congregation numbered nearly one hundred. Among them were eight communicants. The parsonage, however, had not been erected, the glebe lands were uncultivated, and the hope of receiving prompt payment of the stipend of £20 appeared uncertain. "Separated from any brother clergyman by one hundred and thirty miles of wilderness," on the frontier of civilization, in proximity to the Indian territory and daily liable to the merciless attacks of savages, "with but little to cheer and much to discourage, with small emolument and arduous labour," he here continued as a missionary until 1756, when he accepted a call to the rectorship of St. John's parish in South Carolina.

With the virtuous and religious lives of the German Lutherans at Ebenezer, with the erection of their churches, *Jerusalem* and *Zion*, and with the ministrations of their devoted pastors, Martin Bolzius, Israel Christian Gronau, and H. H. Lembke, we are already somewhat familiar. The Salzburg church at St. Simon's, organized in 1743 and possessing a membership of some sixty individuals, was under the pastorate of the Rev. John Ulrick Driesler, and continued to exist until General Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded. The death of its spiritual head and the dispersion of the congregation terminated its feeble existence.

Short was the sojourn of the Moravians in Georgia, and yet the recollection of their quiet, industrious, and pious lives is pleasant, and they have linked with the religious history of the colony under the trustees the names of Count Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, Nitschman, Boehler, Mack, Layshart, Hayger, and Zeisberger. To the teachings of the Rev. Peter Boehler did Mr. John Wesley attribute his conversion, and more Indian children were instructed in the little school-house at Irene, builded and supported by the Moravians, during the few years of its existence, than at all other places in the colony combined. The United Brethren did not tarry long enough in Georgia to create anything like a lasting impression upon the temper and institutions of the province.

Although the Israelites in Savannah obtained a room which they fitted up and used as a synagogue, their numbers, during the period when the trustees governed the colony, were too few to justify the erection of a temple.

With the exception of the Lutheran and Moravian settlements, the Georgia communities up to this time had not been remarka-

ble either for their religious devotion or subserviency to pastoral rule. The trustees, however, had done what they could to sustain the worship of Almighty God, and to enjoin upon the colonists an observance of the rules of morality and religion.[1]

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. book second, chapter 10. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TRUSTEES SURRENDER THEIR CHARTER AND GEORGIA PASSES INTO THE HANDS OF THE CROWN. — DEED OF SURRENDER. — SERVANTS OF THE TRUSTEES CONTINUED IN OFFICE PENDING THE ERECTION OF A ROYAL GOVERNMENT. — PATRICK GRAHAM SUCCEEDS MR. PARKER AS PRESIDENT. — POPULATION AND CONDITION OF GEORGIA IN 1753. — ROYAL PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CIVIL GOVERNMENT. — CAPTAIN JOHN REYNOLDS APPOINTED AS FIRST ROYAL GOVERNOR. — HIS POWERS AND DUTIES. — PUBLIC SEAL. — GEORGIA DURING THE INTERREGNUM. — THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR. — THE COUNCIL. — QUALIFICATIONS OF ELECTORS AND OF REPRESENTATIVES. — THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — THE COURTS. — THE CHIEF JUSTICE AND ASSOCIATE JUSTICES. — THE PROVOST MARSHAL, ETC., ETC.

ALTHOUGH the charter granted by his majesty King George II. to the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America did not, by its terms, expire until the 9th of June, 1753, persuaded that the proper administration of the affairs of the province and the defrayal of the expenses connected with the suitable maintenance of the civil and military establishments were beyond their capabilities, the common council, on the 25th of April, 1751, appointed a committee, with the Earl of Shaftesbury as its chairman, to adjust with the general government "proper means for supporting and settling the Colony for the future, and to take from time to time all such measures as they should find necessary for its well being." That committee was also empowered to frame, affix the seal of the corporation, and present to the Privy Council such representations or memorials as they might deem appropriate to carry into effect the intentions of the trustees. Acting under these instructions a memorial was prepared and submitted. Informed that the Lords of the Privy Council had appointed Thursday evening, the 19th of December, 1751, to consider the trustees' memorial to his majesty, and certain reports thereon emanating from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the committee convened on the 14th of December and empowered the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Tracy, Mr. Frederick, and Mr. Lloyd

to attend and, in case they should be called upon by the Lords of the Council, to deliver in the name of the trustees the following communication: —

"*To the Right Honorable the Lords of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council.*

"The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, who are ready for the service of the Crown to surrender their Trust for granting the Lands in the said Colony, think it their indispensable duty to offer the following considerations to your Lordships on behalf of the People settled there.

"That the Colony of Georgia be confirmed a separate and independent Province as it is expressly declared in his Majesty's Charter it shall be, in confidence of which the Inhabitants, both British and Foreign, have gone thither, and as the Assembly of the Province of Georgia have petitioned for in a representation to the Trustees dated January the 15th, 1750.

"That the Inhabitants of the Colony be confirmed in their titles and possessions which have been granted to them under the Charter.

"That the arrears of Quit Rents, due at this time, be remitted, since most of the Inhabitants have been prevented, by the war and the various obstacles that always occur at the first settling of a Colony, from cultivating so much of their Lands as it might be expected they would have done, and that the Quit Rents for the future be reduced from four to two shillings for each hundred acres, this last sum being as much as is usually reserved in any of his Majesty's Provinces in America.

"That as there will be occasion for a Secretary or Agent in England to transact the affairs of the Province here, and to carry on the Correspondence with the Government in Georgia, and as the Trustees' Secretary, Mr. Martyn, has served them ably and faithfully in that capacity from the very date of the Charter, and is much better acquainted with the State of the Colony than any other person residing in England, and as the Trustees have the greatest reason to believe it will be very agreeable and encouraging to the People there, they humbly desire your Lordships will be the means of recommending him to his Majesty for the said employment, with such an appointment as may be thought proper."

On the 19th of December the committee did attend upon the Lords of the Privy Council and, being by them called in, were informed that the lords had read the memorial of the trustees

to his majesty and the reports thereon from the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and that they observed in the report from the Lords Commissioners for Trade that the trustees who waited upon them had stated that if, for the service of the Crown, it would be expected they should surrender their trust for granting lands in the colony, they would have some conditions to offer to his majesty's council in behalf of the people settled there. The Lords of the Council therefore desired to ascertain from the committee if the trustees were then prepared to lay those conditions before them. The committee responded that they were, and in the name of the trustees presented the document prepared on the 14th. This done, the committee withdrew; and, after some time, having been called in again, they were informed "that the Lords of the Council could not advise his Majesty to recommend to Parliament the granting any sum of money to the Corporation of the Trustees unless they were desirous of making an absolute surrender of their Charter." If such was the pleasure of the trustees, the committee was requested to state in what manner they proposed to make such surrender. Thereupon the committee again withdrew; and, after considering the present condition of the colony, "and the total inability of the Trustees to defray the expences of the Civil Government from Lady Day 1751, to furnish the Troops stationed in Georgia with provisions, or to give any encouragements to the production of Raw Silk without a further supply," immediately drew up and severally signed the following: —

"We, whose names are here underwritten, being a Committee appointed by the Common Council of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, and being fully authorized by them, do hereby signify that we are ready and willing to make an absolute surrender of all the powers, rights, and trusts vested in the said Trustees by his Majesty's Royal Charter bearing date the 9th day of June 1732, without any condition or limitation, humbly recommending the Rights and Privileges of the Inhabitants of the said Colony to his Majesty's most gracious protection.

SHAFTESBURY.
ROBT. TRACY.
JOHN FREDERICK.
SAML. LLOYD.
EDWARD HOOPER."

December 19*th*, 1751.

Upon being called in, the committee presented this paper, and

then withdrew to await the action of the Privy Council. In a little while they were informed by Mr. Sharpe, the clerk of the council, that he was instructed by their lordships to acquaint them with the fact that they "had referred the said paper to the Attorney and Solicitor General to consider thereof and report to their Lordships in what manner the same might be most effectually carried into execution."

On the 8th of January, 1752, the Earl of Shaftesbury made full report to the trustees of all that had transpired, whereupon it was resolved "That the Trustees do concur with and approve of all the several steps taken by the Committee, and do in a particular manner approve of, ratify, and confirm, as the Act of the Trustees, the paper respectively signed by the five Members of the Committee December the 19th, and by them delivered to the Lords of the Council:

"Resolved that the thanks of the Trustees be given to the said Committee for their conduct in general, and in particular for their care in recommending the rights and privileges of the Inhabitants of the Colony to his Majesty's protection:

"Resolved that it be referred to the said Committee to consider what papers may be necessary on behalf of the Inhabitants of Georgia to lay before the Attorney and Solicitor General when they take the reference from the Lords of the Council into consideration, and to order the same to be laid before them:

"Resolved that the said Committee be empowered to take all such further measures as they shall judge necessary in order to perfect the Surrender of the Trust, in confidence that his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the Colony of Georgia will suffer no diminution in their rights and possessions by the Trustees' delivering into his Majesty's hands the Trust which they received from his Majesty on behalf of and for the benefit of his said subjects." [1]

Acting upon the reference from the Lords of the Privy Council, the attorney and solicitor general on the 6th of February returned the following report: —

"*To the Right Hon^ble^ the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs.*

"May it please your Lordships.

"In obedience to your Lordships' Order of the 19th of December last, setting forth that his Majesty was pleased, by his Order in Council of the 13th May last, to refer unto your Lordships the

[1] *Journal of the Trustees*, 1745–1752, pp. 177–183.

Memorial of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America setting forth that his Majesty was pleased by his Royal Charter, dated the 9th of June 1732, to make, erect, and create the Colony of Georgia, and to constitute the Memorialists to be one Body politick and corporate for establishing the said Colony, and to grant them power to elect their own Successors forever, and also to vest in them and their successors forever seven undivided parts of all the lands therein particularly described as Trustees for granting the same to such of his Majesty's indigent subjects and persecuted Foreign Subjects as should desire to inhabit and reside there: And powers of government over the said Colony were thereby vested in them for the term of twenty-one years: and further setting forth (amongst other things) the several steps theyve taken from time to time for the peopling, settling, and establishing the said Colony, together with the present state and condition thereof: But as the said term of government will expire so soon as the 9th of June 1753, (tho' the power of granting lands is vested in them forever) they humbly pray that proper means may be soon provided for putting the government of the Colony on a more sure foundation than it is at present thro' the uncertainty of the Memorialists' being enabled to support it, least so great a misfortune should happen as the immediate desertion and loss of this important Colony: And that your Lordships had that day proceeded to take the said Memorial into your consideration, and being informed that a Committee of the said Trustees was attending and had some proposals to offer to your Lordships in addition to the foregoing Memorial, they were called in and the following Proposal was delivered by them to your Lordships: viz: 'We, whose names are hereunder written, being a Committee appointed by the Common Council of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, and fully authorized by them to do, hereby signify that we are ready and willing to make an absolute surrender of all the powers, rights, and trusts vested in the said Trustees by his Majesty's Charter bearing date the 9th of June 1732 without any conditions or limitations, humbly recommending the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of the said Colony to his Majesty's most gracious protection.

SHAFTESBURY.
ROB^{T} TRACY.
JOHN FREDERICK.
SAM LLOYD.
EDW^{D} HOOPER.'"

December, 1751.

"Which being taken into consideration, your Lordships were thereby pleased to refer the said proposal to us to consider thereof, and report to your Lordships in what manner the same may be most effectually carried into execution.

"We have considered the said Proposal, and perused the said Charter of the 9th June, 1732, and the Grant from Lord Carteret of the same year, and find that by the Charter the Colony of Georgia was made a separate Province to be governed by its own laws, and not by the Law or Government of South Carolina; That the Memorialists were thereby made a Corporate Body with perpetual succession, and that seven eighths of the lands there were granted to them for ever, to be held by the Crown at the rents therein mentioned, with power for them by their Common Council named and to be named according to the directions of the Charter, under their Common Seal, to distribute and convey portions of such lands to such subjects, national born or denizens, or others that shall be willing to become subjects, on such terms and for such estates and on such conditions as the same can be lawfully granted and as to the Common Council shall seem fit: And that for the term of twenty one years the Memorialists should have power of making such laws and appointing Governors and Officers as they judge proper. We find also, by the Lord Carteret's said Grant, his one eighth of the lands was vested in the same Trustees on the same trusts.

"In consequence of those Grants we are humbly of opinion that the Memorialists have sufficient power to make such Surrender and Grant as is proposed.

"The proper method of doing this will be, as we humbly conceive, for the Trustees, with the privity and by direction of the Common Council, to execute a Deed of Surrender to his Majesty of their said Charter and of all the powers, jurisdictions, franchises, and privileges therein conveyed to them, and thereby to grant all their lands and territories to his Majesty: as well the one eighth derived from Lord Carteret's Grant as the seven eighths included in his Majesty's said Charter, but subject to such Estates and Interests as the Inhabitants there have in any of the lands by virtue of Grants from the Corporation.

When such Grant and Surrender shall be made, we humbly conceive his Majesty will have both the Government of the Colony in his own hands and the lands and territories thereto belonging, subject to the Grants of any part thereof now subsisting: and as to the said one eighth, subject to the Quit Rents reserved in the Lord Carteret's Grant: and may put the gov-

ernment thereof on such a foot as his Majesty shall in his great wisdom think proper.

"All which is humbly submitted to your Lordships' great wisdom. D. RYDER.

6th February, 1752.[1] W. MURRAY."

A question having arisen as to the best method, after acceptance of the surrender of the charter, of empowering the colonial officers and magistrates appointed by the trustees to retain their positions and discharge the duties appertaining to them respectively until a royal government could be regularly erected in the province and new officers commissioned, the matter was referred to the attorney and solicitor general for suggestion. They returned the following report: —

"*To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.*

"May it please your Lordships.

"In pursuance of your Lordships' desire, signified to us in M^r^. Hill's letter of the 17th inst., setting forth that the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs had referred to your Lordships a Memorial of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, with directions to propose a Draught of what your Lordships should think most advisable to be done in order to obviate the difficulties therein suggested, a copy of which Memorial your Lordships had directed to be inclosed for our opinion in what manner the present Magistrates and other Officers appointed by the Trustees for the administration of justice and execution of government can, upon the surrender of the Charter, be impowered to act in their respective employments till a new administration of Government shall be settled;

"We have taken the said Memorial into consideration, and are of opinion that if the surrender of the Charter by the Trustees cannot be postponed and the present government there kept up till a new method of administrating the government can be settled (which seems most advisable), the properest way for authorizing the present Magistrates and Officers to continue in the exercise of their respective offices in the mean time will be for his Majesty to issue a Proclamation for that purpose under the great seal of Great Britain to be published in Georgia.

"All which is submitted to your Lordships' consideration.

D. RYDER,

25 *Feb^y^*, 1752. W. MURRAY."[2]

[1] *Marquis of Lansdowne's Collection.* Reports. America. Vol. lxi.

[2] *Marquis of Lansdowne's Collection.* Reports. America. Vol. lxi.

His majesty having agreed to accept a surrender at the hands of the trustees upon the terms suggested, instructions were issued for the preparation of a deed of grant and surrender to be executed in duplicate, one by his majesty, and its counterpart by the trustees. At a meeting held on the 21st of March, 1752, the common council resolved "that the Trustees or any three or more of them be empowered and directed to affix the seal of the Corporation to such Deed of Surrender and Grant of the Trust, and likewise the Grant to his Majesty of the one eighth part of the Lands and Territories lying within the limits described in the Charter, which had been granted and sold to the Trustees by the Right Honorable John, Lord Carteret, as should be prepared by his Majesty's Attorney General."

This proposition for surrender having been thus made and accepted, on the 29th of February the trustees notified the "Secretary at War" that as they were about to surrender their trust into the hands of his majesty, the expenses of the scout-boat in Georgia, and provisions for the detachments of troops stationed in the province could not be borne by them beyond the coming midsummer. They also obtained from Parliament a grant of £4,000 with which to discharge all the outstanding liabilities of the trust. The Lords Justices and the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations were furnished with a memorial and representation exhibiting the manner in which the trust had been discharged, the present state of the colony, the character and amount of its products, the necessity for extending suitable encouragement to silk culture, and the propriety of giving early and satisfactory assurances to the colonists that they would be assisted in this regard.

The last meeting of the trustees was held on the 23d of June, 1752. The secretary then produced the "counterpart of an Indenture expressing and declaring the said Surrender and Grant, which Indenture he had received from William Sharpe Esqr. by order of the Lords of the Committee of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council for Plantation Affairs, and which, when sealed, is to be exchanged with a counterpart under the Great Seal, signifying his Majesty's acceptance of the said Surrender and Grant."

This deed of surrender is a lengthy and carefully prepared document, containing many introductory recitations, in which a history of the creation, nature, and powers of the trust, and also of the acquisition of all lands within the territorial limits of the

province, is fully given. We present only such portion of this important paper as refers to the cession of the property, rights, and franchises held by the trustees.

"Now this Indenture witnesseth that the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America for themselves and their successors have for the considerations and motives aforesaid, and for divers other good considerations them thereunto moving, granted, surrendered, and yielded up, and by these presents do for themselves and their successors grant, surrender, and yield up unto his said most Excellent Majesty, his heirs and successors, the said recited Letters Patent, and their said Corporation, and all right, title, and authority to be or continue a Corporate Body, and all the Powers of Government, and all other Powers, Jurisdictions, Franchises, Preheminences and Privileges therein and thereby granted or conveyed to them: and have granted and do hereby grant unto his said Majesty, his heirs and successors, all the said lands, Countrys, Territorys and Premises, as well the said one eighth part thereof granted, meant, or intended to be granted by the said John, Lord Carteret, to them as aforesaid, as also the said seven eighths parts thereof granted, meant, or intended to be granted as aforesaid in and by his said Majesty's Letters Patent or Charter above recited, together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulphs and bays, mines, as well Royall mines of Gold and Silver as other minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, as well Royall Fishings of Whale and Sturgeon, as other fishings, Pearles, Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Franchises, Privileges and Preheminences, with the said Territories and the Precincts thereof and thereunto in any sort belonging or appertaining, and all other the Premises, and all rents, reversions, remainders, and other profits reserved, due, or payable, or which may happen upon or by virtue of any demise or grant heretofore made of the premises or any part thereof, and all their estates, rights, title, interest, claim or demand whatsoever of or to the said premises and every part thereof: To Have and to Hold all and singular the premises to his said Majesty, his heirs and successors, to the use of his said Majesty his heirs and successors, subject nevertheless, and without prejudice to, all such grants, leases, contracts, estates and interests in law or equity as have been heretofore lawfully made or granted by the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, or by any acting in authority under them in America, and which are now subsisting according

to the said Letters Patent, which said surrender and grant his said most excellent Majesty hath accepted, and by these presents for himself, his heirs and successors doth accept. In witness whereof to one part of this Indenture remaining with the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America his said most excellent Majesty has caused his Great Seal to be affixed, and to the other part thereof, remaining with his said Majesty, the said Trustees and with the privity and by direction of the Common Council of the Corporation have caused their common seal to be affixed," etc.

This deed of surrender, having been read and considered, was approved of by the trustees, and the seal of the corporation was affixed to it on the 23d of June, 1752. The seal was thereupon defaced, and the trustees ceased to exist as a body corporate.

The history of Georgia, as the ward of the trustees, is ended. Henceforward, and until clothed with the attributes of state sovereignty by the successful results of the American Revolution, she will be recognized as one of the daughters of the Crown, under the special charge of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. By the terms of the surrender her integrity as an independent province, separate from South Carolina, was fully assured, and all grants of land hitherto made to the inhabitants were recognized and protected.

Early in July, 1752, the lords justices, with the advice of the Privy Council, issued a proclamation to the effect that until his majesty in his royal wisdom should see fit to establish another form and order of government for Georgia all officers of that colony, both civil and military, holding appointments from the trustees, should continue in their respective places of trust and receive such emoluments, salaries, and fees as had been incident thereto respectively. Such officers were admonished to be diligent and faithful in the discharge of their duties, and it was enjoined upon the inhabitants of the province to render them every obedience and assistance.

Benjamin Martyn was appointed agent of the colony, in England.

Upon the death of Mr. Parker, Patrick Graham succeeded to the presidency of Georgia. His assistants were James Habersham, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson, and Francis Harris. In a letter from these gentlemen to the Board of Trade, dated Savannah in Georgia, April 11, 1753, we are informed that the

population of Georgia, by recent count, consisted of two thousand three hundred and eighty-one whites and one thousand and sixty-six blacks. This estimate did not include his majesty's troops and boatmen then in the colony, or a congregation of two hundred and eighty whites, with negro slaves aggregating five hundred and thirty-six, coming from South Carolina and partially located in the Midway settlement, or Butler's colony with sixty slaves. Six vessels were reported as then lying at the wharves in Savannah loading for London and American ports. Joseph Ottolenghe who, in Italy, had acquired a knowledge of the best method of conducting filatures, was about to succeed Mr. Pickering Robinson in charge of the silk culture. Remittances were requested in support of this industry, and also in aid of the friendly Indians who were craving additional presents.

On the 5th of March, 1754, the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations submitted the following plan for establishing a civil government in his majesty's colony of Georgia: —

"That of the different Constitutions now subsisting in his Majesty's Dominions in America that form of Government established by the Crown in such of the Colonies as are more immediately subject to its direction and government appears to us the most proper form of Government for the Province of Georgia.

"We should therefore propose that a Governor should be appointed by Commission under the Great Seal in like manner as the Governors of his Majesty's other Colonies and Plantations are appointed, with powers and directions to call an Assembly to pass laws, to erect Courts of Judicature, to grant lands, and to do all other necessary and proper things in such manner and under such regulations as shall, upon due consideration, appear to be the best adapted to the present circumstances of the Colony: all which matters as well as every other regulation necessary to be made for the better ordering and governing the Colony conformable to the plan proposed, will come under consideration when we shall receive his Majesty's directions to prepare instructions for the Governor, &c.

"We would likewise propose that twelve persons should be appointed by His Majesty to be his Council of the said Colony, with the same powers, authorities, and privileges as are given to or enjoyed by the Council of his Majesty's other Colonies.

"That the Governor be appointed Vice-Admiral of the said Colony, with the same powers and authorities as are usually given to the Governors of other his Majesty's Colonies, and that

he, together with such other Officers as shall be thought proper to be appointed, do constitute a Court of Admiralty for the regulation of matters subject to the Admiralty jurisdiction.

"That proper officers be appointed for the better collecting and regulating his Majesty's Customs and Duties, and for other matters, subject to the Jurisdiction of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury and the Commissioners of the Customs.

"That for matters relative to his Majesty's revenue of Quit Rents and Grants of Land, there be appointed a Register and Receiver of Quit Rents, and a Surveyor of Lands.

"That a Secretary be appointed for the transaction of all affairs usually belonging to the Office of Secretary in the other Colonies, such as registering of Deeds and keeping the Public Records, and who may likewise act as Clerk of the Council.

"It will also be necessary that a Provost Marshal should be appointed to execute the office of Sheriff until the Province is divided into Counties. And we would further propose that an Attorney General should be appointed to assist the Governor and Council in matters of Law which may come before them in their Judicial capacity.

"These are all the establishments which appear to us necessary to be immediately made, the charge whereof, including an allowance heretofore usually given by the Trustees to a Minister and two Schoolmasters, the contingent charges of government, and the bounty upon the culture and produce of Silk will, at a moderate computation, amount to about three thousand pounds per annum during the infancy of the Colony and until it shall be in a condition to bear the expence of its own establishment."

This plan was approved, and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations were directed to nominate to his majesty such person for the office of governor of the province as they should deem well qualified for the trust. They were also instructed to inform themselves as to their characters and capabilities, and to recommend proper persons tc compose the provincial council and to fill the other offices created.

Sanctioning their nominations, his majesty was pleased, on the 6th of August, 1754, to appoint Captain John Reynolds governor of the province of Georgia, William Clifton, Esq., attorney-general, James Habersham, Esq., secretary and register of the records, Alexander Kellet, Esq., provost marshal, and William Russell, Esq., naval officer.

Mr. Henry Yonge and Mr. William DeBrahm were commis-

sioned as "Joint Surveyors of Land in Georgia," at a salary each of £50 per annum, and Sir Patrick Houstoun, Bart., was selected as register of grants and receiver of quit rents, with like salary. Patrick Graham, Sir Patrick Houstoun, Bart., James Habersham, Alexander Kellet, William Clifton, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson, Francis Harris, Jonathan Bryan, and William Russell were confirmed as members of council. To their number Clement Martin was subsequently added.

The device submitted by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations for a public seal for the colony was, on the 21st of June, 1754, approved by his majesty, and the chief engraver of seals was ordered forthwith to engrave one of silver for the use of the province. It was to be of equal size with those sent to North and South Carolina. The design was as follows: On one face was a figure representing the Genius of the colony offering a skein of silk to his majesty, with the motto "Hinc laudem sperate Coloni," and this inscription around the circumference, "Sigillum Provinciæ nostræ Georgiæ in America." On the other side appeared his majesty's arms, crown, garter, supporters, and motto, with the inscription "Georgius II., Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvici et Luneburgi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurarius et Princeps Elector."

From the time of the surrender of the charter until the arrival of Governor Reynolds in Georgia the government of the province was administered, according to the plan inaugurated by the trustees, by a president and four assistants who received their instructions from and made report to the Lords Justices and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

And here, before entering upon the history of Governor Reynolds' administration, it is appropriate that we should note the powers conferred upon the royal governor, the composition and functions of the General Assembly, the constitution of the courts, and some other regulations ordained for the conduct of the colony as a province under the immediate government of the Crown.

The official title of Governor Reynolds was *Captain-General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province of Georgia, and Vice-Admiral of the same.* He was addressed as *Your Excellency*, and was, within the colony, the immediate and highest representative of his majesty, enjoying prerogatives which, within a limited jurisdiction and in a modified degree, savored of royalty. As captain-general he commanded all land and naval forces

appertaining to the province, and appointed all officers of the militia.

As governor in chief he was one of the constituent parts of the General Assembly, possessing the sole power of convening, adjourning, proroguing, and dissolving that body. It rested with him to approve or to veto any bill passed by the council and the assembly. All officers who did not receive their warrants directly from the Crown were appointed by him; and if vacancies occurred, by death or removal, in offices usually filled by the immediate nomination of his majesty, the appointees of the governor acted until the pleasure of the home government was promulgated. Until superseded, they received the profits and emoluments appertaining to the stations they were called upon respectively to fill. He was custodian of the great seal, and, as chancellor, exercised within the province powers of judicature similar to those reposed in the High Chancellor of England. He presided in the court of errors, composed of himself and the members of council as judges, hearing and determining all appeals from the superior courts. As ordinary, he collated to all vacant benefices, granted probate of wills, and allowed administration upon the estates of those dying intestate. By him were writs issued for the election of representatives to sit in the Commons House of Assembly. As vice-admiral, while he did not sit in the court of vice-admiralty, — a judge for that court being usually appointed from England, — in time of war he issued warrants to that court empowering it to grant commissions to privateers. With him reposed a power to pardon all crimes save treason and murder. It was optional with him to select as his residence such locality within the limits of the province as he regarded most convenient for the transaction of the public business, and he might direct the assembling of the General Assembly at that point. He was invested with authority, for just cause, to suspend any member of council; and, in a word, to "do all other necessary and proper things in such manner and under such regulations as should, upon due consideration, appear to be best adapted to the circumstances of the Colony."

The king's council consisted of twelve members in ordinary, and of two extraordinary members appointed by the Crown to hold office during his majesty's pleasure. When, by reason of death or absence, the number of councilors in the province was less than seven, the governor was authorized to fill all vacancies up to that number until the king's pleasure could be signi-

fied. Should the governor be dead, or absent from Georgia, the administration of affairs devolved upon the lieutenant-governor, who was styled *His Honor*, and who, while executing the government, was entitled to half the salary and fees enjoyed by the governor. When the governor was present the lieutenant-governor was entitled neither to salary nor to perquisite. If both the governor and the lieutenant-governor were dead or absent, the senior member of the council in ordinary administered the government, receiving the same compensation as that allowed to the lieutenant-governor when acting in the place of the governor. The two extraordinary members of council, who were the surveyor-general of the customs and the superintendent-general of Indian affairs, were not allowed to preside in the absence of the governor and lieutenant-governor.

When sitting as one of the three branches of the legislature, the council was styled the Upper House of Assembly. It also acted as privy council to the governor, assisting him with advice in conducting the government. As an upper house of assembly, or as a privy council, five members constituted a quorum, if there were so many present. Three, however, on an emergency, were sufficient for the transaction of business. As a council they convened whenever the governor saw fit to summon them. On such occasions the governor presided and suggested matters for consideration and advice.

When sitting as an upper house the members of council met at the same time that the Commons House of Assembly was convened, was presided over by the lieutenant-governor (if he was of the council and present), or, in his absence, by the senior member present, and observed forms of procedure similar to those used in the House of Lords in Great Britain, with the exception that no member had the right to make a proxy, and no adjournment during the session could be authorized for a longer period than from Saturday to Monday.

The qualification of an elector was the ownership of fifty acres of land in the parish or district where he resided and voted; that of a representative was the proprietorship of five hundred acres of land in any part of the province. Writs of election were issued by order of the governor in council, under the great seal of the province, were tested by him, and were returnable in forty days. The representatives, when convened, were called the Commons House of Assembly. Choosing their own speaker, who was presented to the governor for his approbation, this body, com-

posed of the immediate representatives of the people, and conforming in its legislative and deliberative conduct to the precedents established for the governance of the English House of Commons, continued its session until dissolved by the governor. Its adjournments were *de die in diem*, except when Sunday intervened. The representatives selected their own messenger and doorkeeper, but their clerk was appointed by the governor. This Commons House of Assembly claimed and enjoyed the exclusive right of originating money bills. The upper and lower houses, as thus constituted, formed the General Assembly of the province, and legislated in its behalf. Journals were regularly kept by each body. All bills having passed both houses were submitted to the governor for his consideration. If approved by him, the seal of the colony was attached and they were duly filed. Authenticated copies were then prepared and transmitted for the information and sanction of the home government.

Provision was made for the establishment in Georgia of a court of record to be known as the *General Court*,[1] to be holden four times a year and to possess the same jurisdiction in the province that the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer exercised in England. Letters-patent were also issued for erecting a "Court of Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery," to be holden twice a year. The civil business was to be transacted in the general court, and the criminal business in the court of oyer and terminer. Grand juries were returned twice a year. As the judges of the two courts were the same, and as a general jail delivery only twice a year was found insufficient in a warm climate where the accused suffered much from close confinement, arrangements were subsequently made to abolish the "Court of Session of Oyer and Terminer," to transfer its business to the general court, and to cause four grand juries to be returned each year. The general court remained stationary at Savannah where its sessions were regularly held.

The presiding judge was styled *Chief Justice of Georgia*. He was a "Barrister at Law," had attended at Westminster, was appointed by warrant under his majesty's sign manual and

[1] For form of letters-patent for establishing this court in the province of Georgia, designating its regular terms to be held on the second Tuesday in January, April, July, and October in each year, appointing Noble Jones and Jonathan Bryan as its justices, and specifying its jurisdiction, see Chief Justice Anthony Stokes' *View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America*, etc., pp. 259–261. London. MDCCLXXXIII.

signet, and enjoyed a salary of £500 sterling, raised by annual grant of Parliament. The assistant justices were three in number. They received no salaries except on the death or in the absence of the chief justice, and were appointed by the governor.

During the king's government there was also a court of vice-admiralty, with a justice appointed by the Crown, to judge of captures at sea and to take cognizance of all maritime causes.

Inferior or justices courts were provided for the trial of minor causes. Where the debt or damages claimed did not exceed forty shillings, there was no appeal. The jurisdiction of courts of conscience was limited to £8. Attorneys at law, who also acted as counsel, were admitted by the general court.

The provost marshal received his appointment from the Crown. His duties were akin to those of the sheriff of a county in England. He was also the returning officer for every district and parish in the province, and was by law empowered to appoint deputies *pro hac vice*, to hold such elections for him.

Before entering upon the duties of his office the governor was required to take the oaths of allegiance, of supremacy, of objurgation, for the due execution of his office, and for the punctual observance of all acts of Parliament. It was also obligatory upon him to make the declaration against transubstantiation.

We conclude this abstract of the political machinery provided for the executive, legislative, and judicial administration of the colony under the auspices of the Crown with the following extract from Chief Justice Stokes' "View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in America,"[1] to which we are largely indebted for the summary just presented: "Georgia continued under the King's Government to be one of the most free and happy countries in the world; justice was regularly and impartially administered; oppression was unknown; the taxes levied on the subject were trifling; and every man that had industry became opulent; the people there were more particularly indebted to the Crown than those in any other Colony; immense sums were expended by Government in settling and protecting that country; troops of rangers were kept up by the Crown for several years; the Civil Government was annually provided for by vote of the House of Commons in Great Britain, and most of the inhabitants owed every foot of land they had to the King's free gift: in short there was scarce a man in the Province that did not lie under particular obligations to the Crown. As a proof of

[1] Page 139. London. MDCCLXXXIII.

the amazing progress that Georgia made I should observe that when Governor Reynolds went to that province in 1754 the exports did not amount to £30,000 a year: but at the breaking out of the Civil War they could not have been much less than £200,000 sterling."

CHAPTER XXIX.

GOVERNOR REYNOLDS' ADMINISTRATION. — REPORT TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS OF THE CONDITION OF THE COLONY. — HARDWICKE SUGGESTED AS THE CAPITAL OF GEORGIA. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GENERAL COURT, THE COURT OF CHANCERY, THE COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER, THE COURT OF ADMIRALTY, MAGISTRATES' COURTS, AND SPECIAL COURTS FOR THE TRIAL OF SLAVES. — CONVOCATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — GOVERNOR REYNOLDS' INAUGURAL ADDRESS, AND RESPONSES OF BOTH HOUSES. — LEGISLATIVE ACTS. — MILITIA AND SLAVE LAWS. — EDMUND GREY. — SURRENDER OF FORMER GRANTS AND SUBSTITUTION OF NEW CONVEYANCES FROM THE CROWN.

OF all the English colonies in North America Georgia alone had been complimented by liberal and constant aid from the public treasury of the mother country. The trustees had undertaken its foundation and development relying mainly upon private contributions to defray the charges of the plantation. Their hope was that the province in a few years would prove not only self-sustaining but also a source of emolument to Great Britain. In this expectation they were disappointed. The charities which, at the outset, flowed in so freely were speedily exhausted, and there were no new benefactions proportioned to the growing needs of the colony. The war with the Spaniards entailed unusual expenses. Silk culture proved unprofitable. Many of the inhabitants, relying upon the arm outstretched for their support, failed to exhibit that industry and to put forth those exertions which were demanded by the situation. For a long time the want of a liberal land tenure and the prohibition maintained against the introduction and use of negro slaves exerted a retarding influence and engendered marked dissatisfaction. Continued applications were made to the general government for assistance, and after an experiment of nearly twenty years, although all restrictions had been removed and every effort within their power had been expended to stimulate enterprise and invite immigration, the trustees found themselves incapable of longer supporting their charge. The English nation had now assumed the burthen, and with the inauguration of a new administration came the hope of better days.

Sailing in the man-of-war Port Mahon, Governor Reynolds landed at Savannah on the 29th of October, 1754. He was received with every demonstration of respect and joy. Bonfires at night supplemented the general delight which was manifested during the day. After a formal introduction to the president and assistants in council assembled, his commission was read. He was then conducted to the president's chair whence he announced the dissolution of the old board and the formation of a royal council under letters-patent from the Crown. The next morning, the members of council took the oath of office and completed their organization. Other officers, named by his majesty, were sworn to faithfully perform the duties devolving upon them. His commission as captain-general and vice-admiral of the province was "read and published at the head of the militia under arms before the council chamber. It was listened to with profound attention and saluted with several rounds of musketry and shouts of loyalty." [1] A public dinner, given by the members of council and the principal inhabitants of Savannah in honor of the governor, closed the public exercises of the occasion, and the province passed thus simply and joyously from the hands of the trustees into the direct keeping of the Crown.

Governor Reynolds' earliest impressions of the condition and needs of the province are conveyed in a letter and two memorials to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dated "at Savannah, in Georgia, December 5th, 1754." After announcing his arrival on the 29th of October, and his pleasant reception by the inhabitants, he proceeds to give an account of the commercial metropolis and capital of Georgia. "The town of Savannah is well situated and contains about a hundred and fifty houses, all wooden ones, very small and mostly very old. The biggest was used for the meeting of the President and Assistants, wherein I sat in Council for a few days, but one end fell down whilst we were all there, and obliged us to move to a kind of shed behind the Court-house, which being quite unfit, I have given orders, with the advice of the Council, to fit up the shell of a house which was lately built for laying up the silk, but was never made use of, being very ill-calculated for that purpose as Mr. Ottolenghe informs me, wherefore he says he has no further use for it, but it will make a tolerable good house for the Council and Assembly to meet in, and for a few offices besides." The prison being a small wooden structure and entirely insecure, he

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 386. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

ordered it to be strengthened and supplied with bolts and bars. With the advice of the council a proclamation was published continuing all officers in their present employments until further notice. Writs of election were issued for selecting representatives to serve in a general assembly to convene in Savannah on the 7th of January, 1755. The erection of "Courts of Justice and Judicature," in accordance with his majesty's instructions, was receiving consideration. Some Indians had already come down to salute the new governor. They stated that so soon as the hunting season was over numbers would appear to receive the presents which were subject to distribution. The necessity for additional troops to garrison the southern frontier of the province and to prevent the desertion of negro slaves to the Spaniards in St. Augustine, who were constantly encouraging them to run away from their masters, was strongly urged upon the immediate and favorable notice of the home government. Liberal presents were requested for the Chickasaws, Creeks, Uchees, Choctaws, and Cherokees, whom, as he was advised by Mr. McGillivray and other Indian traders of repute, the French at Mobile were endeavoring to excite to hostilities against South Carolina and Georgia. For the further protection of the colony demand was made for an infantry force of one hundred and fifty men, and requisitions were filed for cannon, small arms, and ammunition.

One of the memorials is couched in the following language: "Your Memorialist finds the charge and expence of living in this country much greater than he imagined, every article of life, except beef and pork, being extremely dear, particularly labour of all kinds, so that he could not subsist the meanest of his servants here with lodging and board, only till he could hire a house to live in, under two shillings sterling a day each: that his salary being no more than six hundred pounds a year, he finds that it will cost him at least that sum to live as a private gentleman without any regard to the dignity of his office, the perquisites whereof he perceives will be extremely low. He therefore humbly begs that your Lordships will be pleased to take the matter into your consideration, and to increase his salary in such proportion as to your Lordships shall seem proper, and he is the more inclined to hope that your Lordships will be pleased to grant his prayer as his half-pay in the Navy is saved to the Government at home during his employment here."

A few months later Governor Reynolds inspected the southern

confines of the province; and, upon his return to Savannah, advised the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations that Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, of late the most strongly fortified town in the colony, was in ruins. Its houses were in a dilapidated condition, its forts were out of repair, and the twenty cannon there remaining — some of them eighteen-pounders — "were all spoilt for want of care." The other guns originally mounted there had, upon the withdrawal of General Oglethorpe's regiment, been transferred to Savannah where they were lying in the sand "without vents or tompions." While he regarded Frederica as the best situation "for a garrison to cover and protect the Province from invasion by sea," he did not deem it a proper site for a capital. So pleased was he with the natural advantages of the Great Ogeechee River, and with the central situation of a bluff on its right bank about fourteen miles from its mouth, where, in January, a little town had been laid out, which, on the 4th of February, 1755, with the approbation of council, he had named *Hardwicke*, in honor of his relative, the Lord High Chancellor of England, that he eulogizes the location and bespeaks for it an honorable future. "Hardwicke," so runs his letter of the 1st of May, "has a charming situation, the winding of the river making it a peninsula; and it is the only fit place for the capital. There are many objections to this town of Savannah being so, besides its being situated at the extremity of the province, the shoalness of the river, and the great height of the land, which is very inconvenient in the loading and unloading of ships. Many lots have already been granted in Hardwicke, but only one house is yet built there; and as the province is unable to be at the expence of erecting the necessary public buildings, and the annual sum of £500 allowed for erecting and repairing public works, entertaining Indians, and other incidental expenses being insufficient for all those purposes, I am in hopes your Lordships will think proper to get a sufficient sum allowed for erecting a Court-House, an Assembly-House, a Church, and a Prison at Hardwicke, which will be such an encouragement to private people to build there as will soon make it fit for the seat of government to the universal benefit of the province." [1]

Upon the agitation of this project to transfer the capital of the colony from Savannah to the Great Ogeechee,[2] twenty-seven lots

[1] Board of Trade, v. 167.

[2] This river was then called the Great Hogohechie, which responds more nearly to its original Indian name than the appellation subsequently adopted.

were quickly taken up in the town of Hardwicke, and twenty-one thousand acres of land in its vicinity were granted to various parties who favored and promised to develop the enterprise. DeBrahm proposed that the place should be fortified by the erection of "three polygons, six hundred feet each, and three detached bastions to be armed with twenty-five cannon," and suggested a garrison of one hundred and fifty men.[1]

The home government neglecting to furnish the necessary funds, and Governor Reynolds being without the means requisite to compass the contemplated change, his scheme of transferring the seat of government to Hardwicke was never consummated, and the town, deprived of its anticipated dignity and importance, developed simply into a little trading village adapted to the convenience of the few who there located and cultivated lands in the vicinity.[2]

By DeBrahm[3] it was reckoned among the five seaport towns of the province. Although for many years a port of entry, its commerce was wholly domestic and coastwise, being chiefly confined to the conveyance of the products of the region, in small vessels, to Savannah, and the transportation, in return, of such articles and supplies as were needed by the planters.

The attorney-general of the province, having arrived in Savan-

[1] See Plans and Elevations of the Forts necessary in Georgia, forwarded with Governor Reynolds' letter of the 5th of January, 1756, and now of file in the Public Record Office, London; Maps B. T., vol. xiii. No. 14.

[2] The design of transferring the capital of the colony from Savannah to Hardwicke, conceived by Governor Reynolds, was adhered to by his successor, Governor Ellis. "The depth of water in the river, its more central position, its greater distance from Charlestown, — the proximity to which, he argued, restricted the commerce of Savannah, — the convenience of its harbour as a naval station, and the fertility of its adjacent lands, were the principal motives which operated with him to enforce the plan suggested by his predecessor. As a consequence of clinging to this scheme of removal, Governor Reynolds had neglected necessary repairs to the public buildings of Savannah, and its inhabitants had ceased enlarging and beautifying a town so soon to be deserted. The Filature was in a dilapidated condition, the Church was so decayed that it was only kept from falling down by surrounding it with props, and the prison 'was shocking to humanity.'

"The removal of the Seat of Government to Hardwicke, which had received the favorable notice of former Governors, was discouraged by Sir James Wright, who argued that if the object of a removal was to obtain a more central position, Hardwicke was too near; while, on the other hand, a removal there would be very disadvantageous to the present capital which was conveniently settled for intercourse with the Indians and for trade with South Carolina. The project was therefore abandoned, and the attention of the Assembly was directed to enlarging and strengthening the City which Oglethorpe had founded." Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 433; vol. ii. p. 19.

[3] *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc., p. 25. Wormsloe. 1849.

nah, on the 12th of December submitted his report suggesting the best method of putting into practical operation his majesty's pleasure with regard to the erection of courts within the province. The council thereupon proceeded at once to establish those courts so that there might be no delay in the orderly administration of justice. The general court, of which Noble Jones and Jonathan Bryan were constituted justices, was organized in Savannah where it was permanently located. Four regular terms were to be holden in each year, to wit, on the second Tuesday of January, April, July, and October. Its province was to take cognizance of all actions, real, personal, and mixed, where the amount in controversy exceeded forty shillings. Criminal matters were also subject to its jurisdiction; its powers and authority being similar to those inherent in the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Court of Exchequer in England. If the amount involved exceeded £300, an appeal lay to the governor and council; and if the judgment was for more than £500, a further appeal could be prosecuted to his majesty in council, provided the appellant entered into proper security to press his appeal and respond to the final condemnation. Notice of such appeal was to be given within fourteen days after the rendition of the judgment.

A court of chancery for hearing equity causes was organized. In it the governor sat as chancellor, and its other officers were a master, a register, and an examiner. Its doors were to be open after each session of the general court, if business required.

For the trial of criminal matters a special court of oyer and terminer, with two terms a year, was at first provided. But the business of this court having been soon transferred to the general court, the court of oyer and terminer was discontinued.

For the punishment of violations of the Acts of Trade, and for the adjudication of claims concerning salvage, the wages of mariners, and other maritime affairs, a Court of Admiralty was established. Over this the governor presided as vice-admiral, and the other officers were James Edward Powell, judge advocate; William Clifton, advocate general; Alexander Kellet, marshal; and William Spencer, register. An appeal lay to the High Court of Admiralty in England.

Justices were appointed for the several districts of the province, and they were authorized to hear and determine causes where the amount involved did not exceed forty shillings.

For punishing slaves committing capital crimes a commission

of oyer and terminer might, upon an emergency, be issued to the justice of the district in which the offense was committed, to try the accused without a jury. If found guilty and sentenced to death, the justice might award execution, and set upon the slave a value which was afterwards to be paid to the owner by the General Assembly, "as an encouragement to the people to discover the villainies of their slaves." [1]

Responding to the summons of the governor, the representatives assembled in Savannah on the 7th of January, 1755, and perfected their organization by the election of David Douglass as speaker. The council, or Upper House of Assembly, was also present. Governor Reynolds submitted the following inaugural address: —

"*Gentlemen of the Council and of the Assembly:*

"I congratulate you upon the regard his Majesty has been graciously pleased to shew this Province in fixing here a regular Form of Government immediately under his royal Authority, the great Advantages of which are too obvious to require mention; and as his Majesty has done me the Honour to appoint me your Governor, I take this first Opportunity to assure you that it shall be my Study, during the Course of my Administration, to promote the Prosperity of the Colony that you and your Posterity may reap the Benefit that will attend its flourishing State; the only Advantage I propose to myself is my Share of the Honour that will arise from the Success of our mutual Endeavours in this Undertaking. I expect therefore that you will all chearfully and loyally contribute your Assistance to this laudable End; and as the most effectual Means to attain it are Unanimity, Method, and close Application, let me recommend it to you and advise that the more weighty and important Affairs of the Colony be taken into your immediate Consideration at your first Meeting, and afterwards Things of lesser Moment.

"I think it proper for the public Service that you first of all frame some Provincial Laws for the well regulating the Militia, for the making public roads, and establishing a Provision for defraying the Expences of holding the two Courts of Oyer and Terminer which his Majesty has directed to be held on the second Tuesday in December and the second Tuesday in June, and I likewise recommend to your Consideration the making a Provision for the Ordinary Contingencies of Government as far as

[1] See *MS. Minutes of Council*, pp. 34, 38. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 391, 392. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

the Circumstances of the People will conveniently admit of the same.

"Gentlemen, as you are called together for no other Purpose but to consult about the best Methods of promoting your own Welfare, I doubt not but you'l take care to suffer nothing to disunite you or draw off your attention from the public Good. I, on my Part, shall be ready to concur with you in every Thing that can be conducive to your true and lasting Interest."

This complimentary and conciliatory speech from the first royal governor to the primal legislative assembly convened in Georgia evoked from that body an immediate and cordial resolution of thanks. On the part of the council, Sir Patrick Houstoun, Mr. Kellet, and Mr. Harris were appointed a committee to prepare a responsive address to his excellency. Presented in due course, it was couched in the following dutiful language: —

"*To his Excellency John Reynolds Esqr. Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of Georgia.*

"The humble Address of his Majesty's Council met in General Assembly.

"May it please your Excellency.

"We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Council of this Province met in General Assembly, beg leave to return your Excellency our hearty Thanks for your Speech delivered to us.

"We are very sensible of the great and obvious Advantages that will necessarily result from the regard his Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to shew this Province in fixing here a Regular Form of Government immediately under his Royal Authority, and from your Excellency's General Character and the Knowledge that from our nearer approach to your Excellency's Person we have of your Abilitys and Inclinations, we are well assured that it will be your Excellency's study during the Course of your Administration to promote the Prosperity of this Colony that we and our Posterity may reap the benefit that will attend its flourishing State, and that the only Advantage your Excellency proposes to yourself is your Share of the Honour that will arise from the Success of our mutual Endeavours in this Undertaking.

"We are determin'd to contribute our Assistance to this laudable end, and as we are convinced that the most effectual Means to attain it are Unanimity, Method, and close Application, we shall take into immediate consideration at our first Meeting the

more weighty and important Affairs of this Colony, and afterwards things of lesser moment.

"We will very chearfully coöperate in framing those Provincial Laws that your Excellency has been pleas'd to recommend, and being perfectly satisfy'd that we are call'd together for no other purpose but to consult about the best Methods of promoting our own Welfare, we shall take care to suffer nothing to disunite us or draw off our attention from the Public Good: and we make no doubt but your Excellency will be ready to concur with us in every Thing that can be conducive to our true and lasting Interest."

Upon the receipt of this address the Governor returned this answer: —

"*Gentlemen of the Council.*

"I give you thanks for your Address and assure you that my best Endeavours shall never be wanting to recommend me to the Continuance of your good Opinion."

The following are the official courtesies which were exchanged between Governor Reynolds and the Commons House of Assembly: —

"*May it please your Excellency.*

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Representatives for the Province of Georgia in Assembly met, beg leave to return your Excellency our sincere and hearty Thanks for your Affectionate Speech.

"We have a most grateful sense of the tender Regard his Majesty has been graciously pleased to show to this Province under the benign influence of his Royal Authority, and doubt not but we shall reap the same Advantages from it and enjoy the same Privileges under it as the other his Majesty's Provinces in America do.

"We beg to offer his Majesty our most dutiful Acknowledgments for this instance of his Pastoral Care, and also for the wise Choice he has been pleased to make of your Excellency whom we have great reason to believe possessed of every qualification necessary toward discharging your duty to your Royal Master and making the People, over whom you preside, happy.

"We thank you Sir, in particular for the kind assurance you have been pleased to give us of your hearty inclination to promote the Good of the Colony and to join with us in everything we propose for that End.

"We, on our Parts, assure your Excellency that it shall be

our constant aim and study to propose nothing but what we judge consistent with the Honour and Dignity of our Sovereign and the Good of our Constituents, being well convinced that the true Interests of his Majesty and his loyal Subjects are so closely connected that whatever tends to promote the Honour of the one is likewise for the advantage of the other: having all of us this in view we doubt not we shall be unanimous in all our Proceedings; and we shall in the first Place take under our Consideration such Affairs as shall appear to be of the greatest Importance and that require our immediate Attention.

"We will likewise consider of Methods for raising Money towards defraying the Contingent Expences of Government; but our present Situation and Circumstances are such that we shall be able to contribute very little for that Purpose; but we hope from what we have already experienced of his Majesty's Royal Favour that he will be pleased to grant us such Assistance as will make good our Deficiencies, and at the same time we assure your Excellency that our inclination shall not be wanting as far as our ability will permit.

"We hope that the whole tenor of our Actions will tend to convince your Excellency that we have nothing more at heart than to consult the Honour and Dignity of our most Gracious Sovereign, and truly to promote the Interest of this Colony; in the doing of which we flatter ourselves we shall in some measure lessen to you the weight of Government and procure you the lasting Satisfaction of having contributed so largely towards rendering us a flourishing People, which we believe to be your sincerest wish."

To this address his excellency thus responded: —

"*Gentlemen of the Assembly.*

"It gives me great satisfaction to find you so truly sensible of his Majesty's paternal care of this Colony. I am obliged to you for the kind marks of your esteem in this Address and for the Assurances you give me of proceeding in the Public Business with unanimity. I shall be glad of any Opportunity of convincing you of the Sincerity of my good Wishes for your Prosperity, and I promise myself from your Application that they will be crowned with Success."

Thus happily, at the inception of the royal government, was the legislative department of the province brought into association with the governor. Mindful of its promise, the General Assembly entered at once upon the discharge of its appropriate

duties, continuing in session during the administration of Governor Reynolds, with the exception of three vacations which occurred from the 7th of March, 1755, to the 2d of February, 1756; from the 19th of February to the 1st of November, 1756; and from the 15th of December, 1756, to the 10th of January, 1757.

One of the earliest and most important acts passed by this legislative body was that regulating the militia of the province and providing for its security and defense. It directed the organization of all white male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty into companies, troops, battalions, and regiments. It required that they be armed, and drilled at stated intervals. Officers of companies were enjoined, six times in each year, to inspect the arms and accoutrements of all the men attached to their several commands. No persons were exempt from the performance of military duty except members of his majesty's council and their officers, members of the assembly and their officers, the chief justice and the justices of the court of common pleas, the attorney-general, attorneys of the court, the clerk of the Crown and pleas, the provost marshal, the master and register of the high court of chancery, the judge of the vice-admiralty, the officers of his majesty's customs, the surveyor-general, the clergy, the catechist of Savannah, the public treasurer, the powder-receiver, the commissary, comptrollers, waiters, and all duly qualified and acting justices of the peace. During seasons of rebellion, insurrection, or actual invasion, these exemptions ceased except in the case of members of council and of the assembly and their officers, of pilots, and of ferrymen. It was obligatory upon the masters of male indented servants to see not only that they were armed, but that they were present at all musters and trainings designated by the Act. Except when charged with treason, felony, or breach of the peace, every militiaman while going to, attending upon, or departing from a muster was exempt from arrest and from the service of any process. Penalties were specified for disobedience to the orders of a superior officer. Provision was made for the concentration of the entire manhood of the province on occasions of general danger, and the mode of giving alarms was pointed out. The manner of organizing patrols, of impressing boats, animals, provisions, and ammunition in seasons of peril, the constitution and conduct of courts-martial, the temporary enlistment of slaves, compensation to the owner if his slave was wounded or killed in service, and encouragements to

slaves to behave manfully in the presence of the enemy, are all specified with great particularity.[1]

The other acts passed during Governor Reynolds' administration were as follows: —

(*a.*) An act for imprinting, emitting, and making current the sum of seven thousand pounds sterling, in paper bills of credit, to be let out at interest, on good security, at six per cent. per annum. The object of this act was to supply a currency for the province. These bills were declared a legal tender in liquidation of all debts and dues, and ample provision was made for securing their effectual payment by the parties to whom they were issued.

(*b.*) An act levying a specific tax upon negroes, lands, moneys at interest or invested in trade, and upon town-lots, in order to realize a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of the courts of oyer and terminer and some other "contingencies of government."

(*c.*) An act rendering it obligatory upon each planter to protect his fields or other inclosures with a fence at least five feet and a half high.

(*d.*) An act levying an impost upon all ships, snows, brigs, polacres, sactias, sloops, schooners, and crafts trading with the province, in order to raise an amount large enough to keep the light-house on Tybee Island in repair, and to build a dwelling there for the use of the pilot.

(*e.*) An act to prevent fraudulent deeds and conveyances, and to compel the registration, within specified periods, of all mortgages and alienations of lands and negroes.

(*f.*) An act for establishing a market in the town of Savannah, and to prevent forestalling, engrossing, and unjust exactions therein.

(*g.*) An act fixing the legal rate of interest in the province at ten per cent. per annum.

(*h.*) An act empowering surveyors to lay out public roads in Georgia to facilitate speedy communication between the inhabitants residing in distant parts of the province, and providing for the establishment of ferries. By this act the plantation was divided into districts, surveyors were appointed for each, and the citizens required to perform specified labor in keeping the highways and bridges in repair.

(*i.*) The act entitled "An Act for the better ordering and governing Negroes and other Slaves in this Province,"[2] embodying the

[1] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, 1755–1774, now first printed, pp. 9–34. Wormsloe. MDCCCLXXXI.

[2] *Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, 1755–1774, now first printed, pp. 73–99. Wormsloe. MDCCCLXXXI.

earliest legislation touching the treatment and management, the trial and punishment, the privileges and disabilities, the sale and recovery, of negro slaves in Georgia, possesses a deep historical interest. The offspring of negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, slaves at the time of the passage of the act, was doomed to perpetual slavery. Slaves were not permitted to absent themselves from the abodes or plantations of their owners without a written permit. Any person giving a ticket of leave to a slave, without the consent of his owner, was to forfeit £3. A slave, unaccompanied by a white person, found away from the residence of his owner, was liable to examination by any white citizen. If without a ticket, he was subject to apprehension and moderate correction. If he resisted, and assaulted and struck the party apprehending or chastising him, he might be killed, and the homicide was pronounced justifiable. Any person unlawfully beating or maiming the slave of another was declared liable to respond in damages. Unusual assemblages of slaves were to be dispersed, and their houses could be, without warrant, searched for arms and ammunition.

Persons maimed or wounded in apprehending runaway slaves were to be compensated by the General Assembly. In case of death, their legal representatives could demand pecuniary satisfaction from the public treasury.

Slaves charged with the commission of capital crimes were to be tried by two justices of the peace and not less than three nor more than five freeholders resident in the district where the felony was committed. The investigation was to be speedy, and the execution of sentence summary, so that others might be deterred from offending in like manner.

In cases "not extending to the taking away of life or member," one justice and two freeholders constituted a competent court. The testimony of slaves was admitted for or against their fellows.

If a slave should willfully burn or destroy any stack of rice, corn, or other grain, the growth of the province, or maliciously set fire to any tar-kiln, barrel of pitch, tar, turpentine, or resin, or steal another slave, or designedly poison any one, he was, upon proof, to be condemned to suffer death as a felon.

Homicide of any white person by a slave, except by misadventure or in defense of his master or other person charged with his care and management, any attempt on the part of a slave to raise an insurrection, and any endeavor to entice one of his fel-

low servants to run away from the province involved the death penalty. A white person attempting to steal and carry the slave of another out of Georgia was subject, on conviction, to pay a fine of £50.

Actual theft of a slave, or the defacing of his or her mark, was pronounced felony without benefit of clergy.

Slaves condemned to death were, before execution, to be appraised by a justice and two freeholders, at any sum not exceeding £50. Upon proper certificate, the public treasurer was authorized to pay one half of this appraised value to the owner of the slave, and the other half to the party who had suffered injury at the hands of the condemned and executed.

Upon the trial of slaves, all persons who were cognizant of the facts connected with the commission of the offense charged could be compelled to appear and testify.

The master, or other person having the care of a slave accused of a capital crime, who should conceal or convey away such slave so that he could not be brought to trial and punishment, was to be fined £50. If the offense was not capital, the fine was limited to £20.

Constables were charged with the execution of sentences passed upon slaves in their respective districts. Their compensation, in case of corporal punishment, was three shillings. In carrying into effect the death penalty they were allowed ten shillings.

Compelling a slave to labor on the Lord's day ("works of absolute necessity and the necessary occasions of the family only excepted") involved in each instance a fine of ten shillings sterling.

No slave, except in the presence of a white person, could carry or use any firearm or offensive weapon, unless provided with a special written permission from his owner or manager. Under no circumstances were slaves allowed "to carry any guns, cutlasses, pistols, or other weapons," between Saturday evening after sunset and Monday morning before sunrise. Should a slave presume to strike a white person, for the first and second offense such punishment, not extending to life or limb, as the presiding magistrate and freeholders should prescribe, was to be meted out to him. For the third offense he should suffer death. Grievously wounding, maiming, or bruising a white person by a slave, although the first offense of the sort, subjected the offender to the death penalty, provided such wounding, maiming, or bruising

was not done by command of his owner or employer, or in the defense of the person or property of such owner and employer.

When apprehended, a fugitive slave was to be at once returned to his owner if he could be ascertained. If his master or overseer were unknown, the fugitive was to be committed to the custody of the constable of the district in which he was taken up, whose duty it became to advertise him, giving personal description of the slave, and of his marks and brand. Until claimed, the constable was required to provide the slave with sufficient food, shelter, and clothing. If within six weeks from the date of advertisement the owner of the slave did not appear and claim his property, it was then obligatory upon the constable, upon payment of his fees and reasonable charges, to turn the slave over to the provost marshal. This officer was required, by frequent advertisement, to continue the effort to ascertain the owner. If, after the expiration of eighteen months, the slave remained unclaimed, the provost marshal was then to sell him at public outcry. The proceeds of such sale, after deducting all charges, were to be paid to the public treasurer, in whose hands they were to remain for a year and a day, open to the claim of the true owner. If within that period no claimant appeared, then such proceeds were to be applied to the payment of the claims of the owners of negroes publicly executed.

Special punishments were provided in the case of free negroes, free persons, and slaves who harbored runaway slaves.

No slave, without permit, could expose for sale fishes, garden stuff, or wares, or be employed as a carter, fisherman, or porter.

Any person selling to a slave, without the consent of his owner or manager, beer or any spirituous liquor was liable to a fine of twenty shillings for the first offense, and double that amount for the second.

No owner, master, or mistress of any slave could permit such slave to work out of the house or family "without a ticket in writing," under pain of forfeiting the sum of one pound ten shillings sterling for every such offense; one half of this penalty to be paid to the justices of the district for the use of the poor, and the other moiety to the informer. The employer of such slave was to forfeit to the informer fifteen shillings sterling for each day he so employed such slave without permit. It was competent, however, for the owners of slaves to hire them out by the day, or week, or year, the wages of such slaves being payable to their owners.

No slave was allowed on his own account to keep any boat,

periagua, or canoe; or to breed or own any horse or neat cattle.

Persons residing out of Savannah might, under certain restrictions, empower their slaves to sell goods, provisions, and commodities within the limits of the town.

Slaves found without tickets, beyond the confines of their master's plantation, could be whipped. If carrying arms, though provided with a ticket of leave, they were liable to a similar punishment.

Persons suffering negro slaves to beat drums, blow horns, or indulge in any public meetings or strange assemblages, were, on conviction, to forfeit thirty shillings for every such offense.

Cruelty to slaves was prohibited by the following section: —

"Whereas cruelty is not only highly unbecoming those who profess themselves Christians, but is odious in the Eyes of all Men who have any sense of Virtue or Humanity, therefore to restrain and prevent Barbarity being exercised towards Slaves, be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons whatsoever shall wilfully murder his own Slave or the Slave of any other person, every such person shall, upon conviction thereof by the oath of two witnesses, be adjudged guilty of Felony for the first offence and have the benefit of Clergy, making satisfaction to the Owner of such Slave: but the second offence shall be deemed Murther, and the offender shall suffer for the said Crime according to the Laws of England, except that he shall forfeit no more of his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels, than what may be sufficient to satisfy the owner of such Slave so killed as aforesaid. And in case any shall not be able to make the Satisfaction hereby required, every such person shall be sent to any Frontier Garrison of this Province, or committed to the Goal at Savannah, and there to remain at the public expence for the space of seven years, and to serve or to be kept to hard labour; and the pay usually allow'd by the public to the Soldiers of such Garrison, or the profits of the Labour of the Offender, shall be paid to the owner of the Slave murdered.

"And if any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by undue correction, kill his own Slave, or the Slave of any other Person, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds sterling.

"And in case any person or persons shall wilfully cut the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or cruelly scald, burn, or deprive any Slave of any limb or member, or shall inflict any other cruel punishment other than by whipping or beating with a

horse-whip, cow-skin, switch, or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning such Slave, every such person shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of ten pounds sterling."

Neglect on the part of the owner or employer to furnish a slave with sufficient clothing and food subjected the offender to a fine not exceeding three pounds sterling for each offense, the same, when collected, to be appropriated to the benefit of the poor of the district.

Should any slave be cruelly treated and no white person be present to testify in regard to the inhumanity, the owner or manager of such slave was to be deemed and held guilty, unless he made his innocence clearly to appear.

No slave was permitted to become the lessee of any house, room, store, or plantation. Any person letting or hiring such premises to a slave forfeited £3 sterling to the informer.

Not more than seven male slaves could travel together on the highway unless accompanied by some white person.

Slaves could not be compelled to labor more than sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, and any person enforcing work beyond this amount forfeited in each instance £3 sterling.

Teaching slaves to write, or employing them as scribes, was strictly prohibited.

No one was permitted to have a plantation or settlement, whereon slaves were worked, without keeping a white person also on such plantation. Every owner of twenty slaves was required to retain a white servant capable of bearing arms. Owners of fifty slaves were compelled to have at least two white servants, and an additional white servant for every additional twenty-five slaves.

Liberal rewards were offered for the apprehension of slaves attempting to desert to the Spaniards in Florida, and special instructions were promulgated for their capture, detention, and delivery to their owners.

This act was to be given in special charge to the grand juries of the province.

It is worthy of remark that not a few of the provisions of this, the first act on the subject, were, with certain modifications, reenacted and maintained of force not only during the existence of Georgia as a colony, but also until the failure of the Confederate struggle for independence brought about the liberation of negroes from slavery within the confines of Georgia. When we remember that many of the slaves whom this act was intended to regu-

late were fresh from the shores of Africa, uncivilized, unrestrained by the influences of Christianity, unused to discipline, and inclined to the exhibition of violent passions, we are the better prepared to appreciate the necessity for these stringent rules published for their governance and the protection of the whites. It will be perceived that a recognition of the contubernal relation existing between these slaves and the necessity for their religious instruction are entirely ignored by the provisions of this bill.

The other public acts passed by the General Assembly may be quickly enumerated: —

(*j.*) An additional act for defraying the expenses of the courts of oyer and terminer and other governmental charges.

(*k.*) An act establishing the method of drawing and summoning jurors within the province.

(*l.*) An act authorizing the attachment of the personal estate of absent debtors in order to facilitate the collection of indebtednesses existing on their part. This act is the parent of the attachment and garnishment laws existent to this day in the State of Georgia.

(*m.*) An additional act providing for the laying out and maintenance of public roads in the province, the preservation of the town and common of Savannah in good order, the repair of the wharves, and the regulation of important ferries.

(*n.*) An act empowering justices of the peace to bind out all Acadians in the province, who refused to labor, to such persons as were willing, in consideration of the personal service to be rendered by them, to supply them with sufficient provisions, clothing, and lodging.

(*o.*) An act imposing penalties upon all persons who should declare that the acts of the General Assembly of the province of Georgia were not of force and authority.

(*p.*) An act proclaiming it high treason to counterfeit his majesty's broad seal of this province.

(*q.*) An act requiring the master of every ship or vessel entering any port of Georgia to deliver to the clerk of the naval office, for the use of the colony, four ounces of good, clean, and serviceable gunpowder for every ton which his vessel registered; and in default of such powder, to pay to the officer designated sixpence sterling for every ton expressed in the register of his ship or vessel. The object of this regulation was to accumulate a public store of gunpowder for the defense of the province.

(*r.*) And lastly, an act for confirming sales of lands in Georgia made by attorneys and agents of absent parties, and prescribing the proper method of authenticating documents executed beyond the limits of the province and intended to be used and recorded therein.

Although few in number, these acts ministered to the pressing needs of the colony and, in their preparation, involved no little deliberation and discussion. Nor were these the only public measures considered and passed upon by this legislative assembly. Early in the session the harmony of the body was disturbed by the machinations of Edmund Grey, a member who, coming from Virginia, had, with some followers, formed a settlement at Brandon, above Augusta. He was a man of strong will, of inordinate ambition, unscrupulous in his conduct, and a pestilent fellow. The disturbance caused by him in the assembly and its eventual suppression are thus described in a letter addressed by Governor Reynolds to the Board of Trade, under date of February 28, 1755: —

"Here was an appearance of Sedition about a fortnight ago by the instigation of one Edmund Grey, a pretended Quaker, who fled from Justice in Virginia and is a person of no property here, but has an artful way of instilling Jealousy of their liberties into the peoples' minds, and without the least scruple supports his assertion with any falsehoods that may serve his purpose. This man, by getting a qualification made over to him for that purpose, was elected a Representative for Augusta, for he has persuaded many people that he has great interest in England by shewing a letter he pretends to have received from a person of a noble family there with whom he pretends to have formed a scheme for monopolizing the Indian trade and introducing such sort of Government here as would suit best with that and some other schemes he has the impudence to say he was consulted upon. He tells the People that this Government will soon be at an end, and then he has promised by his interest to give places of profit to many people, and has actually influenced five Representatives with himself to withdraw from the House in order to break the Assembly and prevent business being done; but his design was so ill concerted that he and his Associates have been expelled the House by a majority of the whole number of Representatives, not only for withdrawing themselves, but for signing a letter which was voted to be a seditious one by both Houses."

The intercepted letter was couched in the following language:

"SAVANNAH 15*th Jan:* 1755.

"GENTLEMEN, — If you regard the liberties of your country, as we cannot doubt but they are dear to you, it is highly necessary that you come immediately to Savannah, there, by your presence to animate and support your friends in their endeavours to procure those blessings that can alone render this Colony flourishing and happy. In this we hope you will not fail, and subscribe ourselves hearty and sincere friends to you and Georgia.

CHARLES WATSON.	EDMUND GREY.
MARK CARR.	JOHN MACKINTOSH.
JOHN FARMUR.	EDWARD BARNARD.
JOHN HARN.	WILLIAM GRAY.

"To the Freeholders of the Province of Georgia."

Disappointed in his ambitious and pernicious scheme, this marplot withdrew himself from the province and located on neutral ground lying between the Alatamaha and the St. John rivers. Thither flocked criminals, outlaws, and debtors seeking escape from the just demands of their creditors. Edmund Grey and his gang became a pest and a nuisance to the entire region.

According to the terms of the proclamation issued by Governor Reynolds on the 1st of January, 1755, all persons holding lands in Georgia by virtue of grants from the trustees or their agents, or in consequence of allotments made by the president of the colony and his assistants (not exceeding five hundred acres to a single individual), were to be released from all conditions expressed in such grants and deeds of allotment, and from the payment of all arrearages of quit rents, provided, on or before the 7th day of April next thereafter,[1] they appeared, either in person or by attorney, before the governor in council, and, surrendering the muniments of title which they then held, received new grants in the name of his majesty and under the broad seal of the colony. These substituted grants, which ran in the name of the king and were made "of his special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion," reconveyed the lands in free and common socage, upon the following conditions, however: that "the grantees and their assigns would yield and pay to the Crown, on the 25th of March in every year, at the rate of two shillings sterling for every hundred acres conveyed, the first payment to be made at the expiration of two years from and after the date of the grants;" that they and their assigns should annually clear and

[1] Subsequently extended by proclamation of the 26th of May, 1755, to the last day of June of that year.

cultivate at least five acres in every hundred granted; and also that the grants should be duly registered within six months from date.

Regarding the condition which necessitated the clearing and cultivation, each year, of five in every hundred acres granted as onerous and calculated to retard agricultural operations and, hinder the rapid colonization of the province, the General Assembly, on the 22d of January, 1755, prepared a remonstrance to the king praying the abrogation of this article, and suggesting as a substitute an agreement on the part of all grantees to occupy the lands conveyed and to reside within the province for a period of at least three years. This memorial received the approval of the governor and was forwarded. After the usual reference, the home authorities consented to the repeal of the obnoxious feature.

To the suggestion of Sir Thomas Robinson, one of his majesty's secretaries of state, that Georgia should assist in raising men and supplies for the two royal regiments to be recruited for the defense of America, the General Assembly, on the 3d of February, 1755, responded through the governor that, "while they were extremely willing and desirous to concur in any measure that might conduce to the general security and welfare of the continent of North America, they found this colony, so far from being able at present to assist their fellow subjects, itself in great want of his Majesty's Royal consideration and further assistance."

Two weeks afterwards a lengthy memorial setting forth the defenseless condition of the province, and invoking troops, artillery, fortifications, arms, and ammunition, was prepared and transmitted to his majesty.

To a communication dated Whitehall, March 13, 1756, announcing that the Earl of Loudoun had been appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America, that he was about to set out with two regiments of foot, a train of artillery, and a quantity of warlike stores, and requesting aid from the colony, the General Assembly on the 11th of November responded that, while Georgia had no funds and was incapable of raising any for military uses, she would, nevertheless, to testify her zeal in his majesty's service, engage, if any of the king's forces came within her limits, to supply them with forage and provisions to the extent of her ability.

On the 17th of November of the same year the governor laid before the General Assembly, for its careful consideration, an urgent communication from the Earl of Loudoun, dated Albany,

August 20, 1756, announcing the fall of Oswego and the destruction of the English naval power on the lakes, cautioning Governor Reynolds to place the province in the strongest attitude of defense, confessing his inability to do more than check the advance of the French in his neighborhood, and calling upon Georgia to assist him with money and recruits. The intelligence of this disaster to the British arms and the threatening posture of the French and Indians awakened the liveliest apprehensions. It was with genuine regret that the assembly, on the 22d of November, felt constrained, in their reply to the governor, to admit the weak and impecunious condition of the province which prevented it from extending to others the protection and assistance which it earnestly solicited for itself.

So feeble were the American provinces, and so intent was each colony upon its own defense, that the hopes which had been conceived in England of strengthening Lord Loudoun's command by recruits drawn from this side the water were only partially realized. That officer, convinced that he was not strong enough to inaugurate offensive operations, pitched his camp at Albany and acted on the defensive. Meanwhile, the French wore the laurel of victory and extended their power among the Indian nations. Carolina and Georgia were threatened by an invasion of French and Cherokees, and the public mind remained for some time in a state of perturbation.[1]

By the terms of the law as first promulgated upon the erection of a royal government in Georgia, the right to fix all fees of public officers was confided to the governor and council. As the immediate representatives of the inhabitants of the province, the members of the Lower House of Assembly conceived that they were entitled to a voice in this matter. They therefore addressed a petition to the Crown, praying that the General Assembly might be entrusted with the regulation of these fees, as they were in reality paid by the people of the colony and might properly be regarded in the light of specific taxes. This remonstrance, however, for some time passed unheeded, and the schedule of fees was made out by the council who took as their guide that established in South Carolina.

The last legislative act to which we will allude in connection with the General Assembly convened during Governor Reynolds' administration was a memorial, dated the 21st of February, 1755,

[1] See *Letter of Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina*, addressed to Governor Reynolds, and received by him January 25, 1757.

representing the hardship of the qualifications of electors and representatives as established in the instructions of his majesty to the governor of Georgia, and praying that the assembly should be permitted to prescribe the qualifications of its own members. In support of their views, the representatives pressed upon the consideration of the home authorities that, under the existing regulations, which no colonial law could abrogate, an elector for representatives in the assembly must be the owner of at least fifty acres of land, and a representative himself must be a freeholder to the extent of five hundred acres. According to this rule, residents in towns, possessing buildings and improvements of much greater value than five hundred acres of land in the country, who did not chance to be the owners of five-hundred-acre lots, were excluded from the privilege of sitting in the assembly; and freeholders of town lots exceeding in value the fifty acres by which others became qualified to vote were declared incompetent to cast votes for representatives. The injustice of the royal instructions was, upon review, readily recognized, and the property qualifications were modified in accordance with the views of the General Assembly.[1]

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 412. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

CHAPTER XXX.

MIDWAY DISTRICT.—THE DORCHESTER SOCIETY.—ITS REMOVAL FROM DORCHESTER AND BEECH ISLAND IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDWAY DISTRICT.—THE TOWN OF SUNBURY.

THE road leading from Savannah to the Darien settlement on the Alatamaha, which, in obedience to General Oglethorpe's instructions, was located by Captain Hugh Mackay assisted by Indian guides furnished by Tomo-chi-chi, not only served as the established route for inland communication between the northern and southern portions of the province, but tended to facilitate the population of the intermediate region. The swamp belt of Georgia, through which this highway led, was very fertile and well adapted to the cultivation of rice, cotton, corn, indigo, and vegetables of various sorts. Its agricultural advantages attracted the notice of the colonists, and of planters from South Carolina who, upon the abrogation of the regulation prohibiting the introduction of negroes, began to move in with their slaves and to form plantations along the line of this road, in the delta of the Great Ogeechee, and upon the high grounds to the south bordering upon salt-water streams and upon the extensive swamps emptying into them. The territory lying between the Great Ogeechee and South Newport rivers was called the *Midway District* because of its central location, being about equidistant from the Savannah and Alatamaha rivers, which then constituted respectively the northern and southern boundaries of Georgia. It has been suggested by some, and the belief is to a limited extent current, that the name both of the district and of the river which permeates it is, and was at the earliest period, *Medway* and not *Midway*, and that this appellation was borrowed from one of the well-known rivers of Merrie Old England.[1] The

[1] The Medway, in the county of Kent, is a noble stream. Its trunk and branches cover thirty square miles of the surface of the county, and its length is nearly sixty miles, of which forty are navigable. This river well deserves the name of *Vaga*, by which the Britons described its wanderings. The Saxons added the syllable *Med*, the sign of middle, because the river runs through the centre of the county, and thus gets its present name of *Medway*. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th Edition, article "Kent," vol. xiii. p. 65. See also vol. viii. p. 716.

records do not justify the intimation, and in the light of history it should be repudiated.

In December, 1695, a band of Protestants, associated together as a Congregational Church, arrived in South Carolina. The ancestors of these immigrants, Puritans in belief and conduct, jealous of their religious faith, and strongly imbued with sentiments of political freedom, coming from the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somersetshire, assembled at Plymouth, England, early in 1630, and resolved to seek in New England for broader fields and larger liberty. Sailing on the 30th of March, after a protracted voyage they reached the shores of Massachusetts and, early in June, founded within that province the town of Dorchester. There for sixty-five years did they and their descendants abide until some of them, influenced by a desire to encourage a settlement of churches and to promote the extension of religion in the Southern plantations, determined to remove to South Carolina. They were industrious, prudent, thrifty, self-reliant, intelligent, tyranny-hating, God-fearing peoples. Bringing with them their own pastor, the Rev. Joseph Lord, they came not as wanderers and as mendicants, but as enterprising colonists, prepared with their own arms and means to wrest from primeval forests new homes and comfortable subsistence. Selecting a location on the Ashley River about eighteen miles above Charlestown, they there builded houses, cleared lands, and erected a church. In honor of the place whence they departed, they called their town Dorchester. A portion of their settlement was also known as Beech-Hill. Theirs was one of the earliest Congregational or Independent churches established in South Carolina.

After a residence of more than fifty years, finding their lands impoverished and insufficient for the rising generation, — Dorchester and Beech-Hill proving very unhealthy, — the good reports of the lands in Georgia having been confirmed upon the personal inspection of certain members of the Society who had been sent for that purpose, and a grant of 22,400 acres of land having been secured from the authorities in Georgia, which grant was subsequently enlarged by the addition of 9,950 acres, the members of the Dorchester Society, in 1752, commenced moving into what is now the swamp region of Liberty County.

On the 6th of December of that year Mr. Benjamin Baker[1]

[1] He was born at Dorchester, South Carolina, in 1717, and attended General Oglethorpe in his expedition against St. Augustine. During the Revolutionary

and family, and Mr. Samuel Bacon with his family, the pioneers of the immigration, arrived and proceeded to form their settlements. They were quickly followed by Messrs. Parmenus Way, William Baker, John Elliott, John Winn, Edward Sumner, and John Quarterman. Finding that his congregation was generally inclined to remove from Dorchester, South Carolina, to the new possessions in Georgia, the Rev. Mr. Osgood joined such members of his flock as had preceded him, and in March, 1754, took up his abode in their midst. The society gradually collected around him, a log church was erected on Midway Neck where the venerable Midway Congregational Church now stands, and the first sermon was there preached on the 7th of the following June.[1]

The settlements formed by these valuable immigrants lay between Mount Hope Swamp — the head of Midway River — on the north and Bulltown Swamp on the south. At first, however, they were not so extensive. They touched neither the pine-barrens on the west nor the salt water on the east.[2]

Begun in 1752, this immigration was continued from time to time until 1771 when it practically ceased.[3] If we may credit the records of the society, there occurred forty-four removals in all, of which one family came from Charlestown, four families from Pon-Pon, and the remaining thirty-nine from Dorchester and Beech-Hill. These removals were most numerous during the years 1754, 1755, and 1756. These peoples brought their negroes with them, and it appears probable, from the best lights before us, that the population of this colony, after its complete establishment, consisted of about 350 whites and 1,500 negro slaves.

The region into which the Dorchester Congregation came was previously known as the Midway District. To the colonial assembly which convened in Savannah in 1751 Audley Maxwell,

War he was a marked patriot, and encountered great loss and many privations at the hands of the king's forces. Even now his memory is cherished as that of a brave man, a virtuous and influential citizen, and a devoted Christian.

[1] See Mallard's *Short Account of the Congregational Church at Midway, Georgia*, p. 6. Savannah. 1840.

[2] MS. Notes of the Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones.

[3] DeBrahm says: "The Beach-Hill Congregation settled upon the Heads of the two Newport Rivers early in the year 1752, when they left Carolina in a great Body; they continued drawing their Effects and Cattle after settling all other Concerns in their native Province until 1755; many rich Carolina Planters followed the Example of that Congregation, and came with all their Families and Negroes to settle in Georgia in 1752; the Spirit of Emigration out of South Carolina into Georgia became so universal that year, that this and the following year near one thousand Negroes was brought in Georgia, where in 1751 were scarce above three dozen." *History of the Province of Georgia*, etc., p. 21. Wormsloe. 1849.

Esq., was sent as a delegate, the population of the district then entitling it to such representation. Many of the families who were resident in this district prior to the arrival of the Dorchester Congregation united with that society, when domiciled in its new home, in sustaining divine ministrations. The Congregationalists resident at Dorchester and Beech-Hill, South Carolina, did not all come to Georgia. Some families continued to dwell there, and their descendants may still be found in the neighborhood. Others removed elsewhere. It may be truthfully stated, nevertheless, that upon the establishment of the new settlement in Georgia the Dorchester colony in South Carolina speedily lost its integrity and distinctive characteristics.

In locating their plantations amid the swamps of what was soon to be known as St. John's Parish, and destined at no distant day to acquire a most enviable reputation as Liberty County, the following plan was adopted: —

After laying by their crops in Carolina in the fall of the year, the planters came with able-bodied hands, and, during the winter, cleared land and built houses. In a season or two having thus sufficiently prepared the way, they brought their families and servants in the early spring and at once entered upon the cultivation of the soil. Thus was the removal rendered as safe and comfortable as the nature of the case permitted.

Strange to say, their dwellings and plantation quarters were invariably located on the edges of the swamps in utter disregard of the manifest laws of health. In such malarial situations was the entire year passed. Their houses at first were built of wood, one story high, with dormer windows in the roofs, small in size, without lights, with no inside linings, and with chimneys of clay. The negro-houses were made either of clay or poles. For market, rice was the only article cultivated. While corn was planted on the upland, chief attention was bestowed upon the clearing, ditching, and drainage of the swamps. A miasmatic soil was thus exposed to the action of the sun at their very doors. The consequence of such injudicious location and of a general inattention to domestic comfort was violent sickness and considerable mortality. So frequent were the deaths among children that they seldom arrived at puberty. Those who attained the age of manhood and womanhood possessed feeble constitutions. According to the register kept by the society from 1752 to 1772, the period during which this settlement was formed, 193 births and 134 deaths occurred. The mortality was greatest during the

months of September, October, and November. April, May, June, and August appear to have been the healthiest months. Bilious fevers in the fall and pleurisies in the winter and spring were the diseases which proved most fatal. It used to be said of such as survived a severe attack of bilious fever in the fall that they would certainly die of pleurisy in the winter or spring.

The Indians being in the vicinity and at times indulging in acts of hostility, some of the dwellings of these early settlers were made of hewn cypress logs after the fashion of block houses, and were bullet proof.

The style of agriculture in vogue was of the most primitive sort. The ground was tilled with hoes only. Plows were not in use. All rails for fencing were carried on the heads and shoulders of the negroes, and in the same manner was rice transported from the fields. This grain was threshed and beaten by hand. Thus was the crop prepared for market. At first the planters sold their crops in Savannah. A trip to that place was the event of the year, and the anticipated journey was talked of in the neighborhood for some time before it was undertaken. Horses were specially fed and carefully attended for a week or more preparatory to the jaunt. Ordinary journeys to church and of a social character were performed on horseback. Hence horse-blocks were to be seen at every door. When he would a-wooing go, the gallant appeared mounted upon his finest steed and in his best attire, followed by a servant on another horse, conveying his master's valise behind him.

Shortly after the Revolutionary War stick-back gigs were introduced. If a woman was in the vehicle and unattended, the waiting-man rode another horse, keeping alongside and holding the check rein in his left hand. When his master held the lines, the servant rode behind. Men often went armed to church for fear of the Indians.

The country was filled with game. Ducks and wild geese in innumerable quantities frequented the rice-fields. Wild turkeys and deer abounded. Bears and beavers were found in the swamps, and buffalo herds wandered at no great remove to the southward and northward. There was no lack of squirrels, raccoons, opossums, rabbits, snipe, woodcock, and quail. Wild cats and hawks were the pest of the region, while the congar often awoke dissonant echoes in the depths of the dark and vine-clad swamps. The waters which they held teemed with fishes, alligators, terrapins, frogs, and snakes.

Such, in a word, was the condition of the swamp region of the Midway District when these stanch Congregationalists came in to possess it. This accession to the population of the colony, aside from the physical strength and additional wealth which it imparted, was in many respects most important. A stimulus was given to the production of rice. Examples of intelligent industry, sobriety, and of genuine manhood were multiplied. Settlers from abroad were encouraged to cast their lots within the borders of the colony. An element of moral and intellectual power was acquired which, during the subsequent years, exerted a potent influence in shaping the educational, religious, and political fortunes of Georgia.

The rapid development of the agricultural resources of this Midway District, the increase of its population, the growing wants of the inhabitants, the distance from Savannah, and the delays consequent upon the transmission of crops to that commercial metropolis, necessitated the opening of a port nearer home where the products of the numerous plantations might find ready sale or shipment, and where merchants might be induced to offer needed supplies. Hence the origin of the town of Sunbury, for many years one of the most prosperous seaports on the Georgia coast.

It was during his reconnoissance of the southern confines, undertaken by General Oglethorpe in January, 1734, that the eyes of the founder of the colony of Georgia first rested upon that bold and beautiful bluff which, overlooking the placid waters of Midway River and the intervening low-lying salt-marshes, descries in the distance the green woods of Bermuda Island, the dim outline of the southern point of Ossabaw, and, across the sound, the white shores of St. Catharine. Although formal cession had been made by the Lower Creeks of all lands along the sea-coast from the Savannah to the Alatamaha, extending westward as high as the tide flowed, and including all islands except a few which the Indians specially reserved for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and bathing, no English settlements had, at that early day, been formed south of the Great Ogeechee River. Fort Argyle, garrisoned by Captain McPherson and his troop of rangers, and commanding the passes by which the Indians during the late wars were accustomed to invade Carolina, was then the only military post of any consequence in the direction of the Spaniards. From this nameless bluff the aborigines had not then removed, and their canoes might be seen passing and re-

passing to and from Hussoope (Ossabaw) and Cowleggee (St. Catharine) islands and the main. To the quiet woods and waters of this semi-tropical region the English were strangers. The Bermuda grass which, at a later period, so completely covered Sunbury Bluff did not then appear, but magnificent live-oaks, in full-grown stature and solemn mien, crowned the high-ground even to the very verge where the tide kissed the shore. Cedars, festooned with vines, overhung the waters. The magnolia grandiflora, queen of the forest, excited on every hand the admiration of the early visitor. The sweet-scented myrtle, the tall pine, the odoriferous bay, and other indigenous trees lent their charms to a spot whose primal beauty had encountered no change at the hand of man. The woods were resonant with the songs of birds whose bright plumage vied in coloring with the native flowers which gladdened the eye and gave gentle odors to the ambient air. Fishes abounded in the waters and game on the land. Cool sea-breezes tempered the heat of summer, and severe cold was unknown in the depth of winter. It was a gentle, attractive place, this bold bluff, as it came green and beautiful from the hand of Nature. For twenty years and more it retained its virgin attractions, and now the woodman's axe was heard in its groves, and the keel of the enterprising colonist was parting its tranquil waters.

By a grant under the great seal of the province of Georgia, bearing date the 4th of October, 1757, his majesty George II. conveyed to Mark Carr, his heirs and assigns forever, in free and common socage, "all that tract of land, containing five hundred acres, situate and being in the District of Midway in the Province of Georgia, bounded on the east by the Midway river, on the west by land of Thomas Carr, on the south by vacant land, and on all other sides by marshes of the said river."

The grantee of these lands, which embraced the site of the future town of Sunbury, had been for a score of years a man of mark in the colony. Recognizing the propriety of establishing a commercial town in this part of the province, on the 20th of June, 1758, he conveyed three hundred acres of this five-hundred-acre tract, including that portion bordering upon Midway River, to "James Maxwell, Kenneth Baillie, John Elliott, Grey Elliott, and John Stevens, of Midway, Esquires," . . . in trust that the same should be laid out as a town by the name of *Sunbury;* one hundred acres thereof being dedicated as a common for the use of the future inhabitants; and in further trust "that they,

the said James Maxwell, Kenneth Baillie, John Elliott, Grey Elliott, and John Stevens and their successors, should sell and dispose of all and singular the lots to be laid out in the said town of Sunbury to and for the proper use and behoof of the said Mark Carr."

Captain McCall[1] suggests that "the town was called Sunbury, — the etymology of which is probably the *residence of the sun*, — from the entire exposure of this place to his beams while he is above the horizon." We believe that this projected village was named for Sunbury, a quiet and beautiful town in Middlesex County, on the bank of the Thames only a little way above Hampton Court, and distant some eighteen miles by land from London; it being a pleasant custom among the colonists to perpetuate in their new homes the memories of persons and places dear to them in the mother country.

In ancient records, says Lysons, this place (Sunbury in England) is called *Sunnabyri*, Sunneberie, Suneberie, etc. Sunnabyri is composed of two Saxon words, — *sunna*, the sun, and *byri*, a town, — and may be supposed to denote a place exposed to the sun, or with a southern aspect.

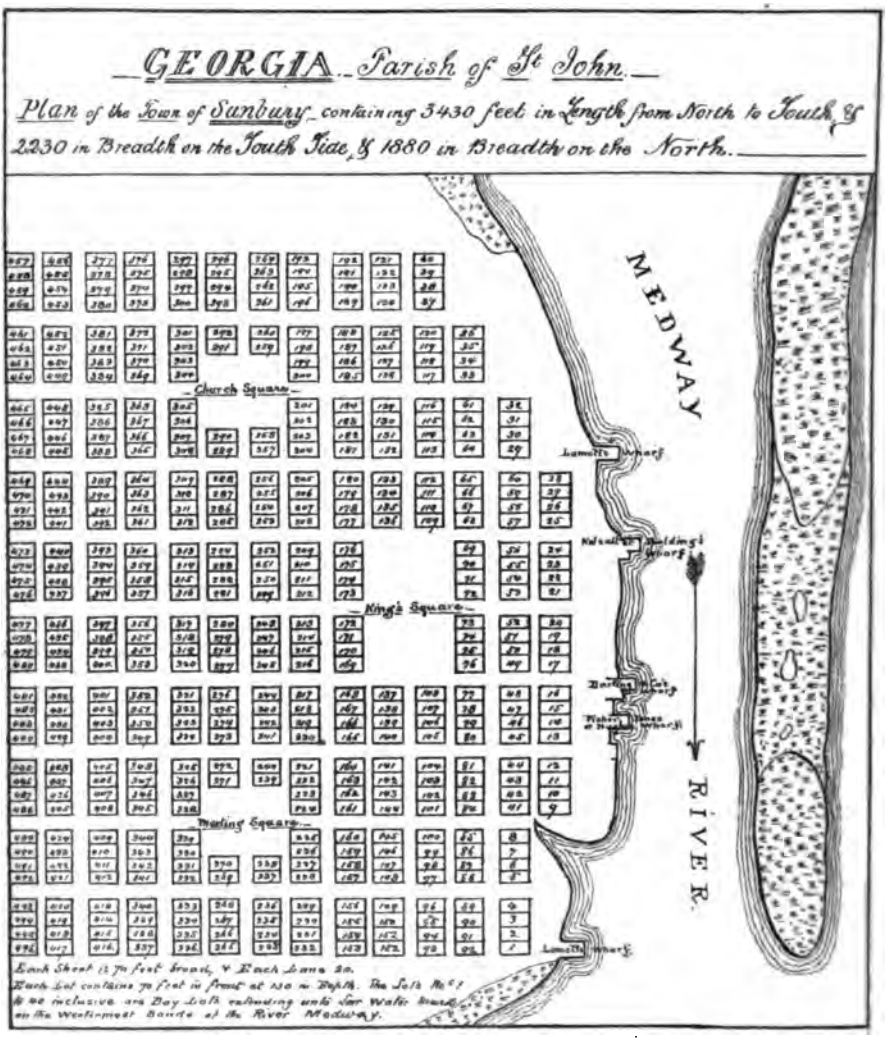
A name better suited to this locality could scarcely have been suggested. It recalls the peaceful memories of one of the gentle towns of old England, and typifies the genial influences of the "King of Day" as, from early dawn until sunset, he irradiates with floods of light the bold bluff "on the westermost bank of the river Midway."

Two of the trustees, John Stevens and John Elliott, were prominent members of the Midway Congregation. James Maxwell had been for several years a resident of that district. He and John Stevens were members of the Provincial Congress which assembled at Tondee's Long-room in Savannah on the 4th of July, 1775.[2]

Kenneth Baillie and Grey Elliott were active and influential citizens. The latter was subsequently selected by the General Assembly to act as an assistant from the colony of Georgia to Dr. Benjamin Franklin who had been chosen by several of the provinces, Georgia among the number, and sent on a special

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 255. Savannah. 1811.

[2] The following members of that Congress came from the parish of St. John: James Screven, Nathan Brownson, Daniel Roberts, John Baker, Sr., John Bacon, Sr., James Maxwell, Edward Ball, William Baker, Sr., William Bacon, Jr., John Stevens, and John Winn, Sr.


GEORGIA.—Parish of St John.—
Plan of the Town of Sunbury containing 3430 feet in Length from North to South & 2230 in Breadth on the South Side & 1880 in Breadth on the North.
MEDWAY
RIVER
Church Square
King's Square
Meeting Square
Lamb's Wharf
Maulding's Wharf
Each Street is 70 feet broad, & Each Lane 20.
Each Lot contains 70 feet in front at 150 in Depth. The Lots No 61 to 66 inclusive are Bay Lots reaching unto low Water Mark on the Westermost Bounds of the River Medway.

Johns Bean & Co Photo lith

mission to England to represent the wants and grievances of the colonies, remonstrate against such acts of the Crown as were deemed oppressive, and oppose taxation without representation.[1]

All the trustees, therefore, were men of position and character, and their selection for the trust indicated, on the part of Mark Carr, well-placed confidence and sound judgment. Responding to the objects of the conveyance, Messrs. James Maxwell, Kenneth Baillie, John Elliott, Grey Elliott, and John Stevens, with due dispatch set about laying off the town upon the "westermost bank" of Midway River. The plan, as matured and carried out by them, embraced three public squares, known respectively as *King's*, *Church*, and *Meeting*, and four hundred and ninety-six lots. These lots had a uniform front of seventy feet, and were one hundred and thirty feet in depth. Lots numbered one to forty, inclusive, fronting on the river, were denominated *Bay Lots*, and carried with them the ownership of the shore to low-water mark. Four lots constituted a block, bounded on three sides by streets, and on the fourth by a lane. The streets were seventy-five feet broad, and the lanes twenty feet wide. The plan of the town was entirely regular. The streets in one direction ran at right angles to the river, and were, at right angles, intersected by the cross-streets and lanes. From north to south the length of Sunbury, as thus laid out, was 3,430 feet. Its breadth on the south side was 2,230 feet, and on the north 1,880 feet.

Within a short time substantial wharves were constructed, the most marked of which were subsequently owned and used by the following merchants: Kelsell & Spalding, Fisher, Jones & Hughes, Darling & Co., and Lamott.

That Sunbury must rapidly have attracted the notice of the colonists and quickly secured a population by no mean sinsignificant or destitute of influence in that day of small things, is evidenced by the fact that as early as 1761 the governor, by and with the advice and consent of his council, established and declared it to be a port of entry, and appointed Thomas Carr collector, John Martin naval officer, and Francis Lee searcher. These appointments were confirmed by the commissioners of his majesty's customs.[2]

[1] See McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. ii. p. 7. Savannah. 1816.

[2] In his letter to Lord Halifax, written in 1763, Sir James Wright says: "I judged it necessary for his Majesty's service that Sunbury, — a well settled place, having an exceeding good harbour and inlet from the sea, — should be made

Captain McCall,[1] in alluding to the early history of Sunbury, says: "Soon after its settlement and organization as a town, it rose into considerable commercial importance; emigrants came from different quarters to this healthy maritime port, particularly from Bermuda: about seventy came from that island, but unfortunately for them and the reputation of the town, a mortal epidemic broke out and carried off about fifty of their number the first year: it is highly probable they brought the seeds of the disease with them. Of the remainder, as many as were able, returned to their native country. This circumstance, however, did not very much retard the growing state of this eligible spot: a lucrative trade was carried on with various parts of the West Indies in lumber, rice, indigo, corn, etc. Seven square-rigged vessels have been known to enter the port of Sunbury in one day, and about the years 1769 and 1770 it was thought by many, in point of commercial importance, to rival Savannah. In this prosperous state it continued with very little interruption until the war commenced between Great Britain and America."

In his report on the condition of the province of Georgia, dated the 20th of September, 1773, Sir James Wright mentions Savannah and Sunbury as being the only ports in the province. The inlet to the latter he describes as "very good; and, although the river is not more than twenty-two miles in length, fifteen feet of water may be carried up to the town distant twelve miles from the sea." From the same source we learn that during the preceding year fifty-six vessels of various sorts were entered and cleared at the custom-house in the port of Sunbury.[2] The collector of the port at this time was James Kitchen, with a salary of £65 sterling, and fees of office amounting to £90. The comptroller and searcher was Isaac Antrobus, salary £60, fees of office amounting to a like sum.

Sunbury soon commanded the rice crop from the adjacent swamp region. Indigo was planted on the island just below, then called Bermuda, and now known as the Colonel's Island. The principal trade was with the West Indies and with the

a Port of Entry; and I have appointed Thomas Carr, Collector, and John Martin, Naval Officer for the same. There are eighty dwelling houses in the place: three considerable merchant stores for supplying the town and planters in the neighborhood with all kinds of necessary goods; and around it for about fifteen miles is one of the best settled parts of the country."

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 255, 256. Savannah. 1811.

[2] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. iii. p. 161 *et seq.* Savannah. 1873.

Northern colonies. From the former, supplies of rum and sugar were obtained, and from the latter rum, flour, biscuits, and provisions. To the West Indies were shipped rice, corn, peas, indigo, lumber, shingles, live-stock, and barreled beef and pork. Governor Wright regarded the trade with the Northern colonies as injurious to the province of Georgia, because, says he, "they take but little of our produce, and drain us of every trifle of Gold and Silver that is brought here, by giving a price for Guineas, Moidores, Johannes's Pistols and Dollars far above their real and intrinsic value, so that we can never keep any amongst us."

So anxious was Sunbury to concentrate all the trade of the interior that at one time it was proposed to connect Midway and North Newport rivers by a canal running between Bermuda Island and the main. This project, however, was never consummated. Occasionally vessels arrived from English ports bringing manufactured goods, but such generally sought Savannah as the port of entry and discharge. The purchases of the Sunbury merchants were largely made in or through Savannah, and were thence conveyed in coasting sloops and schooners through the inland passages. Below the town, and on the road to the Colonel's Island, is a locality known as the *Stave Landing*, whence, in these early days, constant shipments of staves and shingles were made. On the eastern side of that island, the site of the old ship-yard is still pointed out where vessels were repaired and new ones built. It was here that the British landed during the Revolutionary War, when, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fuser, they attempted the reduction of Sunbury.

The health of this town from the time of its settlement until, and even after, the Revolutionary War was good. It became a pleasant residence for the families of many planters who were cultivating rice in the neighboring swamps.

CHAPTER XXXI.

INDIAN PRESENTS DISTRIBUTED AT AUGUSTA. — ARRIVAL OF ACADIANS. — DEBRAHM'S COLONY AT BETHANY. — MILITARY CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE. — GOVERNOR REYNOLDS' AND CAPTAIN DEBRAHM'S REPRESENTATION OF THE FORTS AND GARRISONS NECESSARY FOR THE DEFENSE OF GEORGIA. — SUGGESTION TO PURCHASE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY NEGRO SLAVES WITH WHICH TO CONSTRUCT THE REQUISITE FORTIFICATIONS. — DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — DR. WILLIAM LITTLE. — REYNOLDS' ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS CRITICISED. — HE IS RECALLED, AND HENRY ELLIS IS NAMED AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR. — GOVERNOR REYNOLDS RESIGNS, AND RESUMES HIS STATION IN THE BRITISH NAVY.

UPON the arrival of the Indian presents in December, 1755, Governor Reynolds proceeded to Augusta that he might superintend their distribution and utilize the occasion in confirming the amicable relations existing between the colonists and their red neighbors. While there, awaiting the assembling of the chiefs, he was summoned to Savannah by a matter claiming his immediate and personal attention. He was therefore constrained to leave the presents, and the addresses he had prepared, with Mr. William Little, commissioner and agent for Indian affairs, who, a week after the departure of the governor, read those speeches and distributed the presents to some three hundred chiefs and head warriors. The convocation was peaceful and amicable. Well pleased with the royal gifts, the aborigines renewed their pledges of friendship.

The affair which necessitated the speedy return of the governor to Savannah was the unexpected arrival of two transports having on board four hundred French Papists. They had been sent by Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia who, in an accompanying letter, informed Governor Reynolds that for the better security of that province and in pursuance of a resolution of his council he had forwarded these people to Georgia, not doubting but that they would be received and cared for.[1] The prohibition against Papists was still unrepealed, and Georgia was

[1] See *Letter of Governor Reynolds to the Board of Trade*, under date of January 5, 1757.

not in condition to assume conveniently the support of such a number of needy persons. The governor was sore perplexed, but his humane resolution was thus announced to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations: "The season of the year would not admit of their going back again, and therefore I was obliged to receive them, and their provisions being all expended and the poor wretches ready to perish, I was obliged to order them to be supplied immediately: which, with the hire of some boats to distribute them about the Province, has occasioned an expence of near 80 pounds."

Hard was the lot of these Acadians. Of French descent, and adherents to the Romish faith, leading pastoral lives and busied only with agricultural pursuits and the rearing of flocks and herds, they found themselves, upon the cession of Nova Scotia (then known as Acadie) to the British Crown, deprived of the sympathy of France and subjected to the will of a nation alien to them in language and religion. Forced to swear allegiance to England or to quit their homes, they elected the former alternative, with the proviso, however, that they should never be required to bear arms either against France or their old Indian allies. This condition being sanctioned by the royal governor of the province, they were for some time suffered to remain in quiet possession of their homes and property. Then came an order from the Crown requiring an unconditional oath or an immediate departure. The Acadians refusing compliance with this demand, it was finally determined to remove the entire population, and to scatter these peoples among the English colonies in North America "where they could not unite in any offensive measures, and where they might be naturalized to the government and country." To Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow, commanding the Massachusetts forces, was the enforcement of this harsh decree entrusted.

By a proclamation so cunningly framed that its true design was not revealed, and yet enjoining a compliance by penalties so severe that they could not be endured, the attendance of all male Acadians was required on the 5th of September, 1755, at Grand Pré, where Colonel Winslow commanded. The convention occurred in the village church. Going into the midst of the assembled multitude, that officer announced the startling resolutions of Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence and his council: "Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts are forfeited to the Crown, with all other your effects, sav-

ing your money and household goods, and you yourselves are to be removed from this Province."

Appalled at a calamity which they were powerless to avert, and stunned by the terrors of this frightful edict, these peoples submitted to a fate which consigned them to penury, expatriation, and the blackness of desolation. That all hope of remaining longer might be wrested from them, their dwellings, barns, mills, school-houses, and even churches were committed to the flames. In the language of another, "for several successive evenings the cattle assembled around the smouldering ruins as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters, while all night long the faithful watch dogs of the neutrals howled over the scene of desolation and mourned alike the hands that had fed and the houses that had sheltered them."

Forced to depart at the point of the bayonet, crowded into vessels at the rate of two persons to every ton, and carrying only a modicum of luggage, these Acadians were torn from their homes and cherished associations, and were parceled out at the will of their English masters among the British colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia.[1] It was a brutal outrage, the like of which can scarcely be found in history. Said one of the sufferers, "It was the hardest case which had happened since our Saviour was on earth."[2] To Georgia was allotted the care of four hundred of these outcasts. Distributed throughout the province, they were sustained at the public expense. In the spring, many of them, building rude boats, departed in them for Carolina, hoping eventually to find their way back to the homes from which they had been so inhumanly expelled. For the control of those who remained the General Assembly passed a special act which was approved on the 8th of February, 1757. After reciting that most of the Acadians then in the province were residing in and about Savannah, and that they were illegally cutting and appropriating to their own use much valuable timber belonging to the inhabitants, this act empowered the justices of the peace to bind them out to such persons as should be willing to supply them and their families with sufficient food, clothing, and shelter. Thus were they practically treated as servants. Abso-

[1] See Grahame's *History of the United States*, vol. iii. pp. 384, 385. London. 1836. See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. pp. 413–417. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

[2] Pathetically has the poet Longfellow, in his *Evangeline*, depicted the sorrows of these outraged peoples.

lutely prohibited were they from having and using any firearms or offensive weapons, except upon the plantations and under the supervision of their masters. Feeble and of limited duration was the impression produced upon the province by the intromission of these unfortunate Acadians. After a short sojourn nearly all of them departed, some to South Carolina, some to France, and others to Nova Scotia. Those who remained were the least enterprising, and soon lapsed into utter obscurity and oblivion.

Far otherwise was it with the colony of Germans which De Brahm planted at Bethany. The original settlement of one hundred and sixty persons, begun in 1751, was so rapidly recruited that within eleven months the community numbered fifteen hundred souls.[1]

True to the instincts of his military calling, Governor Reynolds devoted more attention to the defenses of the province than to any other matter connected with its administration and development. The population of Georgia, dispersed as it was, aggregated scarcely sixty-four hundred souls. Of these, seven hundred and fifty-six, capable of bearing arms, were enrolled in the militia and officered. Badly equipped, and organized into eight companies, they were regularly drilled six times during the year. Widely separated, their concentration on an emergency was very difficult. There was not a fortification within the limits of the colony in even tolerable condition.

At Augusta the wooden fort, one hundred and twenty feet square, was so rotten that a great portion of it was propped up to prevent its walls from falling. Its eight small iron guns were honey-combed, and their carriages were decayed. Of ordnance stores there was no supply. The defenses at Frederica which, during the Spanish troubles, were so formidable had lapsed into ruin, and the twenty old cannon there remaining were lying dismounted and without ammunition. In Savannah the prospect was equally discouraging. Eleven old cannon, three and four pounders, without carriages, twenty-seven old swivel guns, and sixty-one old muskets, "most of them with broken stocks and many without locks," constituted the entire show of armament.[2] The small log forts which the trustees had builded at various points had tumbled almost into nothingness.

Summoning to his aid John Gerar William DeBrahm, one of

[1] *History of the Province of Georgia*, p. 20. Wormsloe. MDCCCXLIX.

[2] See *Letter of Governor Reynolds to the Board of Trade*, under date January 5, 1756.

the royal surveyors and of late a captain of engineers of high repute, Governor Reynolds matured, and on the 5th of January, 1756, submitted the following: "Representation of the Forts and Garrisons necessary for the defence of Georgia:" —

"Georgia being a large but weak Province, is unable to raise a number of men to meet an Enemy in the Field or Woods. It requires therefore to be provided in sundry places with forts wherein few men may defend the Province (i. e. the settled part of the Province) against many, and keep the Inhabitants free from Invasions.

"To fortify this Province will require to choose such places where the Enemy must take his passage (as well by water from the East as by land from the West) which places likewise are convenient to communicate one with another by Land as well as by Water to make their correspondence and assistance as easy as possible.

"The places for Forts near the Sea are first COCKSPUR, a small Island in the mouth of Savannah River commanding the North but much better the South Channel. The North Channel is only for small craft, but the South Channel is for large vessels.

"Secondly. SAVANNAH, being the first landing place and likewise the best settled Town in the Province, on Savannah River.

"Thirdly. HARDWICKE, being likewise the first landing place upon Great Ogeechee River, where also is the passage over that river to correspond between Savannah and Frederica.

"Fourthly. FREDERICA, being the Southermost place of the present Settlements, but the Center between Savannah and St. John's Rivers, upon an Island commanding the chief branch of Alatamaha River, a convenient Place to harbour Men of War, and, being also protected by them, also the fittest place for a Garrison Town or Place of Arms.

"The LAND PASSAGES for the Enemy are along the Rivers Savannah, Great Ogeechee, and Alatamaha. These Rivers are therefore all to be fortified in such places where they leave off to be navigable, viz^{t}:

"At Augusta, and at the fork of Ochonee and Alatamaha Rivers, and upon a South and North Course from these two places on a convenient Spot on Great Ogeechee River, to stop the Enemy's passage along the River and to defend likewise the passage for the communication between the Forks and Augusta.

"To protect this communication it is necessary to raise Two Hundred Rangers, commanded by two Captains with the assist-

ance of four Lieutenants and Six Sargents. They are to be stationed in the following places and manner viz^{t}:

In Frederica, one Capt^{n} and one Serg^{t} with	29 Men.
" Augusta, one Capt^{n} and one Serg^{t} with	29 "
In Savannah, one Lieu^{t}: and one Serg^{t} with	29 "
" Hardwicke, one Lieu^{t} with	25 "
" The Forks, one Lieu^{t} with	25 "
" The Ogeechee Pass one Lieu^{t} with	25 "
Between Savannah and Augusta one Serg^{t} with . . .	14 "
Between the Pass and Hardwicke one Serg^{t} with	10 "
Between the Forks and Frederica one Serg^{t} with . . .	14 "
	200

" Their duty is to reconize the communication every day, to carry Letters and Orders, and to convey Messengers, Travellers, and Troops when marching.

" Frederica to be one half an Hexegon, i. e. of three Poligons 960 feet each, with two Whole and two Demi Bastions towards the Land, two Demi Bastions and a Cittadel towards the River, which Citadel must command both Town and River, and lodges the whole Garrison.

" The necessary Artillery for this Place is

10	24	18	Pounders	Cannon.
12	12		Pounders	
20	1, 2, 3, 8, 9		Pounders	
4	12	10	Pounders.	Haubices.
4	100	50	Pounders.	Mortars.
50				

" The Garrison for the place is to be 300 Regulars, sufficient to defend it against a surprise, but against a siege the Garrison must be reinforced with 700 men.

350 Militia
350 Indians } To make a Garris^{n} of 1000 men.

700

" Hardwicke is to be a Triangle, i. e. three Poligons, 600 feet each, with three detached Bastions, being only a Citadel commanding the River and Town.

ARTILLERY FOR THIS PLACE.

5	24	18	Pounders	Cannon.
6	12		Pounders	
10	1, 2, 3, 8, 9		Pounders	
2	12	10	Pounders.	Haubices.
2	100	50	Pounders.	Mortars.
25				

The Garrison is	150 Regulars.
The Reinforcement 300 Men	150 Militia.
	150 Indians.
	450

"Cockspur is to be a Triangular Fort, i. e. three Poligons, a. 132 feet, with three Semi Bastions or a Block House with a Redoubt of 4 Poligons, each 100 feet, without any Bastion, being only to defend the Mouth of Savannah River.

ARTILLERY.

6	24	18	Pounders	Cannon.
3	12		Pounders	
2	9		Pounders	
2	8		Pounders	
2	10		Pounders.	Haubices.
15				

The Garrison is	30 Regulars.
The Reinforcement 70 Men	35 Militia.
	35 Indians.
	100

"Savannah is to be a Square, i. e. four Poligons, each 448 feet, with four Bastions, 3 upon the Bluff to command the Town, and one below the Bluff: besides a Battery upon the Bluff to command the River, being only a Citadel to command both the River and Town.

ARTILLERY.

8	24 18	Pounders	Cannon.
4	12	Pounders	
10	1, 2, 3, 8, 9	Pounders	
2	12 10		Haubices.
2	100 50		Mortars.
26			

The Garrison is	150 Regulars.
The Reinforcement 300 Men . . .	150 Militia.
	150 Indians.
	450

"Augusta will be the same as Savannah, only altogether upon one Horison, or like Hardwicke, being a Citadel of that Form.

ARTILLERY.

12	12	Pounders	Cannon.
10	1, 2, 3, 8, 9	Pounders	
2	10	Pounders.	Haubices.
24			

The Garrison is	150	Regulars.
The Reinforcement 300 Men . . .	150	Militia.
	150	Indians.
	450.	

"The Pass, or Ferry over the head of the Great Ogeechee River will be a Block House, in a Redoubt of 4 Poligons, 100 feet each, without any Bastion, being only a Protection of the Passage over the River.

ARTILLERY.

4	8 Pounders	Cannon.
4	3 Pounders	
8		

The Garrison is	80	Regulars.
The Reinforcement 70 Men . . .	35	Militia.
	35	Indians.
	100	

"The Forks will be the same as Hardwicke, or Augusta, that is a Triangle or Square.

ARTILLERY.

22	1, 2, 3, 8, 9	Pounders.	Cannon.
2	10	Pounders.	Haubices.
24			

The Garrison is	150	Regulars.
The Reinforcement 300 Men . . .	150	Militia.
	150	Indians.
	450	

Regular Garrisons in all .	960	ARTILLERY.			
Militia	1020	Cannon.	24, 18	Pounders	29
Indians	1020		12	Pounders	37
Rangers	200		1, 2, 3, 8, 9	Pounders	84
		Haubices,	12, 10	Pounders	14
	3,200	Mortars,	100, 50	Pounders	8
					172

"All these Forts are only projected in earth work faced with Facines or Turf, being the cheapest way in all Parts of the World to fortify by; but since workmanship is so very dear in these parts because of the scarcity of White People to employ to such purposes, and those few that can be got cannot be obliged for any time, and consequently there is no accounting upon White People let the encouragement be what it will; it will therefore answer much better and be more advantageous to buy 150 Negroes and

to but them under the conduct of three conductors and six overseers, to every fifty negroes one conductor and two overseers; one of the conductors to be a Bricklayer, one a Carpenter, and one a Blacksmith: two of the overseers to be Bricklayers, two Carpenters, and two Blacksmiths, and if possible all Sailors likewise. They chuse the best hands of those sensible Negroes they think fit to assist in their business when required. These Negroes are to be employed either in one place or in two or three as will be requisite to carry on the most necessary Works. These trains of Pioneers are under the direction of a Premiere Engineer who is assisted by a Lieutenant or Second Engineer, and are likewise to have a Doctor and two Mates.

"If these Negroes are bought in Africa and brought over to America they will not amount to 4500 pounds sterling. Their maintenance per annum each at

5 pounds sterling	£750
The Six Overseers Salary per annum £30 sterlg.	180
The 3 Conductors Salary per annum £50	150
The Doctor with two Mates per annum	180
The Second Engineer per annum	182
	£1,825
The amount of it in 10 years, which time all the work may be finished	£18,250
For extraordinary expenses to build or buy Boats, Iron, Steel, and necessary Tools, and to hire now and then Soldiers or others when necessary, £1000 per annum	10,000
Add to this the buying the Negroes	4,500
	£32,750
Suppose of 150 Negroes at the end of Ten Years there are but 100 left, every one of these will be worth 40 pounds sterlg. to sell in America,	£4,000
Consequently the expense of fortifying the whole Province of Georgia (subtracting the sale of the Negroes) will amount only to	£28,750

"No other Calculation can be made in this part of the World, and it is certainly a way to do anything of this kind much cheaper than in Europe."

Novel as this scheme was, and economical as it appeared to be, it did not receive the sanction of the Board of Trade, and the defenses of Georgia were suffered to remain in a deplorable condition. Fortunately their protective powers were not called into requisition.

Contemporaneously with this document was received from the

governor a dolorous letter in which, again alluding to his small salary of £600 a year, he states that all the perquisites of his office do not amount to £60 per annum; that his fees for issuing new grants aggregate not more than £123 15*s.*; that although he lived in the most frugal way, his expenses exceeded his income; that no outfit had been allowed him; that he had been at a charge of £1,000 in that behalf, and that he saw no way of reimbursing himself for this outlay. He earnestly prays the favorable consideration of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and requests that his salary be made equal to that of the governor of North Carolina. We do not find that this petition was granted. The truth is the governor before long became involved in a controversy with the General Assembly, and soon lost what influence he at first exerted over that body.

On the part of the chief magistrate it was urged that the members of the house were too greedy of power; that his messages were not by them treated with becoming respect; that they were niggardly and dilatory in providing means for the support of government and the defrayal of the expenses of the court of oyer and terminer; that they were indifferent in regard to the prompt and efficient administration of justice; and that at least some of them were unfaithful and incompetent. His strictures upon the general conduct of his council were equally severe.[1]

Per contra, it was asserted that upon Governor Reynolds' first arrival in the colony he was heartily welcomed, and that the liveliest anticipations were entertained of a happy and prosperous administration; that only a few months after entering upon the duties of his office he entrusted its affairs and those of the province to William Little, a surgeon in the Navy, whom he had brought over with him in the capacity of a private secretary, a person unaccustomed to the transaction of business and "of the most despotic principles;" that this Dr. Little was guilty of extortion as clerk of the general court, of falsifying a minute of the house of representatives, of which he was the clerk, "in order to cover his sinking a Bill which had passed both Houses," and also of forging another minute in regard to another bill which had received the sanction of the General Assembly; that although advised of all this the partiality of the governor for his favorite led him to bestow upon this unworthy recipient two or three

[1] See *Letter of Governor Reynolds to the Board of Trade*, dated the 29th of March, 1756.

other employments of value; that the General Assembly had been dissolved leaving half the taxes of the past year uncollected and those for the current year unprovided for, merely to frustrate an inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Little; that the governor constantly endeavored to belittle the council, ignoring them when questions of moment were to be discussed, and convening them upon occasions the most trivial; that he only partially communicated to the members his majesty's instructions; that he frequently acted in direct opposition to their advice in the determination of affairs in which they were to coöperate; that, utterly ignoring the presence and office of the members of council who attended him to Augusta upon the occasion of the distribution of the royal presents to the Indians, he delegated the whole business to Dr. Little, who was totally unworthy of the trust; that he suspended Mr. Clement Martin, a member of council, for no cause other than that he presented the council's remonstrance against Dr. Little; that without consultation with that body he appointed "judicial and ministerial offices of justice" and refused to allow the protests of members to be entered upon the minutes; that he inserted or omitted what he pleased in making up the journal of council; that he had erected "a new and extraordinary Judicature," where he alone presided; that he interfered in a lawless manner in the conduct of causes in the general court; that he failed to countenance the officers in the fearless discharge of their legitimate duties; that he had been partial in ceding the public lands; that he encouraged vexatious prosecutions against parties who incurred his anger; that he transcended his powers in filling offices which stood only within the gift of the Crown; that his general conduct of affairs had produced such dissatisfaction that the colony so far from increasing in population and wealth was daily retrograding; and that his administration of the government was incompetent, partial, and tyrannical.[1]

Exaggerated as some of these charges may have been, the complaints which came up from the colony were too frequent and too earnest to be suffered by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to pass unheeded. That the governor was too much under the influence of his unscrupulous secretary was manifest to all. It was not to be denied that he applied to

[1] See *Letter of Alexander Kellet, member of Council and Provost General of the Colony, to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*, under date of July 7, 1756 See *Letter of Jonathan Bryan to Lord Halifax*, dated Savannah, April 6, 1756.

the conduct of the colony, the council, and the House of Assembly the same arbitrary rules which he had been accustomed to promulgate upon the quarter-deck of his man-of-war. Evidently he was not fitted for his present station, and the colony was not flourishing under his guidance. His majesty was memorialized on the subject, and from Whitehall there came an order, dated the 3d of August, 1756, signifying the royal pleasure that the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations "should immediately direct Governor Reynolds to come to England to answer for his conduct in his Government." The same document approved the "recommendation of Henry Ellis Esq. to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Georgia during the absence of Mr. Reynolds," and requested the Lords of Trade "to prepare and transmit for his Majesty's signature the proper commission for that purpose."

In pursuance of these instructions the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, two days afterwards, forwarded a copy of this royal order to Governor Reynolds, enjoining his prompt return to England "to the end that an account of the present situation and circumstances of the Province and his conduct in the administration of government there might be laid before his Majesty for his further directions thereupon."

This communication was received on the 16th of February, 1757. Resigning the government into the hands of his successor, he embarked for England in a merchant ship, the Charming Martha. Captured *in transitu* by a French privateer, he was carried into the port of Bayonne. Thus delayed, he did not reach London until the 7th of July. During his imprisonment he was stripped of all his possessions. To the charges preferred against him Governor Reynolds prepared and submitted an elaborate reply. In that defense he claimed that while he might have committed mistakes, he had never been guilty of anything criminal, or of any willful disobedience of orders. With great propriety he entreated the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to remember the fact that he was the first royal governor, and to consider the difficult task he had to perform in framing the earliest laws, in establishing a police, in adapting a constitution, and in selecting competent persons to fill the various minor offices of trust. His defense, as a whole, did not exculpate him in the eyes of the Board of Trade. He was allowed to resign his gubernatorial commission and to resume his rank in the Navy.

In reviewing the conduct of Governor Reynolds it must be admitted that to one of his calling the position of governor of a province was peculiarly trying. In the language of Bishop Stevens,[1] "unused to legislative bodies, unconversant with courts of law, unversed in the functions of his office, he was transferred from the quarter-deck of a man-of-war to the helm of a royal province, and was required to begin, arrange, digest, and carry out the many necessary steps and changes in the first establishing of a new, and to the people untried, form of government. This required a patience, energy, knowledge, and firmness which Governor Reynolds did not possess. He was not adequate to the duties which his station required, and yielding to the machinations of his private secretary he made himself obnoxious by devolving upon a parasite powers which he himself should have used with knowledge and discretion." Once again afloat, however, he took his place among the trusted officers of the greatest naval power of the world, and died an admiral of the blue.

[1] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 425. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

CHAPTER XXXII.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ELLIS ARRIVES IN GEORGIA AND IS HEARTILY WELCOMED. — TEMPER OF THE COLONY. — PRUDENCE AND IMPARTIALITY OF THE NEW CHIEF MAGISTRATE. — HE VISITS THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER AND RECOMMENDS THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT FROM SAVANNAH TO HARDWICKE. — COURTESIES EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. — GEORGIA DIVIDED INTO EIGHT PARISHES. — LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS. — PROVISION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT, INCORPORATION, AND SUPPORT OF CHURCHES. — ELLIS' REPORT OF THE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE IN 1758. — ELLIS COMMISSIONED GOVERNOR. — GEORGIA UNABLE TO ASSIST IN THE WAR AGAINST THE FRENCH IN AMERICA. — CONFERENCE AND TREATY WITH THE INDIANS AT SAVANNAH. — EDMUND GREY AND HIS ADHERENTS. — HEAT AT SAVANNAH. — GOVERNOR ELLIS IN ILL-HEALTH SOLICITS A RECALL. — JAMES WRIGHT APPOINTED HIS SUCCESSOR. — DEPARTURE OF GOVERNOR ELLIS.

AVOIDING the errors which had been committed by Captain Reynolds in the administration of governmental affairs in Georgia, and cognizant of the unsettled condition of the public mind in that province, Governor Ellis at the outset appears to have formed a resolution to act the part of a pacificator and, by a firm, impartial, and yet conciliatory course, to accommodate all divisions of sentiment, and to unify the inhabitants in a general effort to promote peace, good order, and prosperity. The official duties which were now to claim his attention were to him quite novel. His tastes had hitherto led him in the paths of scientific inquiry and geographical discovery. His had been the life of a student and of an author.

When not forty years old he was entrusted by Parliament with the conduct of an important expedition in quest of a new passage to the Pacific. For more than a twelvemonth, in the execution of this commission, did he endure the dangers and the rigors of frozen seas. The results of his observations and discoveries were communicated in a publication which attracted general notice and elicited much commendation not only in England, but also in France, Germany, and Holland. So highly were his services and attainments appreciated both by the learned of England and by the government itself that at the hands of the former he was

complimented with a fellowship of the Royal Society, and by the latter was rewarded with the appointment of deputy commissary general.

Through the influence of the Earl of Halifax he was selected as the successor of Governor Reynolds: and the "London Gazette" in noticing his promotion speaks of him as an "active, sensible, and honest man."

Although royal assent to this advancement was signified on the 3d of August, 1756, the year was hastening to its close before the governor found a suitable opportunity for departing upon his mission. Arriving in Charlestown late in January, he was there the recipient of many courtesies extended by the Carolina authorities. It was not until the 16th of February, 1757, that he reached Savannah. As he landed from his barge, welcoming shouts ascended from the assembled multitude. Wearied with and disappointed at the rule of Governor Reynolds, the inhabitants longed for the advent of the new chief magistrate from whom so much was expected. They received him with open arms. Amid the joy of the present and the anticipations of the future the sorrows of the past were forgotten.

Pausing not to dally with the salutations of the citizens, with genuine civility he at once repaired to the residence of Governor Reynolds and there paid his formal respects. Then it was that he gratefully responded to the general welcome supplemented by thunders of artillery from the land battery and from the shipping in port. Accompanying Captain Reynolds to the chamber where the members of council were assembled, he produced his commission as lieutenant-governor of the province. It was publicly read. He took the oaths of office. The great seal was delivered into his custody; and so the ceremony of his induction into the gubernatorial chair of Georgia was ended. The evening was given up to illuminations, the firing of guns, and to lusty cheers. Little, the marplot, was publicly burned in effigy. Soon from the freeholders of Savannah, of Ogeechee and Midway districts, from the Masonic fraternity, and from other organized societies came congratulatory addresses complimentary to the lieutenant-governor and anticipatory of the benefits which would flow from the reforms it was confidently believed he would inaugurate. Among those who, in an organized capacity, tendered a welcome was a band of school-boys, associated together as a military company. Having first paraded before his excellency and secured his commendation of their soldierly appearance

and well-executed manœuvres, through their captain these boys presented this address: —

"SIR, — The youngest Militia of this Province presume by their Captain, to salute your Honour on your arrival. Although we are of too tender years to comprehend the blessing a good Governor is to a Province, our parents will doubtless experience it in its utmost extent, and their grateful tale shall fix your name dear in our memories."

This episode Governor Ellis cherished among the most pleasing incidents connected with his early sojourn in the colony.

Prior to leaving England he had endeavored to familiarize himself with the pressing wants of the colony, and to acquire an intelligent apprehension of the causes which produced its existing distractions. The lamentable state of the public defenses and the absence of military stores were within his knowledge. He had also been made acquainted with the malevolent influences which the French were seeking to exert over the minds of the Cherokees, and with the jealousies entertained by the Spaniards. It was evident that the continued good-will of the natives could be thoroughly retained only through the liberal use of acceptable gifts. Before sailing for Georgia he had therefore addressed a memorial to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations requesting them without delay to forward five hundred muskets with which to arm the militia of the province, to send additional presents for the Indians, and to dispatch a ship of war to protect the coast.

This application was heeded, and the speedy fulfillment of his request at the outset not only rendered the province more capable of self-protection, but confirmed the confidence of the colonists both in his inclination to promote their welfare and in his ability to compass their security.

One of his earliest public acts was to reinstate two members of council who, without just cause, had been removed by Governor Reynolds. This he did with such fairness and impartiality that no umbrage was taken.

The temper of the community is thus reported in an early communication: "I found the people here exceedingly dissatisfied with each other, and an almost universal discontent arising from the late proceedings, and persons in power. Few approached me that were not inflamed with resentment and liberal in invectives; urgent that I should take some immediate and very violent steps, such as a total change in public officers, and the dissolution

of the Assembly." The sound judgment exercised and the wise course pursued by him under these delicate and trying circumstances are certified by the following extract from one of his letters to the Board of Trade: "Sensible of my own inexperience and of the violence of such counsels, fearful of being misled, and aiming rather at healing the wounds and extinguishing the flame of party than stirring it anew, I forebore making any material alteration until I should be qualified to act from observation and experience in order that the changes I shall then make may rather be attributed to my own judgment than to the advice of designing and interested people. This suspense will give time for men's passions to subside, and for truth to appear through the cloud of party prejudice that at present obscures it."

This conduct, calm, conservative, self-reliant, deliberate, dispassionate, and statesmanlike, produced an effect most beneficial. The tool of no faction, the instrument of no party, he sought only the public good. The colonists quickly recognized his merit, his impartiality, his integrity, his zeal for the common weal, and accorded to him a place high in their respect and affection.

He took occasion without delay to memorialize the Board of Trade upon the necessity of at once furnishing the colony with a chief justice so that judicial proceedings might be conducted with becoming uniformity, dignity, and fairness. During the preceding administration the legal rights of parties had, on various occasions, failed of proper assertion, and sometimes the supremacy of the bench within its legitimate sphere was openly disputed and violently set at naught. His representations also with regard to maintaining amicable relations with the Indians, rebuilding the forts on the frontiers, enlisting troops to defend them, and in respect to the encouragement of silk culture, were intelligent and emphatic.

That the members of the General Assembly might enjoy a respite from their labors and have time for reflection before entering upon the business to which he purposed inviting their attention, Governor Ellis by a short message, sent in on the 17th of February, 1757, adjourned that body until the 8th of March, and, prior to its assembling, continued its recess until the 16th of June.

In April he visited the southern parts of the colony and formed the personal acquaintance of many of its inhabitants residing at points remote from Savannah, the commercial metropolis and still the capital of the province. So impressed was he with the

central location of Hardwicke on the Great Ogeechee, with its commercial advantages, and with the fertility of the adjacent lands, that he sympathized fully in the suggestion which had been made by Governor Reynolds that the capital of Georgia should be transferred from Savannah and established at this point. Clinging to this scheme, and hoping that it would commend itself to the approbation of the Board of Trade, Governor Reynolds had sadly neglected the public buildings at Savannah. The inhabitants, too, believing that the seat of government was soon to be thence removed, ceased to be interested in extending and beautifying their town. As has already been intimated, the Filature was then out of repair. Christ Church was so much decayed that it had to be propped up to keep it from falling down, and the prison "was shocking to humanity."[1]

Upon the assembling of the Upper and Lower Houses on the 16th of June, 1757, the governor addressed them as follows:—

"*Gentlemen of the Council and of the Commons House of Assembly.*

"The Honour his Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer on me in appointing me to preside in the Government of this Province calls in a particular Manner for the Exertion of my best Abilities to approve myself not unworthy of so distinguishing a Mark of the Royal Favour.

"Persuaded I am that the surest Means of doing this will be to consult your Felicity and the general Welfare of this Infant Colony.

"Directed by these Considerations I shall always be glad of your Advice and Assistance, and shall esteem every Proposal of yours of the same Tendency as the most important Service you can render me.

"I can with unfeigned Sincerity declare that I enter upon this Station with the most disinterested Views, without Prejudice to any Man or Body of Men, or Retrospect to past Transactions or Disputes, but animated with the warmest Zeal for whatever concerns your Happiness or the publick Utility: sincerely inclined to concur with you in every just and necessary Measure, and fully resolved that if unfortunately my Wishes and Endeavours prove fruitless, to be the first to solicit my Recall.

"From such Dispositions on my Part I would willingly hope that you will not be wanting on yours; I flatter myself that your Zeal for the publick Good is at least equal, and that you come

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 433. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

together in the most dispassionate Temper, divested of Prepossession, Animosity and Distrust, — Heartily disposed to coöperate with me in promoting the publick Service by establishing Order, mutual Confidence and domestic Tranquillity, as there never was a Conjuncture when these were more immediately necessary.

"However interesting the Objects that used to engage your Thoughts may seem, they certainly bear no Proportion to those that now demand your Attention. Your Religion, your Liberty, your all is at stake. I do therefore earnestly exhort you to study your true Interests only; not to spend your Time, so valuable to yourselves and the Public, in the Pursuit of Things trivial or unreasonable, that may defeat the great Ends of your Meeting. Lay aside your Jealousies of each Other and of Government, and do not forget that you are People who have great and daily Obligations to your Mother Country for Support and Protection in this your exposed and hopeless State; that you have a constitutional Dependence upon her, calculated for your Advantage, Security, and the general Good; and that from a suitable and becoming Conduct alone you will be entitled to, and may reasonably expect a Continuation of her Regard and Assistance; and every Sort of Encouragement and Indulgence from me that his Majesty's Instructions (framed upon the purest principles of Equity and the strictest Regard to your Happiness) can authorize.

"It is evident how much you have been the object of the royal Attention and Favour by the late Establishment of a regular System of Government among you, wherein your Interest and Convenience were principally consulted.

"It is further manifested by the Readiness with which the late supply of Arms and Ammunition were granted and Presents for securing the Indians in your Alliance and Defence at a Time of great Exigence when the very Existence of the State is threatened by the Efforts of a powerful and implacable Enemy.

"These Considerations ought to inspire you with the deepest Sentiments of Gratitude, and these Sentiments will be best shown in the Discharge of those Duties you owe yourselves and your Country upon this important Occasion.

"As I know how precious your Time now is, I call you together but for a short Sitting, although upon Points of the last Consequence to your present Safety, Credit, and future Prosperity.

"Gentlemen, it would be needless to represent to you the dan-

gerous Situation you are in, and the absolute Necessity there is of exerting Yourselves vigorously, by employing in the most speedy and efficacious Manner every Means in your Power that may tend to avert those affecting Calamities that have already been so severely felt by some and are justly dreaded by all his Majesty's American Subjects, notwithstanding his paternal Endeavours to prevent them.

"The Chief Part of these Misfortunes may not improperly be ascribed to the shameful Neglect, not to say Perverseness of those who suffer, and by whose timely Efforts and Attention they might in a great Measure have been prevented.

"Instructed by so fatal an Example, and urged by so many pressing and alarming Circumstances, I doubt not that you will distinguish yourselves by an uncommon Zeal and Alacrity in concerting and carrying into Execution such Measures as are most suitable to the dangerous Crisis.

"When Alarms are sounding from every Quarter, and when so active and formidable an Enemy is upon your Borders, projecting by every Means that inveterate Malice can suggest the Accomplishment of your Ruin, no Time is to be lost.

"I am sensible it is but little you are able to do, yet that Little should be done with Spirit and Cheerfulness becoming Englishmen who know how to prize the peculiar and inestimable Blessings they enjoy.

"The Construction of Log Forts in proper Situations would certainly contribute to your Safety by affording Places of Retreat where, upon any sudden Emergency, a short stand might be made until Succour could arrive: and any Encouragement that can be given toward procuring an Accession of Inhabitants would accelerate your Prosperity, add to your Strength, and be the best Security in Times to come.

"These weighty Considerations naturally suggest the Expediency and Necessity of framing forthwith such Laws as shall be most conducive to those salutary Ends.

"*Gentlemen of the Commons House of Assembly.*

"I have ordered the State of the publick Debt to be laid before you, and I rely upon your taking the most effectual and least burthensome Method for its Discharge and for preventing the like Incumbrances for the future. As the Maintenance of the publick Faith and Credit of this Province is at all Times essentially necessary, more especially at the present when your Safety is so closely connected with it, I therefore hope it will constitute a capital object of your Deliberations.

"*Gentlemen of the Council and of the Commons House of Assembly.*

"I defer matters of a more general Nature to a future Occasion when the Season will admit of a longer Absence from your private Concerns, and have now only to recommend to you in the strongest Manner Unanimity and Dispatch, and you may depend on my ready Concurrence in everything that can promote your real Happiness."

Upon an assembly lately at variance with the chief magistrate of the colony, and sometimes suffering from a lack of unity among its members, this affectionate, high-toned, and patriotic speech from the new governor produced a profound and most favorable impression. Mr. Habersham, Mr. Knox, Mr. Harris, Mr. Clifton, and Mr. James Mackay were appointed to prepare and present to the governor an address of thanks. This was done in the following terms: —

"*May it please your Honour.*

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Council of Georgia in General Assembly met, beg Leave to return your Honour our unfeigned Thanks for your affectionate Speech to both Houses at the opening of this Session.

"With Hearts overflowing with Gratitude to the best of Kings for his paternal Goodness in taking the distressed Circumstances of this Province into his royal Consideration and appointing your Honour to preside over us, we take this first Opportunity of congratulating your Honour upon your safe Arrival in this Province, and promise to ourselves from your Honour's distinguished Abilities, acknowledged Probity, and unwearied Application, that the Day of your Arrival will prove the Æra of the Prosperity of this Colony.

"We beg Leave to assure your Honour that we shall at all Times esteem it our indispensable Duty to offer you our best Advice and Assistance, and shall also chearfully coöperate with you in every just and necessary Measure for the general Welfare and Felicity of this infant Colony; not doubting but your Wishes and Endeavours will merit the Divine Favour, and that your Honour will prove a long and lasting Blessing to this Province.

"We are truly sensible of our exposed and helpless State, and the great Necessity there is for Unanimity and mutual Confidence in this Time of publick Danger, and we do with the greatest Sincerity assure your Honour that we will, to the utmost of our Power, studiously avoid every Occasion of Altercation and

the Pursuit of Things trivial or unseasonable, and that we shall ever retain the most grateful Remembrance of the great Obligations we have to our Mother Country for Support and Protection, and of her constant Attention to our Safety so recently manifested by the very seasonable Supply of Arms and Ammunition, and Presents for securing the Indians in our Alliance and Defence in this critical Conjuncture; constantly bearing in Mind our Constitutional Dependence on her, and endeavouring to frame our Conduct so that it may intitle us to a Continuance of her Regard and Assistance and to the royal Favour and Indulgence.

"The distressed and calamitous Condition of many of his Majesty's Subjects on this Continent deeply affects us, and we shall, with the greatest Readiness, concur in every Measure in our Power to enable your Honour to defeat the Machinations of our Enemies and to avert those Evils their Malice may suggest for the Accomplishment of our Ruin.

"We are sorry to say that little is in our Power, but that Little we shall do with Spirit and Alacrity, accounting the Preservation of those invaluable Blessings, our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, our nearest Concern.

"We shall give immediate Attention to the framing of such Laws as may best tend to the Security of this Province and the Increase of its Inhabitants, and shall readily join in effectually supporting the public Credit, and preventing future Incumbrances."[1]

The pledges thus given were honestly and patriotically observed. During the administration of Governor Ellis harmony and good-will obtained between the executive and the houses constituting the General Assembly. Even the efforts of Little, who had so long disturbed the public tranquillity, to poison the minds of some of the legislators and to excite a prejudice against the new chief magistrate failed to engender any distrust or to cause a division in the sentiments of the assembly. He had been unmasked. The day of his influence and power was over. Those who had of late fattened by the favor of Governor Reynolds deserted the cause of the deposed chief magistrate, and Governor Ellis was soon able to report the "hydra faction which had long preyed upon the happiness of the people seems at present expiring."

Regularly were the sessions of the General Assembly held dur-

[1] See *MS. Journal of the Council in Assembly for the Province of Georgia*, pp. 163–171.

ing Governor Ellis' term of office, and its deliberations were characterized by harmony, ability, and honesty.

One of the most interesting acts passed by the legislature during this administration was that dividing the several districts of the province into parishes, providing for the establishment of religious worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and empowering the church-wardens and vestrymen of the respective parishes to assess rates for the repair of churches, the relief of the poor, and for other parochial services. This act was approved on the 17th of March, 1758. According to its provisions the "Town and District of Savannah extending up the Savannah river, and including the islands therein, as far as the southeast boundary of Goshen, from thence in a southwest line to the river Great Ogeechee, and from the town of Savannah eastward as far as the mouth of the river Savannah, including the sea islands to the mouth of the river Great Ogeechee, and all the settlements on the north side of the said river to the western boundaries thereof," constituted the parish of CHRIST CHURCH.

The district of Abercorn and Goshen and the district of Ebenezer, extending from the northwest boundaries of Christ Church Parish up the Savannah River as far as the Beaver Dam, and southwest as far as the mouth of Horse Creek on the river Great Ogeechee, were constituted a parish by the name of SAINT MATTHEW.

The district of Halifax, extending from the northwest boundaries of St. Matthew's Parish up the Savannah River from the mouth of Mackbeen's Swamp to the head thereof, and from thence to the head of Lambol's Creek and to the Great Ogeechee River, was erected into a parish and called SAINT GEORGE.

"The district of Augusta, extending from the northwest boundary of the parish of Saint George, and southwest as far as the river Ogeechee, and northwest up the river Savannah as far as Broad river" was designated as the parish of SAINT PAUL.

"The town of Hardwicke and district of Ogeechee on the south side of the river Great Ogeechee, extending northwest up the said river as far as the Lower Indian Trading Path leading from Mount Pleasant, and southward from the town of Hardwicke as far as the swamp of James Dunham, including the settlements on the north side of the north branches of the river Midway, with the island of Ossabaw, and from the head of the

said Dunham's swamp in a northwest line" were denominated the parish of SAINT PHILIP.

Sunbury, in the district of Midway and Newport, and all the territory "from the southern bounds of the parish of Saint Philip, extending southward as far as the north line of Samuel Hastings, from thence southeast to the south branch of Newport, including the islands of Saint Catharine and Bermuda, and from the north line of the said Samuel Hastings northwest," constituted the parish of SAINT JOHN.

"The town and district of Darien extending from the south boundary of the parish of Saint John to the river Alatamaha, including the islands of Sapelo and Eastwood, and the sea islands to the north of Egg island, and northwest up the river Alatamaha to the forks of the said river," were formed into the parish of SAINT ANDREW.

"The town and district of Frederica, including the islands of Great and Little Saint Simon, and the adjacent islands," were to constitute the parish of SAINT JAMES.

The church already erected in Savannah, and the ground appurtenant thereto used as a burial place, were in and by this act designated as the Parish Church and Cemetery of Christ Church.

It was further provided that "Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, clerk, the present Minister of Savannah, shall be the rector and incumbent of the said Church of Christ Church, and he is hereby incorporated and made one body politick and corporate by the name of the rector of Christ Church in the town of Savannah; and shall be and he is hereby enabled to sue and be sued by such name in all courts within this Province, and shall have the cure of souls within the said Parish, and shall be in the actual possession of the said Church with its cemetery and appurtenances, and shall hold and enjoy the same to him and his successors, together with the glebe land already granted to him, and the messuage or tenement near to the said Church, with all and singular the buildings and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and also all other lands, tenements and hereditaments as shall or may hereafter be given and granted to the said Church or the incumbent thereof."

Similar provisions were made for the incorporation, in the town of Augusta, of the Parish Church of Saint Paul; and Governor Ellis, James Habersham, Francis Harris, James Mackay, James Edward Powell, William Clifton, William Knox, David

Montaigut, James Deveaux, Noble Wimberley Jones, Thomas Rasberry, William Russel, William Spencer, and Charles Watson were appointed commissioners, so soon as they should be thereunto enabled by allowance of Parliament, by charitable donations, or by provision of the General Assembly of Georgia, to cause a church to be erected in each of the other six parishes, viz., Saint Matthew, Saint George, Saint Philip, Saint John, Saint Andrew, and Saint James, and to have builded in each of those parishes a convenient parsonage, with out-buildings, for the habitation of the rector. They were also empowered to lay out and inclose a cemetery or burial place for each of those churches.

Upon the erection of these ecclesiastical structures and the appointment of rectors, incorporations were to be allowed as in the cases of Christ Church in Savannah and of Saint Paul in Augusta.

Vestry-men and church-wardens were to be selected and sworn to the faithful performance of their duties.

For the purpose of keeping church edifices in repair, for the care of the respective cemeteries, sacred utensils, and ornaments, to provide bread and wine for the Holy Eucharist, to pay the salaries of clerk and sexton, and to make provision for the poor and impotent of the several parishes, the rector, church-wardens, and vestry-men were authorized to levy a tax on the estate, real and personal, of all the inhabitants within the respective parishes, sufficient to yield in the parishes of Christ Church and of St. Paul £30 each, and in the parishes where no churches had been as yet erected £10 each. The method of assessing and collecting this tax is pointed out.

With the rector, church-wardens, and vestry-men rested the power of appointing sextons and of fixing their salaries and fees. The rector was to be one of the vestry, and the church-wardens in each parish were directed to procure, at the charge of the parish, a well-bound paper or parchment book wherein the vestry-clerk of the parish was to register the "births, christenings, marriages, and burials of all and every person and persons that shall from time to time be born, christened, married, or buried within the said parish, under the penalty of five pounds sterling on failure thereof." For each entry the vestry-clerk was entitled to receive, as a fee, one shilling sterling. These registers were to be adjudged and accepted in all courts of record in the province as furnishing sufficient proof of the births, marriages, christen-

ings, and burials therein mentioned; and if any party was convicted of willfully making or causing to be made any false entry therein, or of maliciously erasing, altering, or defacing an entry, or of embezzling any entry or book of record, he was to be adjudged guilty of a felony and to be punished with death without benefit of clergy. Each vestry was instructed to nominate a proper person to keep a record of its proceedings, and to act as the custodian of its books and papers. No authority was conferred upon rectors to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or to administer ecclesiastical law.

Such are the leading provisions of the act dividing Georgia into parishes, and erecting churches in sympathy with the tenets of the Established Church of England. While the patronage of the Crown and of the colonial assembly was extended in this special manner in aid of churches professing the Episcopal faith, it was not designed to favor them by an exclusive recognition. The idea appeared to be to accord to that denomination within the limits of Georgia a prestige akin to that which the Church of England enjoyed within the realm, to create certain offices for the encouragement of that religious persuasion and the extension of the gospel in accordance with its forms of worship and mode of government, and to provide a method by which faithful registers of births, marriages, christenings, and deaths might be kept and perpetuated. Numerous were the Dissenters then in the province. They were represented by Presbyterians, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Methodists, a few Baptists, and some Hebrews. To all sects, save Papists, was free toleration accorded, and whenever a dissenting congregation organized and applied for a grant of land whereon to build a church the petition did not pass unheeded. There can be no doubt, however, but that it was the intention of the government, both royal and colonial, to engraft the Church of England upon the province and, within certain limits, to advance its prosperity and insure its permanency. At the same time an adherence to its rubrics was in no wise made a condition precedent to political preferment.

As a salutary precaution against domestic insurrections and other sudden dangers, each white male inhabitant of the province "from the age of sixteen years and upwards" was, by an act assented to on the 28th of July, 1757, required to carry with him "on sabbath days, fasts, and festivals," to the place of public worship within the town or district where he resided, "one good gun, or pair of pistols, with at least six charges of gun powder and ball."

To encourage skilled labor within the province, and to induce white men from other colonies to settle in Georgia and ply the trades of carpenters, masons, bricklayers, plasterers, and joiners, the General Assembly passed an act on the 15th of March, 1758, forbidding the employment of negro slaves in those avocations unless the white artisans should refuse to work at fair and reasonable prices to be ascertained by commissioners designated for that purpose.[1]

That disputes and disagreements between the colonists and the Indians might be avoided, acts were approved forbidding all persons, under heavy penalties, to traffic with the natives or to acquire lands from them except by special license.

Quarantine regulations were established by statute, and commissioners were appointed to summon and superintend the labor of the inhabitants in the erection of log-forts at convenient points for the further security of the province.

The embargo, as enjoined by his majesty's proclamations, proving insufficient to deter evil-disposed persons from obtaining supplies of provisions and stock from Georgia with a view to selling them to the enemy, the General Assembly, by an act assented to on the 19th of July, 1757, established severe prohibitions with regard to the transportation of cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, corn, rice, flour, and bread beyond the southern limits of the province.[2]

A general system of patrols,[3] with extensive powers and responsibilities, was devised for preserving order upon plantations and throughout the colony.

In order to quiet the titles to lands, a statute was enacted which declared "That all and every person or persons that are now possessed of or do hold any Lands or Tenements whatsoever within the said Province of Georgia by and under grants from the late honourable Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, or by and under Grants from his Majesty obtained since the surrender of the Charter of the said Trustees, are hereby established and confirmed in the Possession of their several and respective Lands and Tenements, and such Grants thereof are hereby accordingly ratified and confirmed and declared to be good and valid to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever against all and all manner of

[1] *Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, 1755–1774, now first printed, p. 149. Wormsloe. MDCCCLXXXI.

[2] *Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, 1755–1774, now first printed, pp. 135, 159. Wormsloe. MDCCCLXXXI.

[3] See Act of July 28, 1757.

Persons claiming any Estate or Interest therein by and under the said Lords Proprietors of Carolina, or by or under any former Grant obtained before the date of his Majesty's Charter to the said Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, any Act, Law or Statute to the Contrary notwithstanding." [1]

This act which, in due course, received the sanction of the home government, afforded considerable relief, and, in the most authoritative way, declared the invalidity of quite a number of grants affecting lands in the southern portion of the province which emanated in a rather loose fashion from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina and had never been accompanied by any *possessio pedis*.

By a prior act, assented to on the 15th day of March, 1758, all persons claiming lands under any warrant of survey, allotment, or conveyance from the trustees, or from the president of the colony and his assistants, who had not already done so, were required, within three years from the 20th of March, 1758, to appear before the governor and council, make good their claims, and receive, in lieu of former titles, king's grants for the same. By special enactment the rate of interest in the colony was reduced to eight per cent per annum; qualifications for jurors were prescribed; provision was made for the more speedy recovery of debts in justices' courts; the legal fees of magistrates and constables were fixed; the method was determined by which feme coverts should unite with their husbands in alienating lands; special or extraordinary courts were organized for the trial of causes arising between merchants and mariners; penalties were promulgated to prevent the stealing of horses and neat cattle, and punishments ordered to be inflicted upon those who changed the mark or brand of another, or unlawfully killed his stock; fences were regulated; and the militia laws of the province were carefully revised.

At the hands of the General Assembly Savannah claimed and received much attention. Among the acts passed may be men tioned one establishing a watch in that town; two regulating taverns, punch houses, and the sale of spirituous liquors; two more for the proper conduct of the market; a sixth establishing further rules for the conduct of the watch; a seventh forbidding the erection of wooden chimneys; an eighth empowering trustees to purchase a residence for the use of the present and fu-

[1] *Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia,* now first printed, p. 188. Wormsloe. 1755–1774, MDCCCLXXXI.

ture governors of the province; a ninth regulating the assize of bread; a tenth for the construction of a public magazine; an eleventh for the repair of Christ Church; and a twelfth for the general regulation of the town. Tybee light-house was not forgotten. Provision was made for the support of the courts of oyer and terminer, and for the defrayal of expenses connected with the administration of the government. Masters of vessels were prevented from conveying debtors from the province, and frauds in lumber were pointed out and denounced. Nearly fifty acts passed by the general assemblies convened during Governor Ellis' administration received royal sanction. Their deliberations were characterized by honesty of purpose, unity of sentiment, and a laudable devotion to the best interests of the colony. All dissensions had ceased, and the attitude maintained by this legislative body toward the governor was in all respects deferential and conciliatory. Under the wise, conservative, and gentle rule of Governor Ellis Georgia was rapidly lifting herself above the shadows which gathered so darkly about her during the administration of Governor Reynolds, and was already entering upon that era of development and prosperity which was so signally confirmed under the able guidance of Governor Wright.

The following extract from a letter addressed by Governor Ellis to the Board of Trade, under date May 30, 1758, advises us of the condition of some of the military defenses of the colony, and of other matters of moment appertaining to the welfare of the province: —

"Immediately after our Assembly rose I took a Journey to the South in order to examine into the state of things in that Quarter. On my way I touch'd at the River Ogeeche and saw the Fort that had lately been raised there in consequence of the Resolutions of the Assembly last year. It is of a Quadrangular Figure, each side measuring 100 yards, constructed with thick logs set upright, fourteen feet long, five whereof are sunk in the Earth, and has four little Bastions, pierced for small and great guns that would render it very defenceable. From thence I proceeded to Medway where I found the Inhabitants had inclosed their Church in the same manner, and erected a Battery of eight guns at Sunbury in a very proper situation for defending the River.

"I reached Frederica two days, after[4], the ruinous condition of which I could not view without concern. A dreadful Fire, that lately happened there, has destroyed the greatest part of the

town. Time has done almost as much for the Fortifications. Never was there a spot better calculated for a place of arms or more capable of being fortified to advantage. It lies on the west side of the Island St. Simon's, and the chief and most southern branch of the great river Alatamaha. The military works were never very large, but compact and extremely defenceable.

"The Sound will conveniently admit of 40 Gun Ships, and those of 500 Tons burthen may come abreast of the Town; but for three Miles below it the River winds in such a manner that an Enemy must in that space be exposed to our Fire without being able to return it. In short it is of the last importance that that place should be kept in constant Repair and properly Garrisoned, as it is apparently and really the Key of this and the rest of the King's Provinces to the South, but the wretched condition in which it now is makes it easy to conjecture what would be its fate should Spanish War suddenly break out.

"From hence I went to the Island of Cumberland on the south point whereof stands Fort William, a Post of no less consequence, as is evident from the Defence it made against Twenty Eight Spanish Vessels and a considerable Land Force that attack'd it unsuccessfully in the year 1742.

"General Oglethorpe has, in my humble opinion displayed a great deal of Skill in his choice of such Situations.

"This Fort commands a noble Inlet from the Sea, — the entrance of the River St. Mary, — which runs deep into the Country, — and the Inland Passage thro' which the runaway Negroes and other Deserters are obliged to go on their way to St. Augustine.

"The works are of no great extent but admirably contrived to be maintained by a small Garrison, and might be repaired without any great expence. £3000 Sterling would be sufficient, and Frederica might be rebuilt with solid and lasting materials as well as be rendered very strong for about £10,000, and until these things are done I apprehend this Province, and I may add the next, will be very insecure.

"While I was at Cumberland I saw and had much discourse with M^{r} Gray. He is a very unintelligible character, shrewd, sagacious, and capable of affording the best advice to others, but ridiculously absurd in every part of his own conduct.

"He is now settled upon that Island with his family, and engaged in a small Traffick with the Spaniards and Creek Indians. With him I found a person lately come from St. Augustine who

informed me that a new Governor and 200 fresh Troops from the Havannah were just arrived there, and that the Spaniards persisted in their design of settling a New Colony in the environs of that Castle; and that they were preparing to build two or three other Forts on the River of S^{t} Juan.

"This Information has a little alarmed our people, which is not much to be wondered at considering their defenceless condition. Another circumstance which augments their fears is an account we have received that three French Privateers are now cruising upon our Coast, whilst we have no Vessel of War stationed here to molest them, and but a very incompetent force to prevent their Crews doing much mischief should they attempt a descent.

"It is more than a year and a half since a Troop of Rangers were begun to be raised here. The late Governor drew Bills upon the Earl of Loudoun for their Subsistence, which were protested.

"Upon the most urgent and repeated remonstrances his Lordship, ten months ago, furnished me with a Credit upon the Pay-Master at New York for £850 Sterling to maintain them 'till further orders. That sum is expended, but those orders are not yet arrived, notwithstanding his Lordship has embarked for England.

"I am now supporting them upon my own Credit which, that I may be the longer able to do, I have been compell'd to disband half their number, and if General Abercromby, to whom I have repeatedly and pressingly wrote upon this subject, does not speedily authorize me to keep them on foot and appropriate a proper Fund for that purpose, I shall be constrained to dismiss the rest.

"There remains but to acquaint your Lordships that everything is quiet here, and that the Colony improves apparently.

"There is a probability that the raising of Silk will engage the attention of our People more than heretofore and that that important undertaking will one day or other compensate for the trouble and expence which has attended its Infancy. This Season promises fair in its behalf: 6000 weights of cocoons, of a good quality are already brought to the Filature and more are yet expected."

The urgent need for appropriations to defray the charges incident to the maintenance of the few irregular troops in the service of the colony, the patriotic action of the governor in retaining the services of the rangers and in supporting them at his

personal risk and upon his individual credit, the sense of insecurity entertained because of the absence of necessary military forces, and the existence of Indian troubles are all brought to the notice of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in a letter from the governor dated the 25th of October, 1758, from which we make the following extract: —

"Your Lordships are too well acquainted with the real circumstances of this Frontier Province to blame my solicitude for its safety. One point in particular concerns me so much that I cannot now be silent upon it, notwithstanding I have so often mentioned it. I mean what relates to the Rangers raised here by my Predecessor, who are not yet upon any establishment, but have for many months past been maintained upon my own Credit and risque. They are highly necessary to be kept on foot and have been more than tacitly allowed of by the Earl of Loudoun. I am therefore afraid I cannot answer to disband them, although I am not able to support them much longer. His Lordship gave me a credit last year for £850 to subsist them until further Orders, but those have never arrived, and that sum has been expended long ago.

"Since General Abercromby assumed the chief command I have wrote no less than four times successively to him upon this very subject, but I cannot be favoured with one line for answer. In short, this affair has created me a great deal of uneasiness and embarrassment. Surely my Lords, if the present times were less perturbed and dangerous, there would be sufficient reasons for keeping up a small Body of Troops here.

"The want of means to inforce the Laws necessarily brings the Government into contempt, and constrains me to wink at many enormities committed by our own People and the Savages. It is not uncommon for the former to set the Civil Power at defiance, and gangs of the latter have more than once lived at discretion upon the outsettlers and drove away numbers of their cattle. A few months ago some straggling Indians from the Northward, who are now settled in the Creek Country, robbed and murdered a whole family not forty miles from this town.[1] I immediately insisted upon satisfaction from the Creeks who, with some difficulty and reluctance, in part gave it me: for one of the murderers they put publickly to death. The others made their escape but parties are sent in quest of them, and I have strong assurances that they shall suffer the same fate when they can be

[1] Savannah.

taken. It is very happy this affair ended thus; for had those Savages been more averse to do Justice we could not have compelled them. Our weakness then must have been most apparent, and Crimes of this nature would probably have been perpetrated daily.

"It would be endless to relate to your Lordships the various shifts and expedients I have been reduced to, to conceal our inability. This sort of management may do for a season, but mankind are too penetrating to be long imposed upon even by the most refined policy." [1]

The loyal interest manifested by Mr. Ellis in the welfare of the colony, his honest enforcement of all regulations promulgated by the Crown, his pacific policy, and his wise administration of public affairs so thoroughly commended him to his majesty's favor that on the 17th of May, 1758, he was announced as governor in chief of the province.

In maintaining amicable relations with the Spaniards he was quite fortunate, and his correspondence with the governor of Florida is characterized by a commendable courtesy, dignity, and fairness. The intimation at one time thrown out by the Spanish ruler that the English were inciting the Indians to an invasion of Florida was promptly repelled by Governor Ellis, and its falsity clearly shown. He also denied that there was any intention on the part of the Georgia colonists to appropriate a portion of the territory rightfully claimed by his Catholic majesty. Until the peace of 1763, when the country lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary was placed under the jurisdiction of Georgia, there had always existed some question as to the southern boundary of the province, and the intermediate region was known as a disputed territory to the ownership of which Georgia and Florida each claimed a right to the exclusion of the other.

On the 20th of July, 1757, Governor Ellis laid before the General Assembly an important communication from the Earl of Chatham, calling for a contribution of men and money from Georgia to aid in an offensive movement against the French in Canada. In framing a response, the General Assembly adopted this language: "We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Members of his Majesty's Council and Commons House

[1] See Letter of Dunk Halifax, James Oswald, Soame Jenyns, and W. G. Hamilton to the Right Hon. William Pitt, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated Whitehall, February 8, 1759, calling special attention to this communication from Governor Ellis. P. R. O., Am. & W. Ind. No. 535.

of Assembly of the Province of Georgia in General Assembly met, have seriously and attentively considered your Honour's Message with the Copy of a Letter from the right honourable William Pitt Esqr. one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

"The very seasonable and vigorous Measures his Majesty has been graciously pleased to take for the Preservation and Defence of his American Dominions at this critical juncture has a just Title to our most dutiful and grateful Acknowledgments.

"It is with the utmost concern we reflect upon the extreme Poverty of the Inhabitants of this Province, as we are thereby deprived of an opportunity of manifesting our Inclination of contributing effectually to the common Cause, and of demonstrating with what Chearfulness we should embrace every Opportunity of testifying our Loyalty and Zeal for the best of Kings.

"But when your Honour considers the great Efforts we have made this Session by doubling our Taxes and appropriating so great a Share of our Time and Labour for erecting Places of public Defence in different Districts of this Province, you will Sir, be convinced that we are unable to do more, and that nothing has been wanting on our Parts but Ability to vie with the most zealous and opulent of his Majesty's Subjects.

"It would be Presumption in Us, Sir, to suppose your Honour a Stranger to the Melancholy State of this Colony, a bare Recollection of which awakens in us every Apprehension that can result from a knowledge of the most imminent and complicated Danger. To find ourselves in a Country surrounded with the most cruel and insolent Savages, absolutely destitute of every Means of defending ourselves from their Barbarities in Case of a Rupture, without any Forts that are not utterly in Ruins, or Artillery but what are in a Manner unfit for Service: without Magazines or Fund to erect them: without any Troops stationed here save twenty odd Rangers (raised in the hurry of an Alarm) yet unestablished, unpaid, and undisciplined: without any Vessel of War for the Protection of our Coast: with but few Inhabitants and those poor and widely dispersed over the Province: open on the one side to every Incursion of Indians, and, on the other, exposed to every possible Insult from the most inconsiderable of the Enemy's Vessels: in such a Situation our All is precarious.

"When we reflect on his Majesty's unabating Goodness to the lowest and most distant of his Subjects, and advert to the recent Instances we have experienced of his Paternal Regard to this

Colony: when we consider Sir, the importance of this Province to the Mother Country, and its being a Barrier to the other Provinces on this Continent against such formidable Neighbours as the French, Spaniards, and some of the most powerful and numerous of the Indian Nations: and when, at the same Time, we observe the Manner in which his Majesty's principal Secretary of State has wrote to your Honour (so unsuitable to our present Circumstances) We must conclude that his Majesty and his Ministers have not been so frequently and so fully informed of the real State and Condition of this important Frontier as our Necessities and the critical Situation of Things on this Continent require.

"The uncommon Zeal your Honour has displayed for the Welfare of this Province since your arrival here justly demands our hearty Thanks, and merits our utmost Confidence. It is therefore Sir, upon you that we must depend for a faithful Transmission of these Facts to his Majesty in the most clear and precise Manner: not doubting but they will have all the Weight, and produce all the Effects that we can reasonably desire.

28th July, 1757. By order of the Upper House,
PAT HOUSTOUN.
By order of the House,
DAVID MONTAIGUT, *Speaker*."

For these reasons, so strenuously urged, did Georgia a third time confess her inability to contribute toward the vigorous prosecution of the war against the French in Canada. The excuses rendered were valid, and they were so recognized by those in authority.

Although the king's vessels of war, with their headquarters at Charlestown, South Carolina, were ordered to guard the coast of Georgia then infested with privateers, they responded only spasmodically and very inefficiently to this duty. They preferred rest in the harbor to active exercise at sea. Finding his remonstrances ineffectual to beget greater activity on their part, Governor Ellis, on his own motion, fitted out a ship mounting a battery of fourteen carriage and an equal number of swivel guns, placed her under the command of experienced officers, and for six weeks kept her busily cruising up and down the Georgia coast. The effect was most wholesome both upon the enemy and the slothful marine guard at Charlestown.

The intrigues of the French with the Indians dwelling beyond the northern borders of the provinces of Carolina and Georgia

necessitated the adoption of unusual precautions to retain their friendship. At a conference between Governors Ellis of Georgia and Lyttleton of South Carolina and Colonel Bouquet, commanding the king's forces in the southern department, it was agreed that the Indians should be invited to Charlestown and afterwards to Savannah where, by hospitable entertainment, a liberal distribution of gifts, and an exhibition of military strength on the part of the colonists, the red warriors might be induced to refrain from violating their amicable relations. Influenced by the earnest representations of Governor Ellis, Colonel Bouquet detailed one hundred troops of the Virginia Provincials to take post at Savannah, and placed the Georgia Rangers upon the king's establishment.

The conference between the governor and council and the chiefs and head men of the Upper and Lower Creeks occurred at Savannah on the 25th of October, 1757. Anxious to impress these savages with the highest possible conception of the military strength of the town, Governor Ellis ordered that they should be received by the first regiment of militia, commanded by Colonel Noble Jones, that sixteen cannon should be mounted in the different batteries around Savannah,[1] and that seven field-pieces should be placed in position in front of his dwelling. As the Indians approached, escorted by Captain Milledge and the Rangers, they were met beyond the lines by Captain Bryan and a cavalcade of the principal inhabitants, who welcomed them in the name of the governor and regaled them in a tent pitched for that purpose. This preliminary reception concluded, preceded by the citizens on horseback, the Rangers bringing up the rear, the procession of Indians advanced to the town gate where salutation was made with three cannon from the King's battery, three from the Prince's, five from Fort Halifax, and five from Loudoun's bastions. Pausing at the gate, the citizens opened to the right and left, facing inwards, and the Indians, marching between them, entered the town, where they were received by Colonel Jones at the head of the regiment and conducted with drums beating and colors flying to the council chamber. While passing the governor's residence the column was saluted by the battery there stationed, and this compliment was repeated by the guns in the water battery and by cannon on vessels in the river.

At the council house the regiment filed to the right and left and, in parallel lines facing the chiefs and warriors as they ad-

[1] This town had been fortified by Captain DeBrahm.

vanced, presented arms. At the steps of the council chamber they were saluted by the Virginia Blues; and, upon entering the house, they were met by the governor who with outstretched arms welcomed them thus: "My friends and brothers, behold my hands and my arms! Our common Enemies, the French, have told you they are red to the elbows. View them. Do they speak the truth? Let your own eyes witness. You see they are white, and could you see my heart, you would find it as pure, but very warm and true to you, my friends. The French tell you whoever shakes my hands will immediately be struck with disease and die. If you believe this lying, foolish talk, don't touch me. If you do not, I am ready to embrace you."

This speech, so well adapted to the comprehension of the natives, and so much in unison with their favorite style of utterance, completely captivated their hearts. Approaching the governor they shook his hand warmly, and declared that the French had often sought to deceive them. Friendly greetings followed, and the ceremonies of the day were concluded by a dinner at which the head men of the twenty-one towns represented were kindly and pleasantly entertained. During their stay in Savannah these red men were complimented with many presents, and were bountifully feasted. On the following Thursday, having been honored with another military parade and by martial salutes, they assembled in the council chamber, which was thronged to its utmost capacity by the citizens. There they were again addressed by Governor Ellis. "Observe, my friends," said he, "how serene and cloudless this day appears! I cannot but consider it as a good omen of the success of this interview; and I hope that you are all come with hearts resembling it, unclouded by jealousies, and with dispositions suitable to the good work of tightening the chain and making the path straight forever between us." He then read in their hearing, with great solemnity, a communication which he had prepared, entitled "A Letter from the Great King to his Beloved Children of the Creek Nation." Its conciliatory terms were pleasing to the Indians, and their response promised peace and amity.

The result of this convention was all that could have been desired. It was shown in the treaty of the 3d of November following, by which friendly relations between the province of Georgia and the Creek confederacy were firmly pledged.[1]

[1] See *MS. Minutes of Council.* Stevens' *History of Georgia,* vol. i. pp. 440–443. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

On the lands lying between the Alatamaha and the St. John's were congregated many outlaws and fugitives from justice. Their chief settlement, known as New Hanover, was located on the Satilla River about thirty miles above its mouth. Some of them dwelt upon Cumberland Island. Followers of the notorious Edmund Grey, they were a law unto themselves. Claiming no title to land save that derived from naked occupancy, and acknowledging no allegiance to Georgia, they were justly regarded as a dangerous population. Fears were entertained that they would cause disturbances both with the Spaniards in Florida and with the neighboring Creek Indians. Orders were therefore issued by the Crown to disperse this band of marauders. In fulfillment of them, commissioners, with ample powers, were appointed both by South Carolina and Georgia, who, proceeding to New Hanover and Cumberland Island, disclosed their mission and succeeded in prevailing upon these disreputable peoples to abandon the territory where, without warrant, they had fixed their homes. This peaceful solution of the difficulty was very gratifying, for it was generally believed that the intervention of force would be requisite to clear the region of these undesirable inhabitants.

It was during Governor Ellis' administration, and largely through his instrumentality, that the vexatious claims of Mary Bosomworth were brought to a final settlement. That there might be no question affecting the title of the Crown to the land lying between Pipe-Maker's Creek and the Savannah River, and to the islands of Ossabaw, Sapelo, and St. Catharine which had been ceded to the English by the Indians on the 28th of May, 1751, the validity of that conveyance was sanctioned and recognized by the Indian treaty of the 22d of April, 1758. The claim of Mrs. Bosomworth, however, was still outstanding and was regarded as a cloud upon the title. When it was finally determined to surrender to her in fee the island of St. Catharine where she had established her residence, and to pay her the sum of £450 for goods disbursed by her in his majesty's service during the years 1747 and 1748, and the further sum of £1,600 in full of all her demands as government agent and interpreter, she agreed to waive all claim to the islands of Ossabaw and Sapelo. These islands were sold at public auction. The former brought £1,350 and the latter £700. The proceeds thence derived were paid over to Mrs. Bosomworth. The lands lying between Savannah and Pipe-Maker's Creek were also disposed of at public outcry, and

realized £638. This sum was paid into the treasury of the province.[1]

Governor Ellis was seriously affected by the climate of Georgia. The potent rays of the summer sun he found very debilitating in their influence. In July, 1758, writing in his piazza, open at each end and completely shaded, with a breeze blowing from the southeast and no houses near to reflect the heat, he says Fahrenheit's thermometer registered 102°. Twice before, to wit, on the 28th of June and the 11th of July, had the mercury attained that height, and for days it rose to 98°. That summer he regarded as unusually hot, and imagined that the weather betokened the advent of a hurricane. Savannah being situated upon a sandy eminence, shut in by tall woods, he thought the heat more intense than in other parts of the colony. Although he deemed it highly probable that the inhabitants of Savannah breathed "a hotter air than any other people on the face of the earth," he concludes with the admission, "but few people die here out of the ordinary course."[2]

Captain McCall in commenting upon this letter of Governor Ellis comes thus loyally and truthfully to the rescue: "As Governor Ellis was a man of sense and erudition, and no doubt made his observations with accuracy, I shall not presume to call in question the facts which he relates, but I feel bound to assert, under the authority of the oldest inhabitants now living in Savannah, that there have been but few instances in which the mercury has risen above 96°, and none in which it has risen above 100° in the shade within the last thirty years. The trade winds prevail on the sea-coast of Georgia with great uniformity in the summer, particularly on the southern part of it; and it is not unworthy of remark that I resided at Point Peter near the mouth of St. Mary's River eighteen months, and the garrison consisted of near one hundred troops, and that I do not recollect, after the first fortnight, to have seen three men in bed with the fever, and that only one died during that period, and his disease was a consumption. Indeed the seashore is healthy, except in the vicinity of stagnant fresh water. . . .

"I have annexed these remarks because Governor Ellis asserts that the maritime parts of Georgia are the most unhealthy and unpleasant."[3]

[1] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 454. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

[2] See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1759, p. 314.

[3] *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 254. Savannah. 1811. Compare *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, vol ii. pp. 258, 259. London. MDCCLXXIX.

Beyond controversy, during the period of its early occupancy when it was closely fenced about by forests forbidding a free circulation of air, when little attention was bestowed upon drainage, when the inhabitants were in large measure unacclimated, and when alluvial lands, dank and reeking with the decayed vegetable mould of unnumbered centuries, were first exposed to the action of the sun's rays, the health of Savannah was much inferior to that which it now enjoys, and the temperature unquestionably more intolerable. With the exception of occasional epidemics, this city, under existing sanitary regulations, despite the fact that it dwells in a malarial region, must be regarded as not unhealthy: and no one familiar with the delightful influences of the southeast breezes which, during the hot months, prevail with the regularity of trade-winds, will deny that many climatic pleasures are here enjoyed, even in the heart of summer.

Governor Ellis' health became so feeble that, in November, 1759, he solicited a recall. His hope was that his successor would be speedily selected, and that he would avoid the debilitating influences of another warm season in Georgia. Although his request was granted, and James Wright, Esq., was commissioned as lieutenant-governor of the province on the 13th of May, 1760, he did not arrive in the colony to relieve Governor Ellis until the following October.

Upon the expiration of his official duties the province of Georgia possessed a population of some six thousand whites and three thousand five hundred and seventy-eight blacks.

In severing his official connection with the colony, Governor Ellis, on the 13th of October, 1760, thus addressed the General Assembly: —

"*Gentlemen of the Council and of the Commons House of Assembly.*

"His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant me his Royal Licence for returning to Europe, and appointed the honourable James Wright Esquire Lieutenant Governor of this Province, I have called you together to inform you thereof, and at the same Time to return both Houses of Assembly my very sincere and hearty Acknowledgments for the great Assistance they have afforded me in carrying on the King's Service and the Business of the Colony during the whole Course of my Administration.

"Possessed as I am with the most grateful Sense of this and every other Obligation conferred on me by the good People of

Georgia, they may be perfectly assured of my best Wishes and most zealous Endeavours upon all Occasions to promote whatever may contribute to their Happiness and the Welfare of the Province."

To this graceful farewell the General Assembly on the ensuing day returned the following response: —

"*May it please your Excellency.*

"We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council of Georgia in General Assembly met, beg Leave to return your Excellency our hearty Thanks for the affectionate Manner in which your Excellency has been pleased to acquaint Us with your having obtained his Majesty's royal Licence for returning to England. At the same time that we congratulate your Excellency on your obtaining a Permission which this Climate and your intense Application to the Duties of your Station made necessary, allow us to express our unfeigned Sorrow at being deprived of your Excellency's prudent and upright Administration to which, under Divine Providence, we hold ourselves indebted for that Measure of interior Quiet and Happiness we have hitherto enjoyed.

"The many useful Laws which have received your Excellency's Assent, whereby Proceedings in the Courts of Law have been rendered more easy and expeditious, and the Civil Rights and Properties of the People fenced against the corrupt Practices of wicked and designing men: the Ability which you have exerted in healing those unhappy Divisions with which the Colony was rent at your Arrival; the Credit you have restored to the Government; and the Zeal with which you have promoted and encouraged every measure tending to the public Advantage, intitule your Excellency to our most grateful and hearty acknowledgments: nor do we esteem it less happy for us, nor less honourable for you Sir, that whilst other more opulent and more populous Provinces have been ravaged by a barbarous and cruel Enemy, this infant Colony, surrounded with more numerous Savages, and with an open and defenceless Frontier to our powerful European Enemy, has not been involved in a ruinous and destructive War.

"We beg leave to assure your Excellency that we have the greatest Relyance on your attention to the Welfare and true Interests of this Colony so fully manifested in the whole Course of your Administration; and we persuade ourselves that your Excellency will, on your Arrival in England, repeat your Repre-

sentations of the Dangers to which we are exposed, and the little Probability there is of our receiving timely and adequate Succour from the neighbouring Provinces should any Calamity befall Us. His Majesty's great Goodness to all his People and his equal Regard to their Happiness and Prosperity give us the strongest Reasons to hope that this Colony will soon more amply partake of the Protection afforded to his American Subjects, and that through your Excellency's good Offices the Province will be immediately put in such a State of Defence as shall not only give real Security to its Inhabitants but render it an effectual Barrier to his Majesty's Southern Provinces." [1]

Having turned over the affairs of state to his successor, the Honorable James Wright, Governor Ellis departed from Georgia on the 2d of November, 1760. The address of the assembly expressed the general regret. The inhabitants of the province were deeply moved at the retirement of the governor whose kind and paternal administration, whose honesty of purpose and unwearied exertions for the advancement of the welfare of the colony, whose integrity, and personal worth had produced the most favorable impression upon all. The Georgia Society, the merchants of Savannah, the citizens of Augusta, and others presented him with affectionate and complimentary addresses regretting his departure, extolling his administration of public affairs, commending his character, and praying for his welfare. As a token of the gratitude entertained by the citizens of Savannah, the Union Society requested his acceptance of a handsome piece of plate.[2]

Few were the regrets which accompanied Governor Reynolds when he bade farewell to distracted and unhappy Georgia; but now the good-will and the blessings of a sorrowing people clustered about their retiring chief magistrate. The apple of discord had been supplanted by the olive of peace. Happy in the confidence and the love of those over whom he ruled, fortunate and just in his intercourse with the Indian nations, successful in the conduct of the affairs of the colony, and secure in the esteem of the home government, pleasant and honorable is the memory which Governor Ellis has bequeathed to the colonial annals of Georgia.

Subsequently commissioned as governor of Nova Scotia, he occupied that position for two years and a half. Warned by fee-

[1] See *MS. Journal of the Council in Assembly*, pp. 429–432.

[2] See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol i. p. 456. New York. MDCCCXLVII.

ble health, he dismissed all public cares and sought repose in the south of France. Finally, having attained a venerable age, and to the last intent upon the prosecution of some favorite physical researches, he fell on sleep, as did Pliny the elder, within sight of Vesuvius and upon the shore of the beautiful Bay of Naples.

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